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BULLETIN

OF THE

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PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

NOTES ON CHINESE ALCHEMY

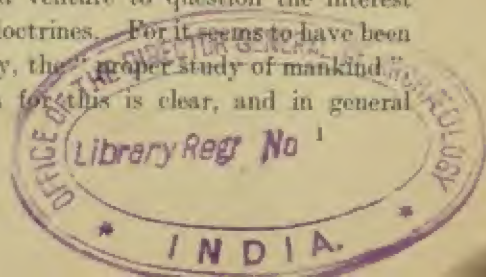
(Supplementary to Johnson's *A Study of Chinese Alchemy*)

By A. WALEY

ALCHEMY, on the rare occasions when it has been made the subject of reasonable inquiry, has usually been studied as part of what one may call the pre-history of science. But if, to use a favourite phrase, we are to see in alchemy merely "the cradle of chemistry", are we not likely, whatever its initial charm, to lose patience with an infancy protracted through some fifteen centuries?

It is certain in any case that another aspect of alchemy—its interest as a branch of cultural history—has hitherto been strangely neglected. Mr. Walter Scott, for example, omits alchemistic writings from his great edition of the *Hermetica* on the odd ground that they are merely "masses of rubbish". But if texts are to be dismissed as rubbish because they contain beliefs that we cannot share, I see no reason why the religious and philosophical parts of the *Hermetica* (and with them many books which to-day enjoy a far wider popularity) should continue to claim attention. It is a curious fact that if alchemists had been cannibals, instead of civilized town-dwellers, no one at the present day would venture to question the interest and importance of studying their doctrines. For it seems to have been decided that the true anthropology, the proper study of mankind, is uncivilized man. The reason for this is clear, and in general

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adequate. So soon as we reach in the history of the human mind a point where it begins to establish contact with our own ways of thought, objectivity must to some extent begin to recede. For example, no writer has succeeded in viewing minds even so remote from us as those of the early Christian Fathers with the scientific detachment of an anthropologist discussing, say, the religious beliefs of a Melanesian. Fortunately, the Chinese occupy, in this respect, a rather unusual position. Owing to their remoteness and the absence of traditions common with our own, we can follow their mental history with some degree of detachment to a point far beyond what would be possible in Europe. We can apply the methods of anthropology to civilized man, and so at least in one portion of mankind view in continuity processes that in the West are disjointed by our own irony or sympathy. Moreover, in China the continuity is actually far greater than in our own world. The great Aryan invasions that in Europe, the Near East, and India, set a barrier between history and pre-history did not affect China at any rate in such a way as markedly to dissociate her from her past.¹ More than any other creators of culture, the Chinese remained in contact with Neolithic mentality, and it is possible in China to see in their proper setting and consequently to understand ideas and customs that elsewhere appear arbitrary and disconnected.

Such, as I shall show,² seems to me to be the case with alchemy.

The subject, particularly at its outset, is a very complicated one, and I have therefore thought it better to present these notes in a rather schematic form. Here is the first text:—

1. *Han Shu* xxv, 12 recto, line 8.

[The wizard Li] Shao-chün said to the Emperor [Wu Ti of Han]: "Sacrifice to the stove [竈 *tsao*] and you will be able to summon 'things' [i.e. spirits]. Summon spirits and you will be able to change cinnabar powder into yellow gold. With this yellow gold you may make vessels to eat and drink out of. You will then increase your span of life. Having increased your span of life, you will be able to see the *hsien* 仙 of P'eng-lai that is in the midst of the sea. Then you may perform the sacrifices *fêng* and *shan*, and escape death."

¹ That the Aryans reached the western fringe of China is, of course, established. Whether they penetrated into the interior and whether any of China's early enemies were Aryans is still uncertain.

² See particularly p. 18.

*Comment**(a) Date of the Passage*

This passage also occurs in the *History* of Ssu-ma Ch'ien (Treatise on the Sacrifices Fêng and Shan, Bk. xxviii, Chavannes, vol. iii, pt. ii, p. 465).¹ But this treatise of Ssu-ma Ch'ien is almost certainly a late addition to the text. We know that even by the first century A.D. many of the original chapters had been lost. What now poses as the Treatise on Fêng and Shan, though it contains some information on this subject, is in reality an account of religion in general. Almost the whole of the treatise occurs practically verbatim in the account of Worship and Sacrifice, 交祀志, which forms chap. xxv of the *Han Shu*. The bulk of the treatise is irrelevant to Ssu-ma Ch'ien's purpose, but perfectly appropriate to an account of Worship and Sacrifice.

It is safer, therefore, to regard this passage, the earliest reference to alchemy in any literature,² as belonging to the first century A.D. rather than the first century B.C.

(b) Literary Form of the Passage

The passage is one of those rhetorical *catenæ* of which early Chinese writers are so fond. They have been discussed by Masson-Oursel and Maspero. Their intention is dramatic rather than logical. Such logical connections as exist are implied rather than expressed. The most difficult step to follow is the statement: "Having increased your span of life, you will be able to see . . . *hsien*." It implies, perhaps, a theory that *hsien* (Immortals) are only visible to those whose span of life at any rate makes some approach to their own. The whole process leads up to the performance of the sacrifices Fêng and Shan, through which the Emperor will obtain immortality. Alchemy, then, is here regarded as the third in a series of performances, which lead ultimately to an Emperor becoming immortal. Viewed in this light alchemy does not concern people in general, but only the Emperor. It would, however, be pedantic to interpret logically a passage that is essentially rhetorical.

¹ The Ssu-ma Ch'ien passage is identical with the *Han Shu* from f. 3 verso to f. 32 recto of chap. xxviii.

² Leaving aside the texts published by R. Campbell Thompson in his *The Chemistry of the Ancient Assyrians*, Luzac, 1925. These do not deal with the manufacture of gold nor of an elixir of life,

(c) *Character of the Passage in its Bearing on Alchemy*

Those familiar with the literature of Chinese alchemy will admit that this passage is curiously isolated. The idea that drinking from vessels of alchemic gold is a way of increasing longevity is, however, not unknown to the later literature. *Pao P'u Tzu* (iv, 17 recto, l. 2) says: "If with this alchemical gold you make dishes and bowls, and eat and drink out of them, you shall live long." It was indeed accepted that artificial gold 勝於自然者 "was superior to the natural."¹ But the "increase in longevity" is in all later literature regarded as an end in itself, attainable by ordinary people, and not merely as a means by which the Emperor might become immortal.

2. The Story of Ch'êng Wei, from Huan T'an's *Hsin Lun*²

There was once a courtier of the Han dynasty, named Ch'êng Wei 程偉, who was fond of the Yellow and White Art. His wife was the daughter of a magician. He was often obliged to follow the Emperor's chariot, but had no seasonable clothing. This very much vexed him. His wife said: "I will ask [the spirits] to send two strips of strong silk." Whereupon the strong silk appeared in front of him with no apparent reason. Ch'êng Wei tried to make gold 金 according to the directions of the 枕中鴻寶 "Vast treasure in the Pillow." He was unsuccessful, and his wife, going to look at him, found him just fanning the ashes in order to heat the retort. In the retort was some quicksilver. She said: "Just let me see what I can do," and from her pocket produced a drug, a small quantity of which she threw into the retort. A very short while afterwards she took the retort out (of the furnace), and there was solid silver all complete! [The husband then pesters her to teach him the secret, but she refuses to do so and finally, worried into madness, she rushes into the street, smears herself with mud, and shortly afterwards expires.]

¹ *Pao P'u Tzu*, xvi, 6 recto, l. 1. For *Pao P'u Tzu* (the pseudonym of Ko Hung), fourth century A.D., see below, p. 9. The name is often wrongly written "Pao P'o Tzu". The character 朴 is, however, only pronounced P'o when it means a nettle-tree.

² Save for a series of quotations in the *Ch'ün Shu Yao Chih*, the book is lost. The story is quoted by *Pao P'u Tzu* (xvi, 3 verso, l. 1), who merely introduces it with the words 桓君山言 "Huan Chün-shan [i.e. Huan T'an 譚] says". But on the next page a similar anecdote is specifically quoted as being from Huan Tan's *Hsin Ch'üan* 新詮, which is evidently the same as the *Hsin Lun* 新論.

Comment on the Story of Ch'êng Wei

Huan T'an, from whose book this story is quoted, died c. A.D. 25, aged about 70. Of Ch'êng Wei himself nothing further is known; but there seems to be no reason to doubt that such a person lived in the first century B.C. or earlier, and was addicted to alchemic experiments. Thus we may assume that alchemy existed under the Han dynasty¹; but the literature of the period is surprisingly silent on the subject. Wang Ch'ung in his *Lun Hêng*² denounces a vast number of other Taoist credulities. It is hard to believe that if alchemy had been at all prominent he would not have singled it out for attack.

Other Han literature (*Huai Nan Tzu*, for example) is equally silent.³ But I emphasize the silence of Wang Ch'ung because it was against just such practices that his book was directed.

There seems no reason to doubt (as we shall see presently) that in the second and third centuries alchemy was already under full way. But the biographies of famous magicians and recluses who lived at this period say nothing about it. For example, in the official biographies of Hsi K'ang, 嵇康 (A.D. 223-62, *Chin Shu* xlix, 8; *San Kuo Chih* xxi, 4), there is no mention of alchemy, nor does Hsi K'ang refer to it in his surviving works. Yet it is as an alchemist that he figures in popular tradition.

3. The *T's'an T'ung Ch'i* 參同契(a) *Nature of the Work*

This, the most popular of all alchemic books, consists of ninety paragraphs (the division, like that of Lao Tzu's *Tao Tê Ching*, was made for convenience by a late editor) partly in prose, partly in verse of five, or more often four, words to the line. It is, essentially, an application of the cosmic doctrines of the *I Ching* 易經 to the principles of alchemy. But the alchemical processes are alluded to in veiled language, and a person unfamiliar with alchemic literature might easily suppose that the book dealt with the theories of the *I Ching*.

¹ In pre-Han literature there are no references to alchemy.

² Middle of the first century A.D. Translated by Forke.

³ In his surviving works; but possibly he said something about the subject in his lost *Chung Pien* which dealt with 神仙 (i.e. Taoist divinities and adepts) and 黃白 (gold and silver; i.e. the art of making gold and silver?).

(b) *The Title*

Ts'an Tung Ch'i means something like "Union of Compared Correspondences". Concerning what these correspondences are, there exist several theories: (a) A series of correspondences between the principles of the *I Ching* and those of alchemy; (b) A series of correspondences between the processes by which the world came into existence, and the process by which the Elixir comes into existence; (c) *Ts'an* means strictly "a comparison of three things". These three things, according to a work¹ of c. A.D. 1,000, are lead, mercury, and sulphur, all of which can be reduced to the same prime substance and are therefore essentially identical.

(c) *The Author*

The book is attributed to a certain Wei Po-yang 魏白陽 or "Po-yang of Wei". This is clearly a pseudonym.

Po-yang is the "style" of Lao Tzu, and it is clear that there has been some confusion between the legend of Lao Tzu and that of Wei Po-yang. *Pao P'u Tzu* (iii, 6 recto, l. 9) says: 得道之高莫過伯陽. 有子名宗. 仕魏爲將軍 "No one ever got higher *tao* than Po-yang. He had a son named Tsung, who served the Wei State and became a general."

It is clear that *Pao P'u Tzu* is not here talking of Lao Tzu (whom he calls Lao, Lao Tzu, Lao Chün, etc.), but of someone less well known. But Lao Tzu had, according to Ssu-ma Ch'ien, "a son named Tsung." Moreover, *Pao P'u Tzu* elsewhere (viii, f. 1 verso, l. 4) mentions Po-yang as a "keeper of archives". Here again, although there is obvious confusion with Lao Tzu, who was also an archivist, I do not think that *Pao P'u Tzu* is speaking of Lao Tzu himself.

The author of the *Ts'an Tung Ch'i*, however, is generally considered to have flourished c. A.D. 120-50. If we accept this, we must suppose that he took as his pseudonym the name of an ancient sage, a sort of counterpart of Lao Tzu, called Po-yang of the Wei State, in contradistinction to Lao Tzu, who was Po-yang of the Chou State. A confusion between Po-yang, the ancient sage and Po-yang, author of the *Ts'an Tung Ch'i* seems to me also to exist in Ko Hung's *Shên Hsien Chuan*,² which gives the longest extant account of Po-yang.

¹ The *Yün Chi Ch'ü Ch'ien* 雲笈七籤, chap. 690. This series of Taoist text is No. 1020 in Wieger's index to the Taoist Canon.

² This book is several times quoted in P'ei Sung-chih's 裴松之 commentary on the *Sin Kuo Chih* (preface dated 429 A.D.). The quotations correspond with the book as it now exists. With regard to its authorship, see below.

It is clear from the position in which Ko Hung places Wei Po-yang that he regards him as an "ancient sage", not as a personage of the Latter Han dynasty; for he puts him in an initial chapter, the other subjects of which are Kuang-ch'êng Tzu (wholly mythical; contemporary with the Yellow Emperor), Lao Tzu and P'êng Tsu the Chinese Methuselah, who "at the end of the Yin dynasty was already 767 years old". Wei Po-yang, says the *Shên Hsien Chuan*, was a man of Wu; and after a long anecdote which will be found in Giles's *Biographical Dictionary* and does not here concern us, there follows this information: "Po-yang made the *Ts'an T'ung Ch'i* and the *Wu-hsing hsiang-lei* ('That the Five Elements have an [underlying] similarity')¹ in three chapters. Verbally they concern the *Book of Changes*, but in point of fact they use the symbols of the *Book of Changes* as a cover for the discussion of alchemy, 作丹. But ordinary Confucians, knowing nothing of alchemy, have commented on the book as though it were a treatise on Yin and Yang (the male and female principle), and in this way completely misunderstood it."

Despite the fact that Ko Hung (reputed author of the *Shên Hsien Chuan*) certainly regards Wei Po-yang as a sage of remote and shadowy times, he gives a very true and sensible description of the *Ts'an T'ung Ch'i* which was (according to the usual hypothesis) in reality written by the second century author who used Wei Po-yang as his pseudonym.

One of the "ordinary Confucians" who, not understanding alchemy, mistook the work for a discussion of the *Book of Changes*, seemed to have been Yü Fan, 虞翻 (A.D. 164-233); for in the *Ching Tien Shih Wên*² ("Textual Criticism of the Classics") by Lu Tê-ming, in the section on the *Book of Changes* with which the work begins, we find: 虞翻注參同契云易字從日下月 "Yü Fan in his commentary on the *Ts'an T'ung Ch'i* says, 'The character *I* (Changes) is composed of Sun above Moon.'³"⁴

The book is therefore referred to by Yü Fan about A.D. 230, and by Ko Hung c. A.D. 320. Henceforward it is mentioned fairly frequently. For example, in the poems of Chiang Yen⁴ (end of the fifth century):—

¹ This is an alternative name for chap. lii of the book.

² About A.D. 600. I owe this reference to Dr. Hu Shih.

³ This passage is capable of various interpretations. No commentary by Yü Fan on the *Ts'an T'ung Ch'i* survives. We might punctuate "Yü Fan [says] the commentary on the *Ts'an T'ung Ch'i* says . . ." But for our purposes the result remains the same: the existence of the *Ts'an T'ung Ch'i* is already referred to early in the third century.

⁴ 江文通集. chap. lii of 3 verso. Ssü Pu Ts'ung K'an edition.

TEXT

方 驗 參 同 契
金 竈 煉 神 丹

"He proved the truth of the *Ts'an T'ung Ch'i*;
In a golden furnace he melted the Holy Drug."

In the next (the sixth) century, there is a curious hiatus. The book is not mentioned in the bibliography (chap. xxxiv) of the *History of the Sui Dynasty*. Possibly the author meant to put it in as a treatise on the Five Elements, but realized that this was a mistake, without however, remembering to repair his error by entering it among Taoist books. It duly appears, however, in the bibliography of the old T'ang History as—

周 易 參 同 契 Chapter 2.

周 易 五 相 類 Chapter 1.

"*The Ts'an T'ung Ch'i* of the Chou dynasty *Book of Changes*";
"*The Five Elements Resembling one Another* of the Chou dynasty *Book of Changes*."

As the heading of the titles implies, the work is here accepted as a study of the *Book of Changes*, and it is catalogued as a treatise on the Five Elements. Finally, in the tenth century it was divided into ninety sections or paragraphs and commented upon by P'êng Hsiao 彭曉.¹

(d) *The Style of the Ts'an T'ung Ch'i*.

Attempts are sometimes made to date texts of this kind by the rhyme-system used in verse portions. This is dangerous. We know, for example, that in the T'ang dynasty at least three rhyme systems were used concurrently: (1) an intentionally archaic one with an approximation to the rhymes of the *Book of Odes*; used in eulogies, etc., written in four-syllable verse; (2) the rhymes of "Old Poetry" 古詩, songs, etc.; (3) the strict rhyme-system of the T'ang dynasty. The opinion of the great Chu Hsi (1130-1200) upon the *Ts'an T'ung Ch'i* has often been quoted: 參同契文章極好. 蓋後漢之能文者爲之. 其用字皆根據古書. 非今人所能解.²

"The *Ts'an T'ung Ch'i* is from the literary point of view very well written and would actually seem to be by some capable writer of the

¹ Taoist Canon, Wieger No. 993.

² *Chu Tzu Yü Lei*, Bk. 125.

Latter Han period. It contains frequent allusions to ancient books, and these make it hard for a modern reader to understand."

It is very difficult to know how much value should be attached to this judgment. Chu Hsi was not primarily a literary critic or historian of style. Again, Liu Chên-wēng 劉辰翁,¹ more of a specialist in these matters, says: 古書惟參同契似先秦文 "Of old books only the *Ts'an Tung Ch'i* has a style resembling that of pre-Ch'in works." It is not clear whether Liu actually means to imply that the book is a Chou Dynasty work, or merely that it is a successful imitation of Chou style. Against these two views may be set that of the Catalogue of Ch'ien Lung's Four Libraries, which for very inadequate reasons places the book at the end of T'ang.

At the present point in our inquiry there seems no reason to doubt that the *Ts'an Tung Ch'i* we now possess was written under the pseudonym Wei Po-yang, in the second century A.D.

But certain difficulties arise when we discuss the next great figure in the history of Chinese alchemy:—

4. *Pao P'u Tzu*

(a) This is the pseudonym of Ko Hung (c. A.D. 260–340), and it is by this name that his principal book is known. It is divided into two parts. The "exoteric", which deals with Confucian topics, does not here concern us. The esoteric contains, besides scattered references to alchemy, a whole book (chap. iv) devoted to the Philosopher's Stone 金丹, and another book (part of chap. xvi) dealing with the manufacture of gold and silver. But before discussing the contents of Ko Hung's book we must deal with its bearing on the problem of the *Ts'an Tung Ch'i*.

(b) *Pao P'u Tzu* and the *Ts'an Tung Ch'i*

In *Pao P'u Tzu* the *Ts'an Tung Ch'i* is never mentioned. This is a singular fact. As we have seen, Ko Hung knows Wei Po-yang, the supposed author of the *Ts'an Tung Ch'i*, as an "ancient sage". In the list of Taoist works at the end of *Pao P'u Tzu* (recording over eighty volumes; the earliest bibliography of this kind) Ko Hung (xix, 4 verso) mentions a *Nei Ching* 內經, "Inner Book" of Wei Po-yang; but not the *Ts'an Tung Ch'i*. Nor is the latter ever mentioned throughout the book.

¹ End of thirteenth century, quoted in *Taoist Canon*, Wieger, No. 990, preface.

This brings us back to the *Shên Hsien Chuan*,¹ which work purports to be by the same author as *Pao P'u Tzu*. In the preface to the *Shên Hsien Chuan* Ko Hung says that he wrote it *after* composing the esoteric chapters 內篇 of *Pao P'u Tzu*. At the end of the exoteric chapters (l. f. 10 verso, l. 9) is an autobiography, the fullest document of this kind that early China produced. Here Ko Hung mentions as one of his works a *Shên Hsien Chuan* in ten chapters. It has been pointed out as an inconsistency that in the preface to the *Shên Hsien Chuan* Ko Hung should say that he wrote it later than *Pao P'u Tzu*; while in *Pao P'u Tzu* the *Shên Hsien Chuan* is already mentioned. A simple solution would be to suppose that Ko Hung wrote first the esoteric chapters, then the *Shên Hsien Chuan* and then the exoteric chapters.

If we accept that Ko Hung is actually author of both works, we shall have to assume that at the time he wrote the Esoteric chapters he was unacquainted with the *Ts'an T'ung Ch'i*; whereas when he wrote the *Shên Hsien Chuan* he had at last become familiar with it.

But did Ko Hung really write the *Shên Hsien Chuan*? If we confront similar passages from it and from the undoubtedly authentic *Pao P'u Tzu* it becomes hard to believe that both are by the same hand. Take the story of Ch'êng Wei, quoted above.² Not only is the style strangely different, but the *Shên Hsien Chuan* version is so meagre and so incompetently told that one doubts whether the author of it is even trying to pass himself off as Ko Hung.

It seems indeed likely that the *Shên Hsien Chuan*, though a work of the fourth century, was merely an anonymous series of Taoist biographies, which some mistaken person labelled as Ko Hung's *Shên Hsien Chuan* and divided into ten chapters.

e. But Ko Hung's ignorance of the *Ts'an T'ung Ch'i* still remains explicable.

It would, of course, be an anachronism to expect in an ancient Chinese author the same bibliographical completeness that we demand in a modern scholar. But that a writer so encyclopædic should ignore a work of such importance, dealing with a subject in which he was an hereditary specialist,³ is difficult to believe. It becomes necessary,

¹ Biographies of Taoist divinities and adepts.

² *Shên Hsien Chuan*, vii. Biography No. 3.

³ For the line of succession by which Ko Hung claimed to inherit his alchemistic knowledge, see below, p. 12.

therefore, to consider whether it is certain that Yü Fan, writing in the third century, really refers to the *Ts'an T'ung Ch'i* as we know the book to-day. Is it not possible that the work was originally an exposition of the *Book of Changes* and that some time after *Pao P'u Tzu* and before the *Shên Hsien Chuan* (say, in the latter part of the fourth century) someone doctored the text so as to make it serve as a work on alchemy? The actual number of insertions necessary for this purpose would have been very small. The first third of the work is purely cosmological. References to the firing of metal in a furnace are not necessarily concerned with alchemy; the principle that "fire conquers metal" belongs to the speculations of the cosmologists (五行家), as does the identification of the five metals with the five planets. The only one of the 90 sections which is clearly and indubitably concerned with the Elixir is the thirty-second:—

If even the herb *chü-shêng* 巨勝 can make one live longer,
Why not try putting the Elixir 還丹¹ into the mouth?
Gold (金) by nature does not rot or decay;
Therefore it is of all things most precious.
When the artist 術士 (i.e. alchemist) includes it in his diet
The duration of his life becomes everlasting . . .²
When the golden powder enters the five entrails,
A fog is dispelled, like rain-clouds scattered by wind.
Fragrant exhalations pervade the four limbs;
The countenance beams with well-being and joy.
Hairs that were white all turn to black;
Teeth that had fallen grow in their former place.
The old dotard is again a lusty youth;
The decrepit crone is again a young girl.
He whose form is changed and has escaped the perils of life,
Has for his title the name of True³ Man.

Apart from this paragraph, the number of passages that are incapable of interpretation except as disquisitions on alchemy is very small.

¹ The *huan tan* or "returned cinnabar" is the cinnabar that by the process of alchemy has been "returned" or restored to its first nature.

² I omit a couplet which does not occur in all versions of the text, and seems irrelevant.

³ "True," of course, in the sense of purified, freed from dross. Metals subjected to the purifying processes of alchemy also become "true".

(c) *Ko Hung's Line of Transmission*

Ko Hung claims to have received the secrets of alchemy from a certain Chēng Yin 鄭隱. Chēng Yin learnt from Ko Hsūan 玄, Ko Hung's great-uncle. Finally, Ko Hsūan learnt from Tso Tz'u, 左慈,¹ about A.D. 220. It is at this point that, mundanely speaking, the line of transmission begins. For Tso Tz'u received his initiation, in the early years of the third century, from a "deity" 神人. To Ko Hung's great-uncle Tso Tz'u passed on three books: *The Alchemy Book of the Great Clear One* 太清丹經, *The Alchemy Book of the Nine Tripods*, and *The Gold Juice* ² *Alchemy Book* 金液丹經.

(d) *The distinction between Chin Tan 金丹 and Huang Po 黃白*

The fourth book of the esoteric chapters of *Pao P'u Tzu* treats of two forms of elixir, the "Golden Cinnabar" or Philosopher's Stone, and the Gold Juice. The first method involves a variety of ingredients which may be procurable in times of peace; but when war interrupts communications, this method becomes impossible (iv, 17 verso, l. 2). The Gold Juice method is much simpler; but it is very expensive. Ko Hung reckons that it costs 50,000 cash to make an Immortal in this manner.

From these two practices Ko Hung sharply distinguishes the art of Huang Po (yellow and white); i.e. the art of transmuting the baser metals into gold and silver, without any ulterior notion of attaining to better health, longevity, immortality or the like. The two branches of alchemy, though apparently so rigidly divided by Ko Hung, do not appear to belong to a different line of transmission. For he tells us that his teacher Chēng Yin practised *Huang Po* with Tso Tz'u, and that they never had a single case of failure. By this method not only lead but also iron was changed into silver.

All these practices (the exact nature of which, as in all literature of this kind, is most inadequately revealed) were, of course, accompanied by preliminary fasting, sacrifice, driving away of the profane, etc.

"Even a doctor," says Ko Hung in an interesting passage,³ "when he is compounding a drug or ointment, will avoid being seen by fowls, dogs, children, or women . . . lest his remedies should lose their

¹ Biography in *Hou Han Shu*, chap. 112. No mention of alchemy.

² This expression exactly corresponds to the χρυσολύμας of Zosimus.

³ iv, 19 recto, l. 3.

efficacy. Or again, a dyer of stuffs is in dread of evil eyes; for he knows that they may ruin his pleasant colours."

(c) *Pao P'u Tzu's attitude towards Alchemy*

Nowhere in Pao P'u Tzu's book do we find the hierophantic tone that pervades most writings on alchemy both in the East and in the West. He uses a certain number of secret terms, such as 金公 "metal-lord" and 河車 "river chariot", both of which mean lead; and 河上蛇女 "the virgin on the river", which means mercury; 朱兒 "the red boy", which presumably means cinnabar; and finally 金人 "the golden (? metal) man", of uncertain meaning.¹ But his attitude is always that of a solidly educated layman examining claims which a narrow-minded orthodoxy had dismissed with contempt. He condemns those who are unwilling to take seriously either "books that do not proceed from the school of the Duke of Chou or facts that Confucius has not tested". Sometimes, indeed, he is entirely credulous, as when he accepts (iv, f. 2 recto, l. 4) the story that Tso Tz'u received the text of the alchemic work 金丹仙經 from the hands of a divinity 神人. But on the preceding page he is pointing out, quite in the manner of twentieth century sinology, that the *Tao Chi Ching* 道機經 attributed by the Taoists to Yin Hsi (seventh century B.C.) was in reality by Wang Tu, an obscure writer of the third century A.D.

A belief in the possibility of manufacturing gold was, given the circumstances of the time, perfectly sane and reasonable. In many instances products of the West that on their arrival in China were at first mistaken for natural substances, had recently turned out to be manufactured. Thus glass, at first supposed to be a kind of crystal, was now actually being made in Southern China: 外國作水精碗實是合五種灰以作之. 今交廣多有得其法 "The 'crystal' bowls from abroad are really made by compounding five sorts of ashes; and to-day this method is being commonly practised in Chiao and Kuang" (i.e. parts of the modern provinces of Kuangtung, Kuanghsi and the neighbouring portion of Annam). Again, seeing the white "foreign powder" 胡粉 used as a cosmetic, the Chinese were at first unaware that it was made from lead. But to ignorant people, says *Pao P'u Tzu*, the mere fact that gold exists in nature, irrationally suggests that it cannot be artificially compounded.

¹ Cf. the χρυσόσθραππος of the Greek alchemists.

5. Alchemy from the fifth to the tenth century.

T'ao Hung-ching (Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, No. 1896) who was born in 451 or 452 and died in 536, was a prolific writer on Taoist subjects, and was in later times regarded as an important alchemist. But in his existing writings there are only fleeting allusions to alchemy. There is, however, in one of his books (the *T'eng Chên Yin Chüeh*, Wiegner, No. 418) an interesting reference to foreign astrology: 此外法皆如何奴外國歷意 "These exoteric methods [speaking of certain loose methods of determining a man's destiny by the date of his birth] are all much the same as the astronomical notions of the Hsiung-nu (Huns) and other foreign countries". Alchemy in China as elsewhere is closely bound up with astrology, and if the Chinese were in the fifth century in contact with foreign astrology they were, it may be assumed, in a position to be influenced by foreign alchemy.

For the centuries that follow (sixth to ninth, the period covered by the Sui and T'ang dynasties) we have plenty of anecdotes, but an almost complete lack of datable literature. It is, strangely enough, in Buddhist literature (*Takakusu Tripitaka*, vol. xlvi, p. 791, col. 3, Nanjio, 1576) that we find our most definite landmark. Hui-ssü (517-77) second patriarch of the T'ien-t'ai Sect, prays that he may succeed in making an elixir that will keep him alive till the coming of Maitreya. He will thus escape the stigma of having lived only in a Buddha-less "between-time".

The wizard Ssu-ma Chêng-chên, who died at an advanced age c. 720, had a great reputation as an alchemist; but his surviving works deal with other subjects. One of the few works on alchemy which may with certainty be accepted as T'ang is the *Shih Yao Êrh Ya* (Wiegner, No. 894), a dictionary of alchemical terms, by a certain Mei Piao. Internal evidence, such as the mention of Ssu-ma Chêng-chên, shows that the book is at least as late as the eighth century. I should feel rather inclined from the general tone and style, to place it in the ninth. Several obviously foreign terms are given. Thus for 雄黃 (arsenic sulphide) an alternative name is 迄利迦.¹ There is also a reference to an alchemical treatise called 胡王治葛論 "Treatise of the Hu (Central Asian) King Yakat (Yakaθ or the like)".²

¹ *Xiθ li-ka* = Sanskrit, *Hirika* "The Yellow One".

² 治葛 or 野葛, also called 胡蔓草 "the foreign creeper", is a poisonous plant, identified with *gelsemium elegans*. The sound of the Hu king's name evidently recalled to the Chinese the sound of this plant-name.

The Problem of Lü Yen (Lü Tung-pin) and his Teacher Chung-li Ch'uan

The second of these two is purely mythical. Lü Tung-pin (as he is usually called) tends to materialize in the ninth century. But of the numerous works attributed to him some are admittedly "spirit-communications", conveyed to the world by planchette long after his death; others (such as the numerous tractates included in the Taoist Canon) are obviously works of a much later date. It might have been hoped that the Tun-huang finds would have furnished us with datable texts; but so far as I know there are no alchemistic works either in the Stein or in the Pelliot Collection.

It is in the tenth century that we are again on firm ground and from then onwards we can follow the history of Chinese alchemy continuously. Our great landmark is P'êng Hsiao's commentary on the *Ts'an Tung Ch'i* (Wieger, No. 993). P'êng Hsiao 彭曉 lived during the close of the ninth and the first half of the tenth century. In his works¹ we again meet with the distinction (already made by Hui-ssü) between *exoteric alchemy*, which uses as its ingredients the tangible substances mercury, lead, cinnabar, and so on, and *esoteric alchemy* 內丹, which uses only the "souls" of these substances. These "souls", called the "true" or "purified" mercury, etc., are in the same relation to common metals as is the Taoist Illuminate or 真人 to ordinary people. Presently a fresh step is made. These transcendental metals are identified with various parts of the human body, and alchemy comes to mean in China not an experimentation with chemicals, blow-pipes, furnace, etc. (though these, of course, survived in the popular alchemy of itinerant quacks), but a system of mental and physical re-education. This process is complete in the *Treatise on the Dragon and Tiger* (Lead and Mercury) of Su Tung-p'o, written c. 1100²: "The Dragon is mercury. He is the semen and the blood. He issues from the kidneys and is stored in the liver. His sign is the trigram K'an 坎. The tiger is lead. He is bread and bodily strength. He issues from the mind 心 and the lungs bear him. His sign is the trigram Li 離. When the mind is moved, then the breath and strength act with it. When the kidneys are flushed then semen and blood flow with them."

¹ Besides Wieger's No. 993, see also Wieger, No. 1020, vol. 691, a treatise by P'êng entitled 內丹訣法 "Method of Esoteric Alchemy".

² *T'u Shu encyclopaedia*, xviii. 300.

In the thirteenth century alchemy (if it may still so be called) no less than Confucianism is permeated by the teachings of the Buddhist Meditation¹ Sect. The chief exponent of this Buddhized Taoism is Ko Ch'ang-k'eng 葛長庚, also known as Po Yü-chuan. In his treatise 修仙辨惑論² he describes three methods of esoteric alchemy: (1) the body supplies the element lead; the heart, the element mercury. Concentration supplies the necessary liquid; the sparks of intelligence, the necessary fire. "By this means a gestation usually demanding ten months may be brought to ripeness in the twinkling of an eye."

The comparison of alchemy to a process of gestation is, of course, common to East and West. The Chinese say that the processes which produce a human child would, if reversed, produce the Philosopher's Stone.³

(2) The second method is: The breath supplies the element lead; the soul 神 supplies the element mercury. The cyclic sign 午 "horse" supplies fire; the cyclic sign 子 "rat" supplies water.

(3) The semen supplies the element lead. The blood supplies mercury; the kidneys supply water; the mind supplies fire.

"To the above it may be objected," continues Ko Ch'ang-k'eng, "that this is practically the same as the method of the Zen Buddhists. To this I reply that under Heaven there are no two Ways, and that the Wise are ever of the same heart."

There were indeed excellent reasons why Zen Buddhism should have invaded Ko Ch'ang-k'eng's doctrines. His teacher, Ch'ên Nî-wan 陳泥丸, was a pupil of Hsieh Fu-ming 薛復命, who under the name Tao-kuang 道光 had formerly been a Zen monk.

The *Hsi yü chi* 西遊記 (Wieger, No. 1410) describes the journey of Ch'ang-ch'un, a Taoist of this same transcendental school, to Samarkand and even to a point near Kabul. The journey was made in obedience to the summons of Chingiz Khan, who had at that time conquered only part of northern China. This record is from the hand of Ch'ang-ch'un's disciple, Li Chih-ch'ang, who was also one of the party. The following conversation⁴ between Chingiz and the great alchemist, which took place in the summer of 1222,

¹ Japanese, Zen. Sanskrit, Dhyāna.

² *T'u Shu encyclopaedia*, xviii, 300.

³ See the 金丹就正篇, a treatise contained in the collection of Taoist texts *Fang Hu Wai Shih*.

⁴ Chap. i, fol. 29.

is the passage which chiefly concerns us: *Chingiz*: Have you any elixir of immortality to bestow upon us? *The Master*: "I have a means of protecting life,¹ but no elixir of immortality."

The Khan, we are told, "was pleased with his frankness."²

The interest of this purely mystical phase of Chinese alchemy is that whereas in reading the works of Western alchemists one constantly suspects that the quest with which they are concerned is a purely spiritual one—that they are using the romantic phraseology of alchemy merely to poeticize religious experience—in China there is no disguise. Alchemy becomes there openly and avowedly what it almost seems to be in the works of Böhme or Thomas Vaughan.

6. *The antiquity of Alchemy in China.*

It has been seen that literary references do not carry the history of alchemy in China beyond the first century B.C. This does not, of course, necessarily imply that it was unknown before that date. As a result of the Burning of the Books and of Confucian hostility to rival doctrines we possess only a small fragment of early Chinese literature. But if we are to take the term alchemy in its narrower sense—the attempt to compound gold out of baser substances—then it is certain that no such attempt was at all probable in early China, where gold was not until a comparatively late period³ regarded as particularly valuable either as a life-giving substance or as a medium of exchange.

Even in the first four centuries after Christ alchemy continues to occupy a very obscure place.⁴ This has been explained on the ground that the surviving histories of the period were written under influences that were hostile to Taoism. There is, indeed, a tendency to generalize from the example of later histories (such as the *New T'ang History* which is frankly anti-Buddhist and anti-Taoist), and to regard the Han histories, the histories of the Three Kingdoms, etc., as rigidly orthodox Confucian works. But these works are, in reality, far from ignoring Taoism and its magicians; and there is no reason to suppose there was any special prejudice against alchemy as opposed to magical practices in general.

¹ 衛生之道, i.e. means of warding off evil influences.

² The doctrines of Ch'ang-ch'un and his sect will be discussed in the introduction to a translation of the *Hsi Yu Chi* shortly to be published in the Broadway Travellers Series; for the moment, therefore, I say no more about him.

³ To fix the date is difficult owing to the surprising fact that there is in Chinese writing and vocabulary no word for gold. "Yellow metal," the usual periphrasis can also mean bronze.

⁴ See above, p. 5.

So far, in this section, I have been considering alchemy in its narrower sense. But it is more easily recognized in China (though everywhere true) that the idea of manufacturing gold is closely associated with a general attitude of early peoples towards life-giving¹ (and therefore commercially valuable) substances. In China, for example, the attempt to make gold went on simultaneously with the attempt to make artificially pearls, jade, and other "talismanic" substances.² The theory, stated far more definitely in China than elsewhere, is that these substances are impure when found in nature and need perfecting before their virtue can be assimilated, just as some food needs cooking; it being believed about life-giving materials in general that the most effectual way to utilize their power was to absorb them in the body.

Among the life-giving substances sought after by primitive people one of the earliest to attract the attention of modern observers was the red pigment so often found smeared on bones or deposited in graves. The commonest form of pigment used for such purposes is in Europe red ochre (peroxide of iron). "Among the prehistoric peoples of Kansu," says Dr. Black,³ "the practice of depositing red pigment with the dead" is widespread. Nor was it confined to prehistoric times. Mr. C. W. Bishop, in his paper⁴ on the bronzes of Hsin-ch'eng 新鄭, records the finding of red pigment both along with the human remains in this interment and on the objects associated with these remains. The Hsin-ch'eng bronzes are supposed to date from the sixth century B.C.⁵ The nature of the pigment used in the Kansu graves has not been investigated; but the Hsin-ch'eng tomb contained, as Pelliot⁶ expresses it, "des véritables boules de vermillon", that is, of cinnabar.⁷

This substance, however, was in China so valuable that it cannot at any time have been used except in the burials of important people. It is interesting also to consider the very common occurrence of the

¹ I mean, of course, "life-giving" for purely mystical reasons and when used according to the correct mystical procedure. The fact that cinnabar (for example) is actually a poison, is irrelevant.

² See, for example, Wiegner, 1020, chap. 71, No. 27, and chap. 75, No. 1 seq.

³ *The Prehistoric Kansu Race*, in Geological Survey of China Memoirs. Series A, No. 5, Peking, 1925.

⁴ *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, vol. viii, April, 1924.

⁵ See Wang Kuo-wei, *Shinagaku*, vol. iii, No. 9 (1924), p. 723.

⁶ *T'oung Pao*, 1924, p. 255.

⁷ An article in *Shina-gaku*, iii, No. 7 (1923), p. 563, uses the term 丹砂, which is equally decisive.

word in Chinese place-names (Tan-yang 丹陽, in Fukhien, Hupeh, Corea, etc.; Tan-lêng 丹稜 in Szechuan; Tan-t'u 丹徒 in Kiangsu). Are these the sites of ancient cinnabar mines, some of them already worked-out in historic times? Or does the word merely mean red? These are questions which are worth investigation. In any case, it is certain that cinnabar was one of the most important "life-giving" substances sought for by the ancient Chinese, and I would suggest that the formulæ of early Chinese alchemy are essentially receipts for compounding cinnabar. The idea that the object of making cinnabar was to use it as a charm for turning base metals into gold seems to me to be an afterthought, and one which was never properly assimilated. The chief object of alchemy remains always (till the art becomes purely abstract and esoteric) the production of the 神丹 "spirit-cinnabar," "magic cinnabar." An "alchemy" concerned merely with the fabrication of cinnabar no doubt goes back to very early times. When, towards the middle of the Chou dynasty, gold (under the influence of China's nomad neighbours to the north and north-west) began to take its place as the most valued medium of exchange, cinnabar could not remain the alchemist's final objective, and appended to his formulæ we find the statement: "When the cinnabar has been made, the gold will follow without further difficulty."

Thus alchemy in China is essentially a revival of stone-age notions (the life-giving power of red pigment, etc.) that had sunk to folk-lore level. The craftsman's magic¹ that surrounded the working of gold doubtless went back to a time when gold was, like cinnabar among the Chinese, a life-giving substance valuable for its own magic properties. It was natural that the Chinese should add gold to their hierarchy of life-giving substances, appending it to their alchemical processes as a sort of "super-cinnabar".

If now we go back again to the passage quoted at the beginning of this essay, we may analyze the various stages enumerated by the wizard Li Shao-chün as follows: (1) Sacrifice to the stove. (2) Summon spirits. These are precautions common to all metallurgic operations among primitive peoples. (3) Cinnabar changed into gold. Gold has already usurped the place of cinnabar as the most magical of substances. (4) Make vessels out of this gold and drink

¹ Among early peoples no technical operation is carried on without such magic, which is considered essential to success. The Chinese in learning how to work gold could not have failed at the same time to learn the magic observances with which among their teachers the working of gold was associated.

out of them. This describes how the magic power of the gold is to be absorbed into the system. (5) You will then increase your span of life and see *hsien* 仙 in the island of P'eng-lai. The *hsien* of P'eng-lai are always associated with herbal magic, and we are here branching off on to a totally different system of wizardry, familiar to us through early Chinese literature. This herbal magic seems, indeed, to have been the craft of the educated and ruling classes as opposed to the mineral magic that only gradually drifted up out of the realm of folk-lore. (6) You may then perform the sacrifices *fêng* and *shan*. Here we have branched off on to yet another line of magic—the mystic ritual of kingship, which is here superimposed on all the rest.

7. *Connection with Alchemy Elsewhere*

It has already been suggested that the introduction of gold into China involved not merely the importation of the substance itself or the knowledge how to work it, but also of the magical ideas connected with the craft. These ideas were super-imposed on the magical ideas connected with the native precious substances, such as jade and cinnabar. But how far did definitely alchemistic notions from abroad—that is, notions assuming the possibility of changing base metals into gold—affect the history of alchemy in China?

As is well known, the history of alchemy outside China begins with texts written in Greek at Alexandria, none of which seem to be older than the second century A.D. Some of these texts (though not, I think, the earlier of them) indicate that the art was introduced into Egypt by learned Persians, such as Ostanès, whom one may identify, if one will, with the historical person of that name. To the ancients of the classical world Chaldea was the home of astrology and magic; this is a judgment which our vastly greater knowledge of Babylonian literature enables us to confirm, and there is an antecedent probability that alchemy, a form of magic intimately connected with astrology, also had its origin in Babylon, or "Persia" as the ancients freely called the whole cultural realm from Mesopotamia to Turkestan. But until 1925 nothing had come to light in this region which could be interpreted as throwing any light on the origins of alchemy. In that year appeared Campbell Thompson's *On the Chemistry of the Ancient Assyrians*,¹ and this was immediately followed by an article

¹ The same texts were published almost simultaneously by Zimmern. Dr. Eiser's article in the *Chemiker Zeitung* was followed by others in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* and elsewhere. The details of the ensuing controversy do not here concern us.

Der Babylonische Ursprung der Alchimie, published in the *Chemiker Zeitung* (Nos. 83 and 86) by Dr. R. Eisler. The texts in question are said to date from the seventh century B.C. They are metal worker's formulæ, and as such they naturally involve the usual magic procedures. But they are not concerned with the making of gold, and will turn out, I think, when our knowledge of the subject is increased, to be typical of the formulæ that were inseparable from all primitive technicology. Whether they have at one point a special connection with what later turned into alchemy depends on the interpretation of the term *an-kubu* "divine embryo," and of the sentence in which it occurs. Campbell Thompson¹ translates, "Thou shalt bring in embryos . . . thou shalt make a sacrifice before the embryos", and Thureau-Dangin² explains that the *kubu* (embryo) is "une sorte de démon". But according to Dr. Eisler³ it is the minerals placed in the furnace that are technically referred to as "embryos", and he invokes the term *ἀνθρωπάριον* of the Greek alchemists, applied by them to the "issue" which proceeds from the mystic fusion of alchemic ingredients. This view has not, so far as I know, been supported by any Assyriologist. But the occurrence of the term "embryo" in connection with a magico-technical process at once recalls the widely-spread use of fetuses, embryos, child-corpses, and the like.⁴ I cannot help thinking that the *an-kubus* were something more particular than "une sorte de démon". It is likely enough that they were either dried fetuses such as were used by Indian magicians, or carven objects used to represent these. That alchemy was to some extent an atavistic revival of the circle of ideas to which the Campbell Thompson texts belong is undeniable. But I do not think that they can be regarded as belonging to the history of alchemy itself.

GREEK ALCHEMY

I have already referred to the rise of alchemy in Alexandria somewhere about the second century A.D. There is some reason for supposing that it had not been established in Egypt for any considerable time before the appearance of the earliest texts. Ancient Egyptian literature knows nothing of it, and it is wholly lacking in

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

² *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1922 (xix), p. 81.

³ *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, xli (1926), and elsewhere.

⁴ Particularly common in India. See Meyer's translation of the *Arthashastra*, p. 378, p. 649, etc.

the huge collection of magical texts published by Lexa in 1925.¹ Many of the so-called alchemistic texts are mere craftsman's formulae, accompanied by the usual element of magic. The making of gold out of common metals or the giving of a golden appearance to such metals is only one of the topics discussed. The aim of Greek alchemy remains wholly objective. It is the metals, not the practitioner, whose constitution is to be ameliorated. The *θεῖον ὕδωρ*, so far from conferring immortality or even better health, "slays all living things," τὰ ζῶντα νεκροῖ. Where, outside China, do we first meet with the idea of eating the product of alchemic fusion, of using it not merely as a healer of metals but also as a medicine for man? So far as I know this theory makes its first appearance in the *Rasaratnākara* of Nāgārjuna—the pseudo-Nāgārjuna, as one might say; for the author of the work used the name of the great Buddhist patriarch and reputed wonder-worker, just as Western alchemists used the names of Moses, Aristotle, Roger Bacon, and Thomas Aquinas. Alberuni, writing in 1031, places the alchemist "Nāgārjuna" about a hundred years before his own time. It has hitherto been assumed that alchemistic ideas can at an early period only have reached India from the West. Thus in his recent *History of Sanskrit Literature* (p. 460), Dr. Berriedale Keith argues that the *Arthasāstra* must be as late as the period of Greek influence because of its references to alchemy. It is hard, however, to see what connection there is between the very ill-defined *suvarna-pāka* (gold-making) of the *Arthasāstra* and the complicated network of theories that constitute Greek alchemy. The mere idea that gold might be manufactured was surely not confined to the Greeks. We have already seen that it existed in China in the first century B.C. I do not mean to imply that a Chinese influence on India existed at this early period. When, however, we find Nāgārjuna at a period corresponding to the Sung dynasty regarding quicksilver as an important element in alchemy and believing in the power of the "philosopher's stone" to protect and prolong life, we may reasonably ask whether at this period a direct influence² from China may not be possible.

In 648 the Chinese envoy Wang Hsüan-ts'ē, who between 643 and 665 fulfilled four missions to India, brought back with him to China a Brahmin named Nārāyanasvāmin, who won the confidence of the Emperor T'ai Tsung. The Brahmin was a specialist in

¹ *La Magie dans l'Égypte Antique*, 2 vols. text, 1 vol. plates. Goes down to the Coptic period.

² Dating, no doubt, from the preceding T'ang dynasty.

"Prolonging Life". We do not know what his means were, whether herbal or mineral. Some time before 657 he returned to India. But in 657 we find his patron Wang Hsüan-ts'ê petitioning the new Emperor (T'ai Tsung died in 649) not to let Nārāyanasvāmin go back to India till his elixir had been given a fair trial. Evidently, then, the magician had visited China for a second time. According to the *New T'ang History* and the *Yu Yang Tsa Tsu*, Nārāyanasvāmin died in Ch'ang-an. But a much earlier authority (the *Fang Shih Lun* of Li Tê-yü¹) says that the Emperor Kao Tsung sent him back to India, and this is supported by the *Old T'ang History*.

In 664-5 the Buddhist monk Hsüan-chao² was ordered by Kao Tsung to fetch from Kashmir another Indian magician, named Lokāditya (Lu-chia-i-to), who was supposed to possess the drug 藥 of Longevity. This Hindu was at the Chinese Court in 668; we do not know whether he stayed in China or returned to India.

Nārāyanasvāmin, if not Lokāditya, certainly returned at least once to India, and it is certain that while at Ch'ang-an he must have picked up from his Chinese confrères some notions of Chinese alchemy.

But the influence was not all in one direction; for we have seen³ a Chinese writer, probably of two centuries later, giving a Sanskrit name to the chemical, arsenic sulphide. That reactions of this kind—a definite give and take, went on between China and India during the T'ang dynasty is, I think, beyond doubt. A much more difficult question is the extent to which Chinese alchemy was influenced by that of other countries in the early centuries of the era; and this question is obviously complicated by the fact that we are far from certain whether in Central Asia, the most likely source of influence, alchemy at this time existed at all. We know that An Shih-kao, the famous Parthian translator of Buddhist scriptures, who worked in China in the second century, was also skilled in the magic and astrology of his own country. But whether he may have acted as a "carrier" of Iranian alchemy to China we do not know, for the simple reason that we are still uncertain whether such a thing as Iranian alchemy ever existed. The Central Asian king Yakat (Yakar or the like) to whose treatise I have already referred³ remains an enigma. It is probable, but not quite certain, that he proves the

¹ Quoted in the *T'u Shu* encyclopedia, xviii, 289, i, 16.

² See Chavannes, *Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes*, p. 21, and the new *Tripitaka* (Takakusu's edition), vol. ii, p. 2, col. 1 (No. 2066).

³ p. 14.

existence of a pre-Muhammedan alchemy in Central Asia. As to his nationality the name does not, to my knowledge, give us any clue. He may have been Eastern Iranian (Sogdian) or Turk. But after the Arabic Conquest the influence was, I believe, all from East to West. Further examination of Arabic alchemy will show, I am convinced, that it contains a vast element which it owes to China rather than to the Greek world. In particular the idea of the "philosopher's stone" as an elixir of life is a contribution of the Chinese. The second period of their influence was the time of the Mongol conquest. We have seen how the Chinese alchemist Ch'ang-ch'un visited Samarkand in 1221-2. Here he came in contact with the leaders of the Muhammedan community, and we cannot doubt that the teachings of a holy man, summoned from so great a distance by the Khan himself, made a considerable impression on the mysticism of Eastern Persia, just as the artists summoned to Persia by the Mongol Khans had a lasting influence on the pictorial art of the country. How soon this influence is reflected in Arabic literature I do not know. But it is manifest (travelling, no doubt, via the Arabs) in much of the mystic literature of our own Renaissance, in which the quest of the alchemist seems to have become purely subjective and internal.

LA THÉORIE DES GUṆA

Par J. PRZYLUŚKI

DANS la plus ancienne cosmologie védique, l'univers est partagé en deux zones : le monde d'en haut lumineux, ou monde des dieux (*devaloka*) ; le monde d'en bas sombre, ou monde des mânes (*pitṛloka*).¹ Cette conception dualistique, qui remonte sans doute à la période indo-iranienne, s'est développée dans l'Iran et y a pris un aspect théologique et moral : Ohrmazd, qui personnifie la lumière et le bien, s'oppose à Ahriman qui symbolise les ténèbres et le mal.

Dans l'Inde, l'ancienne cosmologie a bientôt été remplacée par une division de l'univers en trois mondes : ciel, atmosphère, terre ; et, comme l'a nettement établi Emile Senart, la théorie des *guṇa* est en relation avec cette série de trois mondes.

Le problème que je me propose d'examiner est le suivant : quelles croyances, quelles conceptions ont déterminé une nouvelle segmentation de l'univers et présidé à l'élaboration de la théorie des *guṇa* ?

* * * * *

La théorie des *guṇa* peut se résumer ainsi : tout être est formé de trois éléments : *sattva* (ou *tejas*),² *rajas*, *tamas*. Quand il a voulu rendre compte de cette conception, Oldenberg n'a pas manqué d'arguments.³ Il cherche d'abord l'origine du nombre trois dans les trois castes de la société aryenne, dans les mètres des hymnes védiques, dans le nombre des saisons. Il pense aussi aux trois mondes : Ciel, Atmosphère, Terre, dont le second a précisément donné son nom au second *guṇa* : *rajas*.⁴ Il rappelle en outre la relation, souvent mentionnée dans les textes, entre les *guṇa* et les couleurs : blanc, rouge, noir.

¹ Sur l'opposition du *pitṛloka* et du *devaloka* et sur son équivalent avestique, cf. Oldenberg, *La Religion du Veda*, trad. V. Henry, pp. 461-7. Sur la notion d'enfer à l'époque védique, cf. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, p. 409 (Bibliographie, *ibid.*, p. 409, n. 6). W. Kirtel (*Die Kosmographie der Inder*, p. 13), admet l'antiquité de la cosmologie dualistique dans l'Inde et, pour des raisons différentes de celles qui seront développées plus loin, conclut que le système ancien s'est modifié sous l'influence des idées babyloniennes. Pour les faits pehlvis, cf. Nyberg, *ZDMG.*, vol lxxxii, p. 219 et suiv.

² Sur l'identité *sattva* = *tejas*, cf. Senart, *Etudes Asiatiques*, ii, p. 287.

³ *Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus*, Göttingen, 1915 pp. 214-15.

⁴ Senart a montré que la théorie des trois mondes a dû exercer une influence décisive sur la formation de la théorie des trois *guṇa*, mais on doit reconnaître qu'il y a encore un large intervalle entre ces deux conceptions : l'univers est composé de trois mondes et tout être est formé de trois éléments.

Il signale les cosmogonies où s'oppose à l'*ātman* unique, un monde matériel formé de trois éléments fondamentaux : le Rouge-Eclat lumineux, le Blanc-Eau, le Noir-Nourriture.¹ Qu'à une certaine époque tous ces rapports aient été présents à l'esprit indien, rien n'est moins douteux. Mais, pour sentir un lien entre les trois *guṇa* et les autres triades de l'univers, il fallait déjà connaître les *guṇa*. C'est là toute la difficulté. *Atharva-Veda* x, 8, 43, nomme les trois *guṇa*. Mais nous n'avons aucune raison de reporter ce texte à une haute antiquité. La théorie des éléments fondamentaux de la matière apparaît brusquement dans l'Inde à la fin de ce qu'on est convenu d'appeler les temps védiques, et rien dans la littérature antérieure ne fait prévoir cette révélation. Il en est de même des cosmogonies : pour les plus anciens Indo-aryens, le monde, les dieux, tous les êtres sont une réalité donnée qu'on accepte sans en rechercher l'origine ; encore moins sait-on de quoi ils sont faits.

Oldenberg voulait expliquer l'Upaniṣad par le développement de la pensée indienne autonome. Puisqu'il n'a pas, de cette manière, découvert la source de la théorie des *guṇa*, nous devons la chercher ailleurs et par conséquent hors de l'Inde.

Plutarque, dont la documentation provient en partie de Théopompe et peut remonter ainsi au début du IV^e siècle avant notre ère, résume, au chapitre 46, la mythologie des Mages. Deux dieux rivaux se partagent le monde : Horomazes et Areimanios. Le premier est né de la Pure Lumière ; le second est issu des Ténèbres. Entre eux est Mitres, le Médiateur.

Horomazes, dans ce système, s'oppose à Areimanios, comme la pure lumière aux ténèbres. D'autre part on sait que, dans les religions iraniennes, Mithra est la Lumière du jour divinisée. Dans le système résumé par Plutarque, la Lumière pure étant identifiée à Horomazes, Mitres, le Médiateur, représente sans doute la lumière diffuse dans l'atmosphère. Il est intermédiaire entre la lumière céleste et les ténèbres du monde inférieur.

Ce qui frappe d'abord, c'est la remarquable cohésion du système iranien. Dans l'Upaniṣad, *tejas* est un éclat lumineux et chaud ; *rajas* désigne les eaux et *tamas* est la nourriture ; ce sont trois notions hétérogènes. Chez les Mages, les trois termes de la Triade se définissent par rapport à la lumière. Ohrmazd et Ahriman sont deux principes absolus et contraires : lumière pure et obscurité totale ; le premier

¹ Oldenberg n'est pas sans observer la confusion du texte de *Chândogya upan.* au sujet duquel je me suis expliqué précédemment (cf. *BSOS.*, vol. v, part. 3, p. 489).

est en haut, le second est en bas. Entre eux s'étend une zone de transition, l'atmosphère, où se succèdent la lumière du jour et l'obscurité.

La Triade des Mages, on le voit sans peine, s'enclave profondément dans le système religieux de l'Iran ; elle est en harmonie avec une mythologie, une cosmogonie¹ et une eschatologie ; elle est le complément d'un dualisme théologique et moral. Dans l'Inde, au contraire, la théorie des *guna* semble plaquée sur un édifice étranger. Elle n'a guère qu'une signification cosmologique ; elle est étrangère à la mythologie et à la morale, et les cosmogonies où elle s'exprime n'ont pas de racines profondes dans la tradition indienne. On peut donc se demander si les trois *guna* ne sont pas la transposition dans l'Inde d'une Triade divine analogue à celle de l'Iran.

* * * * *

Si la Triade : Ohrmazd, Mithra, Ahriman est à l'origine des *guna* indiens, il faut supposer, entre les croyances iraniennes et les conceptions indiennes, un stade intermédiaire où les trois *guna* se définissaient encore par rapport à la lumière. En d'autres termes, nous devons postuler un état ancien de la théorie où *tejas*, *rajas* et *tamas* ressemblaient encore à la Triade iranienne. Cet état n'est pas entièrement hypothétique ; sa réalité est prouvée par la signification des mots qui désignent les *guna*.

En ce qui concerne le premier terme, *tejas* "éclat lumineux et chaud" et le troisième, *tamas* "obscurité", point n'est besoin de commentaire. Reste *rajas*, qu'on peut également définir par rapport à la lumière. "Le thème indo-européen **reg-es-*", dit M. Meillet, désigne un espace sombre ; le représentant gr. *ἔρεβος* a été spécialisé au sens de "espace sombre souterrain", comme arm. *erek* au sens de "soir", et got. *riqis* au sens de "ténèbres" (gr. *σχότος, σχοτία*). Seul, le védique laisse apercevoir le sens ancien, ainsi RV., vi, 7, 7, où *rājāmsi* s'oppose à *divo rocand*. Le *rājaḥ* est plusieurs fois qualifié de *kṛṣṇam*, ainsi RV., i, 35, trois fois (2, 4 et 9). Dans l'*Atharva-Veda*, viii, 2, 9, on lit :

parāyāmi tvā rājasa
ūt tvā mṛtyōr apīpāram

"je te préserve de l'espace sombre (cette traduction est plus satisfaisante à tous égards que la traduction par "poussière" qui a été proposée), de la mort je t'ai sauvé." Pour désigner en grec

¹ Pour la cosmogonie correspondante, cf. *infra*, p. 32.

les espaces sombres qui avoisinent la terre, le nom d'action 'ἀήρ aurait été substitué à ἔρεβος qui avait pris un sens autre et plus restreint." ¹

Il semble que *rajas* devait désigner, à l'origine, par opposition à l'empyrée éclatant, le monde d'en bas relativement sombre, mais incomplètement obscur. Cette nuance s'est bien conservée dans arménien *erek* "soir"; elle permet sans doute d'expliquer d'autres sens de skr. *rajas* "poussière, brouillard, vapeur": la poussière suggère comme le brouillard une demi-obscurité. On conçoit dès lors que les théoriciens des *guṇa* aient choisi *rajas* pour désigner le monde intermédiaire où se mêlent la pure lumière et l'obscurité et qui s'oppose à la fois au ciel lumineux et à la terre obscure. A ne considérer que la stricte valeur des mots, les trois termes *tejas*, *rajas*, *tamas*, forment donc une série étagée comme la Triade iranienne et en opposition avec les *guṇa* traditionnels: *tejas* = chaleur—lumière, *rajas* = eaux, *tamas* = nourriture.

Partant de là, nous pouvons déjà expliquer une anomalie assez troublante: *rajas*, qui désigne un espace sombre en védique, correspond à la couleur blanche et à la clarté (*śukla*) dans la théorie des *guṇa*. C'est que l'atmosphère peut être considérée sous deux aspects: d'une part, elle est dépourvue de luminosité propre et s'oppose ainsi à l'empyrée; d'autre part elle est claire (*śukla*) lorsqu'elle est éclairée par le soleil et elle s'oppose ainsi à la terre compacte et obscure.

La comparaison que nous avons instituée entre le système religieux décrit par Plutarque et la théorie des *guṇa* éclaire donc certains aspects de la série *tejas*, *rajas*, *tamas*. Mais celle-ci ne se laisse pas entièrement ramener à des notions iraniennes. Les *guṇa* forment deux triades très différentes. Une première série: clarté, clair-obscur, obscurité présente d'évidentes analogies avec le système iranien et s'apparente ainsi à une cosmologie dualistique dont les pôles sont deux principes contraires: Ohrmazd-Lumière et Ahriman-Obscurité, avec au centre une zone intermédiaire où se mêlent ces deux principes et symbolisée par Mithra le Médiateur. La seconde série: éclat, eau, nourriture, traduit de tout autres conceptions: les trois termes qui la composent sont hétérogènes et ne se laissent pas ramener à la Triade iranienne. L'hypothèse d'une influence exercée par l'Iran sur l'Inde est donc insuffisante: elle ne permet tout au plus d'expliquer qu'un aspect de la théorie des *guṇa*. Il faut maintenant examiner si une influence

extérieure à l'Iran et à l'Inde ne rend pas compte des divergences constatées entre le système des Mages et la théorie des *guna*.

* * * * *

On sait l'importance de la triade dans les religions sémitiques. Puisque, dès l'époque védique, l'ancien dualisme indo-iranien tend à se modifier sous l'influence d'une cosmologie ternaire, on doit naturellement se demander si ces idées nouvelles n'ont pas une origine sémitique.

Entre accadien *assur* et indo-iranien *asura*, l'analogie est évidente. La relation que plusieurs savants avaient supposée entre ces deux termes a été récemment établie par Kretschmer d'une manière qui semble définitive.¹ La ressemblance, en effet, n'apparaît pas seulement dans les mots : elle éclate lorsqu'on compare le disque ailé d'Assur et le symbole d'Ahura Mazda tels qu'ils sont figurés sur les monuments. Ce fait capital suffirait à prouver qu'une influence sémitique a dû s'exercer à la fois sur les systèmes religieux de l'Iran et de l'Inde. Dans un mémoire récent *La Ville du Cakravartin*,² j'ai indiqué en outre un certain nombre d'arguments qui tendent à faire admettre l'hypothèse d'une influence sémitique sur l'ancienne civilisation indienne.

Ceci posé, l'apparition de la triade sémitique dans la cosmologie indienne paraîtra moins invraisemblable. Voyons si les éléments de la triade sont les mêmes à l'Est et à l'Ouest. Pour les auteurs des Upaniṣad, *rajas* correspond aux Eaux divinisées. D'autre part l'adage *annam pṛthivīlakṣaṇam* indique bien que par nourriture (*annam*) on entendait la Terre qui pourvoit à l'alimentation de l'homme et des animaux. La lumière enfin est l'attribut constant de la zone céleste. La série Eclat lumineux, Eaux, Nourriture, désignait donc trois puissances divinisées : Ciel, Eau, Terre. Ce sont précisément les éléments de la grande triade assyrienne : Sin (Ciel), Enlil (Terre), Ea (Océan).

La coïncidence n'est-elle pas fortuite ? On pourrait supposer que l'importance de l'élément eau a été suggérée aux Indo-aryens par le spectacle du monde et que, venus tardivement au contact de la mer, ils ont modifié leur cosmologie pour y faire entrer l'Océan. Je ne crois pas que cette conjecture soit exacte. Si des observations géographiques étaient à la base de la nouvelle cosmologie, l'élément eau

¹ Cf. WZKM., 1926, p. 15. Données bibliographiques dans Keith, *ibid.*, p. 13 et à l'index, s.v. Aššur.

² *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, Tome v, pp. 165-85.

aurait sans doute été placé au bas de la série, au dessous de la terre. C'est précisément ce qu'on constate dans les cosmologies bouddhiques. Probablement sous l'influence des populations allogènes, on voit tardivement se développer des représentations nouvelles : la terre est posée sur les eaux. Dans l'Upaniṣad, au contraire, l'élément eau s'insère entre le ciel et la terre et correspond à la zone moyenne du Cosmos : l'atmosphère. Cette conception n'est pas sans analogie avec certaines cosmologies babyloniennes où l'eau est l'élément primordial dans lequel baignent la Terre et le Ciel.

On pourrait encore supposer que la notion de l'atmosphère conçue comme le réceptacle des eaux a été suggérée aux Indiens par le climat de l'Asie des moussons. Toutefois, étant donné le caractère des spéculations sur les *guṇa*, il semble difficile d'admettre que des considérations d'ordre météorologique aient suffi à détourner les auteurs de l'Upaniṣad de la cosmologie védique. Le spectacle des réalités journalières ne saurait libérer les hommes de croyances séculaires ; la gnose nouvelle devait emprunter son prestige à une civilisation lointaine et fabuleuse. D'ailleurs, entre cette gnose et la science babylonienne nous n'allons pas tarder à discerner d'autres attaches.

Enfin, si la Triade cosmique s'était élaborée dans l'Inde à l'abri de toute influence étrangère, elle eût sans doute compris le Vent, car Vāyu est un des grands dieux de la mythologie védique et il remplit l'espace intermédiaire entre le Ciel et la Terre. On trouve au contraire l'équation : *rajas* = eau. Celle-ci a dû être posée, principalement, parce que l'Eau faisait partie de la Triade sémitique, accessoirement, parce que des faits d'observation courante permettaient de localiser au moins une partie des eaux dans l'atmosphère.

* * * * *

Pourquoi le mot *guṇa* sert-il à désigner la série *tejas, rajas, tamas* ? Oldenberg, sentant l'insuffisance des étymologies proposées avant lui, suggéra que les trois éléments des êtres avaient pu être comparés à trois fils tordus en un lien unique ; d'où l'emploi du mot *guṇa* "fil".¹ Cette ingénieuse explication n'est probablement qu'un jeu d'esprit ; pour qu'elle fût admise, il faudrait prouver qu'un lien formé de trois fils rouge, blanc, noir était une notion familière à l'esprit indien. Or de ceci nous n'avons pas le moindre indice.

Si la théorie des trois facteurs a passé de l'Iran dans l'Inde, la notion que traduit le mot *guṇa* peut avoir la même origine. Dans l'Avesta, *gaona* signifie "poil" et par extension "couleur de poil,

¹ Oldenberg, *Die Lehre* . . . , p. 214 et 353, n. 135.

couleur". Or, de même que rouge, blanc, noir sont les trois aspects du feu céleste, de l'espace éclairé et des ténèbres, le pelage des animaux domestiques peut également se ramener à ces trois couleurs fondamentales. Des pasteurs, à qui le bétail était la réalité la plus familière, pouvaient donc aisément comparer l'univers, soit à un troupeau contenant des animaux de tout poil,¹ soit à un animal bigarré. Dans les deux cas, le mot *gaona*, "poil, couleur" était susceptible de rendre exactement la diversité des éléments du grand Tout.

Un comparaison de ce genre est d'ailleurs faite explicitement dans le vers bien connu de *Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad* :

ajām ekāṃ lohitaśuklakṛṣṇām . . .

. . . une chèvre rouge-blanche-noire . . .

De l'avis de tous les interprètes, la Chèvre dont il est ici question est la matière, et les trois adjectifs qui désignent le poil de la bête se rapportent aux trois *guṇa*.

On est ainsi amené à supposer qu'à la fin de l'époque védique, le mot *guṇa* a été pris, au moins dans la langue philosophique, avec la même valeur qu'avait *gaona* en iranien.²

* * * * *

Si l'on va au fond de la théorie des *guṇa*, on découvre le postulat suivant : de même que l'univers est fait de trois parties : *tejas*, *rajas*, *tamas*, chaque objet, chaque individu est respectivement formé de trois éléments : *tejas*, *rajas*, *tamas*. Autrement dit, le microcosme est semblable au macrocosme. Ce postulat est à la base non seulement de la théorie des *guṇa*, mais de toute une philosophie. C'est un des principes fondamentaux de cette gnose qu'est l'Upaniṣad. C'est une des vérités majeures qui conduisent à la délivrance, car le salut consiste à rétablir, par la connaissance, l'harmonie entre l'univers et l'individu.

Il ne paraît pas douteux que l'origine de cette conception doive être cherchée dans des croyances étrangères à la plus ancienne religion védique.³ L'univers et les êtres sont identiques parce qu'ils procèdent également du Créateur.⁴ Or, on ne saurait trop insister sur ce point, tandis que le mythe de la création est un élément essentiel dans le système religieux babylonien, la croyance à un dieu créateur occupe

¹ Outre son sens originel, poil a aussi en français le sens de "couleur", comme le mot iranien *gaona*.

² J'ai étudié dans un mémoire distinct le rapport skr. *guṇa* : av. *gaona* et les questions qui s'y rattachent. Cf. *JRAS.* sous presse.

³ Jeremias, *Altorientalische Geisteskultur*, 2^{ème} edit., p. 27, veut que ces spéculations remontent à la civilisation sumérienne. Mais je ne vois pas qu'il l'ait démontré.

⁴ La créature est faite à l'image du Créateur : cf. Jeremias, *ibid.*, p. 87 et suiv.

une place infime dans la religion védique,¹ et n'atteint son plein développement que dans la doctrine des Upaniṣad.

Après avoir interprété la théorie des *guṇa* en fonction de l'univers statique et des représentations cosmologiques, il reste donc à éprouver la solidité de nos hypothèses par l'étude de la cosmogonie et du dynamisme de l'univers.

* * * * *

L'exposé de Plutarque relatif à la cosmogonie des Perses (chapitre 47) contient des éléments divers. On peut y distinguer trois fragments : a) Horomazes et Areimanios produisent le premier six dieux et l'autre six démons. b) Horomazes divise l'univers et place les étoiles sur la voûte céleste. c) Horomazes et Areimanios créent chacun vingt-quatre dieux.

Négligeons a) et c), qui sont proprement des théogonies, et examinons b) qui est une véritable cosmogonie.

Première phase : Horomazes se multiplie par trois ; ce dieu qui était un devient triple. J'entends par là que l'espace lumineux, indéfini, et par conséquent un, se divise en trois zones distinctes.

Deuxième phase : " Horomazes s'écarte du soleil d'une distance égale à celle dont le soleil se trouva écarté de la terre." Les trois zones de l'univers sont évidemment la région inférieure, souterraine, d'où toute lumière s'est d'abord retirée. Au-dessus, la région éclairée par le soleil est l'atmosphère ; c'est une zone intermédiaire entre la clarté pure du ciel et l'obscurité complète de l'enfer, c'est-à-dire que la Lumière pure s'en est finalement retirée tout comme la clarté du jour s'était retirée de la zone inférieure. Le Ciel est la troisième zone où s'est retiré Horomazes. C'est le séjour de la pure Lumière, de la clarté parfaite.

Troisième phase : Horomazes dispose les étoiles comme un ornement sur la voûte céleste² et place Sirius à leur tête.

L'enseignement qu'on peut tirer de ce fragment est d'accord avec ce que nous avait appris le chapitre 46 sur la mythologie des Mages. Puisqu'il existe trois grands dieux : Ohrmazd, dieu de la Pure Lumière, Ahriman, dieu des Ténèbres, Mithra, dieu de la clarté du jour et Médiateur, on pouvait inférer que ces trois Puissances président chacune à une région déterminée : ciel lumineux, terre obscure,

¹ Sur les dieux créateurs à l'époque védique, cf. Keith, *ibid.*, pp. 206-10.

² Pour une image analogue, cf. *Rg-Veda*, x, 82, 4 : " Comme on ornerait de perles un cheval sombre, ainsi les Pères ont paré le ciel d'étoiles . . . " (cf. *Rg-Veda*, vii, 76, 4 et x, 68, 11 ; Oldenberg, *Hymnen des Rg-Veda*, i, p. 313, et *Religion du Véda*, trad. V. Henry, p. 235).

atmosphère intermédiaire entre la pure lumière et l'obscurité. Le fragment *b*) du chapitre 47 confirme nettement ces inductions.

La cosmogonie iranienne exposée par Plutarque n'est pas sans analogie avec celle qui s'exprime dans les hymnes Rohita de l'*Atharva-Veda* (livre xiii). On admet généralement que Rohita "le Rouge" désigne le Soleil. Mais rien n'est moins certain. Ce qui est clair, c'est que le Rouge est le dieu créateur. Il a mesuré les espaces et produit le ciel et la terre. Dans *Atharva-Veda* xiii, 1, 25, le Rouge est distinct d'Agni-Soleil. Rohita ne peut donc être le Soleil. Ce qui a pu prêter à confusion, c'est que le Rouge et le Soleil sont deux puissances lumineuses et qu'à l'origine, le Rouge étant monté au ciel, son ascension est comparable à celle du Soleil. Mais dans la cosmogonie résumée par Plutarque, Ohrmazd également se retire au ciel qui devient son séjour.

Que la cosmogonie des hymnes Rohita soit fondée sur la triade, c'est ce qui ressort par exemple de xiii, 1, 45, où les trois divisions de l'univers sont le ciel, la terre et les eaux. Ailleurs (xiii, 1, 7), les trois termes de la triade sont le ciel, la terre et l'atmosphère. C'est dans l'espace originel que le Rouge, divin géomètre, a mesuré les mondes avec son cordeau (*tantu*).¹

De même que, dans le système iranien, l'aménagement du Cosmos est réalisé par une segmentation de l'espace et par l'ascension du Soleil et d'Ohrmazd qui s'écartent inégalement de la terre, ainsi, dans les hymnes Rohita, l'univers est partagé en trois zones : le Soleil et le Rouge s'élèvent du monde inférieur et Rohita fixe au ciel sa demeure.

S'il est vrai que le mythe de la création est étranger à la plus ancienne religion védique, ce n'est pas dans la communauté indo-iranienne que nous devons chercher l'origine des spéculations concernant la création de l'univers par Ohrmazd ou par Rohita. L'idée d'un dieu unique, architecte de l'univers, paraît s'être développée hors de l'Inde, probablement dans le monde sémitique. Les cosmogonies babyloniennes sont diverses et incomplètement connues. On peut du moins dégager l'essentiel : Marduk joue de bonne heure un rôle capital dans l'aménagement de l'univers ; plus tard, Assur lui succède. Nous sommes ainsi ramenés à l'équation Asura = Assur qui constitue l'un des pivots de notre recherche ; Ahura Mazda, l'Horomazes de Plutarque, n'est pas seulement l'homonyme de Assur ; il est aussi son héritier dans les fonctions de dieu créateur. Et si le même rôle est assigné dans l'*Atharva-Veda* à Rohita le Rouge, c'est sans

¹ Cf. xiii, 1, 6. Dans xiii, 1, 11, le Rouge siège au dessus du firmament (*nāba*), tandis qu'Agni-Soleil est en relation avec la troisième zone (*rajas*).

doute parce que la Lumière pure, feu céleste, est doué d'un éclat rougeoyant.

Ainsi l'étude des cosmogonies comme celle des représentations cosmologiques conduit à supposer d'anciennes relations entre les civilisations babylonienne, iranienne et indienne. Cette conclusion serait singulièrement fortifiée si l'on pouvait prouver que les mêmes variations s'observent dans l'Inde et hors de l'Inde. C'est de ce côté qu'il nous faut maintenant orienter notre recherche.

* * * * *

Les religions iraniennes sont encore mal connues : on entrevoit du moins aujourd'hui leur complexité. Il faut se méfier des solutions trop simples et se garder d'exagérer l'ancienne étendue du Zoroastrisme (Benveniste, *The Persian Religion*, p. 119). A côté de ce mouvement que nous révèlent les Gâthâs, d'autres courants fort importants restent dans l'ombre. En l'absence de témoignages suffisamment explicites et d'une chronologie sûre, on peut seulement dégager quelques indices positifs. Il semble que, dans les diverses régions de l'Iran, l'ancien polythéisme se soit peu à peu ordonné sous l'autorité, devenue despotique, d'un Dieu suprême. Il est vraisemblable que cette évolution s'est accomplie parallèlement à celle des institutions politiques et que la formation de l'Empire achéménide marque aussi une date dans l'histoire de la pensée religieuse. Ceci suffirait à expliquer l'avance de l'Iran sur l'Inde dans la spéculation théologique comme dans la réalisation d'un empire centralisé.

Aussi loin que nous pouvons remonter, la foule des divinités iraniennes apparaît déjà subordonnée à quelques dieux supérieurs : groupe de sept dieux mentionnés dans Hérodote, triade de Théopompe et Plutarque, couple de deux principes dans le dualisme pré-zervanite.

A une date qu'il est impossible de préciser, mais qui ne doit pas être éloignée de la réforme zoroastrienne, le monarchisme mythologique est partout en voie de réalisation. On y parvient de deux manières : dans certains systèmes, le dieu suprême est un des anciens grands dieux dont la puissance s'est encore accrue : tels sont Ahura Mazda dans le Mazdéisme et Mithra dans le Mithriacisme primitif ; ailleurs, la première place est attribuée à un dieu qui est une abstraction personnifiée, tel Zrvan dans le Zervanisme. Zrvan-akarana est le "Temps infini". Il est surtout caractérisé par le second terme : l'infini est son essence ; le temps n'est qu'une de ses modalités. Ainsi considéré, Zrvan est un des noms de l'Infini ; c'est le même dieu qu'Eudemus caractérise par le temps ou l'espace,¹ que les Mandéens

¹ Cf. Benveniste, *ibid.*, p. 113.

appelleront Roi de Lumière et qui s'introduit dans le Bouddhisme sous les noms de Amitâyus "Durée illimitée" et Amitâbha "Eclat illimité".

Le dieu infini marque un progrès de la spéculation par rapport à Ahura Mazda et à Mithra. En effet ces deux derniers ont un pouvoir limité par celui des autres grands dieux.¹ Cette limitation est surtout étroite dans le système dualistique où Ahriman, adversaire du dieu suprême, réussit souvent à lui faire échec. Le Dieu infini, au contraire, n'a ni auxiliaire ni rivaux. Cette conception si épurée pouvait satisfaire les meilleurs esprits et c'est probablement ce qui explique sa diffusion. Les grands systèmes iraniens se sont finalement teintés de Zervanisme, de même que la religion des peuples voisins, Grecs, Indiens, etc.

Nous pouvons, dès lors, suivre la trace des influences iraniennes dans l'Upaniṣad. J'ai montré, en un précédent article sur la *Loi de Symétrie dans la Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, que l'ancienne théorie indienne des *guna* semble avoir été complétée par l'adjonction d'un principe nouveau, le *tapas*, superposé à la triade : *tejas, rajas, tamas*. Or, tandis que les trois *guna* sont des éléments limités et qui s'équilibrent réciproquement, le *tapas* leur est extérieur et préexistant ; il est éternel et infini ; il est à la fois Temps, Espace et Energie créatrice. Le *tapas* est donc l'équivalent indien de Zrvan-akarana. De même que le dieu suprême iranien s'est finalement superposé à la Triade cosmique dont il est la Cause, le *tapas*, puissance infinie, engendre et contient les trois *guna* qui sont à la fois les trois éléments et les trois mondes.

L'analogie que nous avons constatée entre les trois *guna* indiens et les éléments de la Triade iranienne n'est donc pas une rencontre momentanée. Les variations que nous observons à l'Ouest se reproduisent à l'Est ; les conceptions religieuses de l'Iran et celles de l'Inde évoluent parallèlement ; tout se passe comme si l'influence iranienne s'était exercée sur l'Inde à plusieurs reprises. Si l'on veut comprendre le développement des idées religieuses depuis la rédaction des Brâhmaṇa jusqu'à celle des Upaniṣad, il faut sans doute tenir compte de l'action conjuguée des croyances sémitiques et iraniennes.

¹ J'admets volontiers, avec Maria Wilkina Smith (*Studies in the syntax of the Gathas*, p. 23 et suiv.) que, dans les *Gāthā*, les Aməša-Spənta sont "des aspects d'Ahura" et rien de plus. Mais il est douteux qu'une doctrine si élevée se soit imposée tout d'abord à un grand nombre d'adeptes. Et d'ailleurs cette doctrine est déjà presque parfaitement monothéiste. Elle est, à mon sens, la première manifestation, avant la lettre, de ce qu'on pourrait appeler la religion de l'Akarana.



THE TONYUKUK INSCRIPTION

Being a Translation of Professor VILHELM THOMSEN's final Danish rendering

By E. DENISON ROSS

THIS monument is found somewhat farther to the East than the two foregoing ones, about 48° N. and a little more than 107° W. of Greenwich, near a place said to have the name of Bain Chokto, between the Nalaikha post-station and the right bank of the upper waters of the Tola. The inscription is graven on two pillars that are still standing upright; on the first and larger of these the inscription starts on one of the narrow sides, the one turned to the West, and is continued round towards South, East, and North. On the other one, the inscription, which is a direct continuation of that on the larger stone, likewise begins on the West side, but here this is one of the broad sides. The latter stone is more weathered than the first, and the inscription from the very beginning not being here so carefully incised as on the other. On both stones the inscriptions are written in vertical lines as in the Orkhon inscriptions; but with this difference that while the lines in the latter read from right to left here they read from left to right.

Near the two pillars there is a stone sarcophagus and the foundations of a building; furthermore, there stand around the stones eight figures, evidently made by Chinese stone-masons, whose heads have all been knocked off; lastly, there are signs of the whole having been surrounded by an earth mound, which was open towards the East; and here begins a row of upright flag-stones, running for a length of about 150 metres. It is thus an arrangement like that of the Orkhon stones, only on a somewhat smaller scale.

The whole is clearly a monument over the tomb of the great Turkish statesman and general, Tonyukuk, who was active under the first two kagans after the restoration, and was still alive (at a great age) at the beginning of Bilgā kagan's government. It may thus probably date from the years round about 720. The very long inscription is drawn up by himself, and he himself speaks all through in the first person.

TRANSLATION OF THE TONYUKUK INSCRIPTION

(T) (T I W)

I, the wise Tonyukuk, was myself born to belong to the Chinese 1
 Empire, for the Turkish people at that time was under China; and 2
 [thought I] "may I not live to see the Turkish people [but] getting
 for itself a khan (?)". But they broke away from China, and got
 themselves a khan. They nevertheless again deposed their khan,
 and again submitted to China. Then Heaven may well have spoken 3
 as follows: "I had given thee a khan; but thou hast forsaken thy
 khan, and again submitted." As a punishment for this submission
 Heaven caused them to die; the Turkish people perished or languished 4
 and fell to ruin. In the [old] land itself of the united (?) Turkish
 people there was no longer any ordered community left. But they
 that had remained independent [literally: in wood and stone] joined
 together, and they numbered 700. Two-thirds of them were 5
 mounted, a [third] part was on foot. He that as chief led the 700
 men was the *shad*. "Join me," said he, and amongst those who joined
 him was I, the wise Tonyukuk. "Shall I make him [raise himself
 to be] kagan?" said I, and I thought: "If you want to distinguish 6
 afar off between lean bulls and fat bulls, you cannot say for certain
 whether it [in each case] is a fat bull or a lean bull." Thus did I
 think. Afterwards when Heaven gave me insight I compelled him
 [to become] kagan. "Let me then be Elterish kagan, since I have 7
 the wise Tonyukuk *boyla бага таркан* by my side." To the south
 he defeated the Chinese, to the East the Kitays, to the North the
 Oguzes in great strength. His fellow in wisdom and his fellow in
 renown was I myself. We were dwelling then in Chugay-kuzi and
 Kara-Kum.

(T I S)

We lived there, nourishing ourselves on big game and hares, and 8
 the people's mouth was filled. Our foes were all around like birds of
 prey (?) This was our situation. While we were dwelling there there 9
 came a spy from the Oguzes. These were the words of the spy:
 "Over the Tokuz-["Nine"] Oguzes people a kagan has set himself
 [as lord]," says he; "to the Chinese he is said to have sent Kuni
 sāngūn and to the Kitays Tongra Sāmīg [or Sām]; this is the message
 he is said to have sent: 'A few Turks would seem to have made 10
 a rising; their khan is said to be brave, and his counsellor is said to
 be wise. If these two men are left alive, they will slay you, Chinese,

say I ; to the East they will slay the Kitays, say I, and us the Oguzes they will slay, say I. So ye attack them, Chinese, from the South, 11 and ye, Kitays, attack ye them from the East ; I shall attack them from the North. In the united (?) Turks' land no lord must prosper. Let us, if so may be, destroy [such] a lord, say I.' " When I had heard 12 these words sleep came not to me by night, nor rest by day. Then I made representation to my kagan ; thus did I represent it to him : " If these three—the Chinese, the Oguzes, and the Kitays—combine, all will be over with us ; we are, as it were, fastened to a stone by the Will (?) of Fate. To bend a thing is easy while it is slender ; 13 to tear asunder what is still tender is an easy thing ; but if the slender thing becomes thick, it requires a feat of strength to bend it, and if 14 the tender thing coarsens, a feat of strength is required in order to tear it asunder. We must ourselves come to the Kitays in the East, to the Chinese in the South, to the Western [Turks] in the West, and to the Oguzes in the North with our own army of two or three thousand 15 men. How may that be done ? " Thus did I put it before him. My kagan deigned to listen to the representation which I myself, the wise Tonyukuk, did make unto him. " Take thou them as you may see fit," said he. We waded up Kök-Öng-[üg ?], and I led them to the Ötükän forest. With cows and beasts of burden the Oguzes came 16 along the Togla. Their army was (three thousand strong ?), we were 2,000 ; we fought and Heaven favoured us ; we cut them up, and they fell into the river or were slain in flight. Then came all the Oguzes [and submitted]. When they heard that I [had led] the Turkish 17 kagan and the Turkish people to the Ötükän land, and that I myself, the wise Tonyukuk, had settled in the Ötükän land, the peoples dwelling in the South, the West, the North, and the East came [to join on to us].

(T I E)

We were 2,000 ; we had two armies. The Turkish people—to 18 make conquests—and the Turkish kagan—to rule—had come unto the towns of Shantung and unto the sea, but had found destruction. I laid this before my kagan, and got him to take the field and to come 19 unto the Shantung plain and unto the sea. Twenty-three towns did he lay waste, and made his camp in Usin Bundatu (?). The Chinese Emperor was our foe, the kagan of the " Ten Arrows " [that is to say, of the Western Turks] was our foe ; further(more) (the Kirghizes' ?) 20 might(y kagan) became (our foe). These three kagans took counsel

together and said : " Let us meet in the mountain-forest of Altun," thus did they take counsel : " Let us move against the kagan of the Eastern Turks," said they ; " unless we move against him, he will unfailingly (?)—for (the kagan is brave and) his counsellor is wise—he will unfailingly (?) slay us. Let us all three united go off and destroy him," quoth they. The Türgish kagan spoke thus : " My people shall be there," said he, " (the Turkish people) is in disorder," (said he), " the Oguzes, their vassals, are stirred up," said he. When I heard this, no sleep came to me by night, and no rest came to me [by day]. Then thought I : if first we march against (the Kirghizes ? . . .), said I. When I heard there is but one road over Kogman, and that is was shut [by snow], I said : " It is no good our going that way." I then sought a guide and found a man from the far-away Az people. (. . .) " My land is Az," (. . .) there was a resting-place ; one can advance along by Ani (?). If you keep to it, you can go on with one horse at a time. When I heard this, I said and thought : " If we go this way, [the thing] is possible."

(T I N)

This laid I before my kagan. I made the army ready for the march, and ordered it to mount on horseback. Beyond Ak-Tärmäl I bade them gather together. Ordering them to mount their horses, I made a way for us through the snow. Then I bade them ascend on foot, pulling the horses after them, and holding fast by the trees [? or wooden staves ?]. So soon as the foremost men had trampled [the snow] down, I bade [the army] move forward and we crossed [the pass] Ibar (?). So with difficulty we climbed down. For ten nights [i.e. days and nights] we went on through the [snow] barriers on the mountain-side. As the guide had led us astray, he was cut down. While we were suffering want, the kagan said : " Try to ride on. This is the river Ani ; [let us] ride [along by it]." We rode thus down along this river. To take our numbers we bade them dismount and [meanwhile] tied the horses to trees. Both day and night we rode on at a gallop and fell on the Kirghizes while they were asleep, and opened [ourselves a way ?] with the lances. The khan and his army gathered together ; we fought and won. We slew their khan, and the Kirghiz people submitted to the kagan and gave in, and we went back again. We came over at this side of the Kögän mountain-forest, and turned back from the Kirghizes. From the Turkish kagan there came a spy ; these were his words : " 'Let us go forth with the

army against the Eastern kagan, he [i.e. the Türgish kagan] is reported to have said. 'If we do not go forth, he will—for the kagan 29 is brave, and his counsellor is wise—he will surely (?) slay us', [thus] he said. The Türgish kagan has now gone forth," said he [i.e. the spy]; "the men of the Ten Arrows have marched out to a man," says he, "and the Chinese too, have an army [ready]." Having heard these words, said my kagan: "I will go home in peace," said 31 he; now the katun was dead; "and I will hold her funeral," said he. "Do ye go on with the army," said he; "Stay in the Altun mountain-forest," said he. "Let Inäl kagan and Tardush shad go 32 forth at the head of the army," said he. But me, the wise Tonyukuk, he commanded as follows: "Do thou lead this army," said he; "inflict on them [i.e. the Western Turks] such punishment as thou thyself findest good. What [else] shall I entrust to thee?" said he; "when they are on their way coming, then send [the spy ?] [to me]; if they do not come, then stay quietly and collect information and tidings," said he. So we lay in the Altun mountain-forest. There 33 came in haste (?) three spies; their tidings were all alike: "Their kagan has set out with the army, and the army of the Ten Arrows has set out, all to a man," they say; they said, it would seem: "Let us gather together on the Yarish plain." Having heard these words I sent the kagan a message about them. From the khan there came back a message: "Stay there quietly," he had said: "do 34 not ride away, keep a good watch (?), do not let yourselves be taken by surprise." Such was the order Bögü kagan sent me. But to Apa tarkan [i.e. the head-commander] he sent a secret message. "The wise Tonyukuk is fickle and self-willed. He will say: 'Let 35 us march off with the army,' but do not do his will." Having heard these tidings, I ordered the army to march, and I climbed over the Altun mountain-forest where there was no road, and we crossed the River Irtish where there was no ford. We continued [our march] by night, and reached Bolchu well on in the morning.

(T 2 W)

A spy was brought in; his words were as follows: "On Yarish 36 plain there has now gathered an army of 100,000 men," he says. When they heard these words all the begs said: "Let us turn back; 37 for the pure, humility is best." But I say as follows, I the wise Tonyukuk: "We have now come hither after having crossed 38 the Altun mountain-forests, we have come hither after having crossed

the river Irtysh. The [foes] who have advanced hither are brave, I have been told; but they have not noticed us. Heaven and Umay and the holy Yer-sub must out of regard for us have struck them [with blindness]. Why should we flee? Why should we be afraid at their being many? Why should we be overwhelmed through being few? Let us attack!" said I. We attacked and plundered [the camp]. The next day they came rushing hotly forward like a steppe fire, and we fought. Their two wings were about half as many again as ourselves. By the favour of Heaven we had no dread at their being many. We fought, and following Tardush shad, we scattered them and took the kagan a prisoner; their yabgu and shad they slew there; we took half a hundred men prisoners. The same night we sent round a message to their peoples. After having heard these tidings the begs and the people of the Ten Arrows came and submitted. Having gathered together and marshalled those of the begs and the people that had come [to join with us], and as a few of the people had fled, I bade the army of the Ten Arrows to march out, and we ourselves marched out, and we followed them up. After crossing Yenchü-ügüz ["the Pearl River"] (—) the mountain Tinäsi-ogli-yatigma-bängligäk (—?).

(T 2 S)

As far as Tämirkapig ["The Iron Gate"] we followed them up; there we made them turn back. To Inäl kagan (. . .) there came the whole Sogd people with Suk (?) as leader and submitted. Our forefathers and the Turkish people had [in their time] reached Tämirkapig and the Tinäsi-ogli-yatigma mountain, where [at that time] there was no lord. As I now had brought [our army] to this land, it carried home the yellow gold, and the white silver, maidens, and girls, -(?) and precious things in profusion. Because of his wisdom and his bravery Eletrish kagan fought seven times with the Chinese, seven times with the Kitays, and five times with the Oguzes. I it was who was there his counsellor, I that was his war-leader. To Elterish kagan, the Turkish Bögü kagan, the Turkish Bilgä kagan (—).

(T 2 E)

Kapagan kagan (. . .). Without getting sleep by night or rest by day, and shedding my red blood, and sweating my "black" sweat, I have give up to them by toil and my strength, and so, too, I have sent them forth on far expeditions. The Arkuy-Karagu

[? guard ?] I have made great ; a withdrawing foe I have (. . .) ;
 I have caused my kagan to take the field. By Heaven's grace I have 54
 not let any armour-clad foe ride among this Turkish people, or any
 horse with bearing rein (?) gallop around. If Elterish kagan had not
 toiled, and if I myself, following him, had not toiled, there would 55
 not have been any kingdom or any people. Since he toiled, and since
 I myself, following him, have toiled, both the kingdom has become
 a kingdom, and the people a people. Now I myself am grown old, 56
 and am far advanced in years. But should a people, ruled by a kagan
 in any land whatever, have only worthless men [at its head] what a 57
 misfortune would it not be for it. For the Turkish Bilgä kagan's 58
 people I have had this written. I the wise Tonyukuk.

(T 2 N)

If Elterish kagan had not toiled, or if he had never been, and if 59
 I myself the wise Tonyukuk, had not toiled or had never been, in
 Kapagan kagan's and the united (?) Turkish people's land both 60
 community and people and men would have been without a lord.
 Since Elterish kagan and the wise Tonyukuk have toiled, Kapagan 61
 kagan and the united (?) Turkish people have flourished, and this 62
 [present] Turkish Bilgä kagan rules for the good of the united (?)
 Turkish people, and Oguz people.

ETYMOLOGY OF THE JAPANESE WORD FUDE

By S. YOSHITAKE

IN the last fifteen hundred years the Japanese have borrowed thousands of Chinese words and idioms, which have eventually brought the Japanese language into a state of utter confusion. Such borrowing, it would seem, had its beginning some centuries before its remarkable development in the fifth century A.D., which may be called the period of demarcation dividing the Chinese loan-words into two classes, the early loans and the later, each having certain phonetic characteristics.

The early loan-words, which, unlike the vast majority of their later confrères, seem to have been thoroughly naturalized already in the seventh century A.D., attracted the attention of the English sinologist, E. H. Parker, in the 'eighties, but the investigation has since then been discarded almost entirely because of the insufficiency of knowledge possessed of the ancient phonetic values of the Chinese characters.

However, thanks to the untiring labour of Karlgren, Maspero, Simon, and other sinologists, we are now in a more favourable position for an inquiry into the early relationship between the two languages, and the problem has since been taken up afresh by Karlgren himself, who, in his most interesting little book *Philology and Ancient China*, suggests twenty-two Japanese words as probable early loans from Chinese.¹ Of these I need only quote a few that have direct bearing upon the present subject.

JAPANESE	PEKINESE	ANCIENT CHINESE
ie (< ipe) "house" = 邑	i	iap "town, village".
ine, šine, "rice" = 秬	sien	šiān "rice" (of a certain kind).
take "bamboo" = 竹	chu (= tšu)	t'iuik "bamboo".
fune "vessel" = 盆	p'ên	b'uan "vessel".

The words thus compared by Karlgren show remarkable similarities both phonetically and semasiologically, and hence a high degree of probability of borrowing, but there is, nevertheless, room

¹ B. Karlgren, *Philology and Ancient China*, Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning, Oslo, 1926, pp. 119-39.

for a careful examination. Indeed, the whole problem is not so simple as it appears at first sight. Take, for example, the word *ihe* (now pronounced *iyā*, *iā*) "a house". This Japanese word, the ancient sound of which is given by Karlgren as *iþe*, but may well have been *iþā*, could equally be a native word, closely akin to Turkish *āβ* (or *āv*?, Orkhon), *āp* (Uighur), *āv* (Osmanli), etc., "a house."¹ There are, therefore, at least three possibilities: (1) that the Japanese word under consideration may be a Chinese loan, as Karlgren suggests; (2) that it may likewise be a native word going back to the same origin as the Turkish *āv*, etc.; (3) that the Turkish form may be the prototype of the Japanese *iþā*, or vice versa. However that may be, it is sufficiently clear that the final vowel of the word *ihe* was originally neither *-e* nor *-ā*, but was something resembling *ā*, which was later changed into *-ā* through the absorption of the particle *i*.² The original vowel *-a* has been preserved in the words *ihabito* "people of the house", *ihato* "a cave", *iharo*, *ihori* "a hut", whilst the word *iha* has been handed down to us in the sense "rock". To judge from these variants, it is quite possible that the original meaning of the word *ihe* "a house" is "rock, cave".

As a further example, let us consider the word *ine* "rice-plant", which Karlgren seems to derive from *sine*. The peculiar feature of the form *ine* (we do not know whether this word was actually pronounced *sine* in the eighth-century Japanese language) is that there is no trace of its independent use; it always occurs as the *second* element of compound words in exactly the same way as the word *ame* "rain" is found in the form *-same* in *kosame* "drizzle", *harusame* "the spring rain", and in a few more compounds. Whether there was, as Karlgren seems to suppose, a phonetic change *s- > χ- > 0* in Archaic Japanese we do not know, although a similar change in an intervocalic position, i.e. *-s- > -χ- > 0*, has actually taken place in historic times (linguistically speaking). If we assume for the moment that the phonetic change from *s-* to zero did take place in the remote past, we

¹ The same argument applies to Karlgren's etymology of the Japanese word *natsu* "summer", which he believes to be a Chinese loan: Ancient Chinese *śīāt* < *śīat* 熱 "hot". But before arriving at a decision we must take into consideration the Common Turkish *yaz*, Osmanli *yaz*, Chuvash *śu*, Yakut *ari*, Mongol (Buriat) *nañir* "summer" and Korean *nyōrim* "summer, crop". If these terms are truly cognate with the Japanese *natsu*, the latter is in all probability nearest to their common parent.

² S. Yoshitake, *The History of the Japanese Particle "i"*, BSOS., vol. v, pt. iv, pp. 889-925.

are still unable to explain why the older forms have never made their appearance in the attributive position. The only explanation one can offer of this phenomenon appears to be that the *-š-* in *-šine* and the *-s-* in *-same* are in compounds inserted on grounds of euphony for the prevention of two vowels in juxtaposition. On the whole, it would therefore be more appropriate to regard these variant forms as the result of a phonetic expedient than to trace the origin to the Chinese *sien* "rice" and Turkish *yağmur*, Chuvash *šāmār*, Yakut *samīr* "rain" (all of which latter go back to the stem **yay*) for the Japanese *-šine* and *-same* respectively. Whatever the history of *-šine* and *-same*, I am convinced on this point that the final vowel of the word *ine* "rice-plant", like that of *ame* "rain", was originally *-a*.¹ So it is with the word *yone* "rice".² It may be pointed out that the comparison put forward by Matsumoto of the words *ine*, *-šine*, and *yone*, with similar terms in the Austroasiatic and Austronesian languages is not very convincing.³ The same remark is true of his comparison of the Japanese word *take* "bamboo" with Malay Peninsula *diṭṭ*, Mon *tun* "bamboo"; Bahnar, Jarai *diy*, Stieng *diñ* "tube", etc.⁴ The Chinese *t'uk* as suggested by Karlgren is certainly much nearer the Japanese *take*, but here yet once more the final vowel was originally *-a*.⁵ Similarly the word *fune* "vessel", which may be a Chinese loan as Karlgren proposes, although other hypotheses are also possible, goes back to **funa*.⁶

In these four words which are regarded by Karlgren as Chinese loans, although this source of two at least of them is very doubtful, the final vowel *-e* regularly goes back to the earlier *-a* (possibly pronounced *ǎ* or *ə*). These, together with other instances, lead me to conclude provisionally that no Chinese loan-words in Archaic

¹ Yoshitake, op. cit., p. 889.

² The Wamyōshō, a Japanese lexicon of the tenth century A.D., gives: 米 — 與 福 (*yone*) "rice"; 廩 — 與 奈 久 良 (*yonakura*) "a rice-granary".

³ N. Matsumoto, *Le Japonais et les Langues Austroasiatiques: Étude de vocabulaire comparé*, Paris, 1928, pp. 59-60.

⁴ Matsumoto, op. cit., p. 61.

⁵ Yoshitake, op. cit., p. 889. The word *take* "bamboo" is considered by Kanazawa (*The Common Origin of the Japanese and Korean Languages*, Tōkyō, 1910, English text, p. 17) as composed of **ta-*, a cognate of Korean *tai* "bamboo", plus *ke*, a variant of Japanese *ki* "tree". It is true that the form *ke* is found in the word *matsu-no-ke* "pine-tree" in one of the Sakimori poems (Man-yō-shū, xx), but since the word *take* goes back to **taka*, it remains to be proved that the word *ki* "tree" was also pronounced *ka*.

⁶ Yoshitake, op. cit., p. 889.

Japanese originally had *-e* as a parasite vowel. Further examples such as *tono* "hall, palace" (< Anc. Chinese *d'ien*, *tien* 殿 "hall, palace"), *ta* "paddy-field" (< **tana*¹ < Anc. Chinese *d'ien* 田 "cultivated field"), *kane* "metal"² (< **kana* < Anc. Chinese *kāng* 鋼 "steel"), and *kinu* "silk stuff" (< Anc. Chinese *kī'ān* 絹 "silk stuff") point to the possibility that the speakers of Archaic Japanese preferred back vowels when turning the Chinese final consonants into a Japanese syllable as the genius of the language demands. It is worthy of note that in later loans such parasite vowels are strictly confined to *-u* and *-i*.

Now the Japanese word *fude* "a writing brush" is considered by the majority of the modern Japanese philologists as a Chinese loan (Pekinese *pī* 筆 "a writing brush, a writing, to write" < Anc. Chinese *piēt*),³ whilst Motoori maintained that it was a compound of *fumi* "a writing" plus *te* "hand".⁴ Before accepting the first theory we must find satisfactory answers to the following three questions:—

(1) If the word *fude* is a Chinese loan, why in this particular case does the parasite vowel appear in the form *-e*?

(2) What underlying influence was there to change the Chinese *-t* into *-d-* in Japanese?

¹ That the original form of *ta* "paddy-field" is **tana* can easily be seen from the compound *tana-tsu-mono* (paddy field-of-thing) "rice", which the Japanese philologists have unsuccessfully sought to analyze, without realizing that the *-na-* in *tana-* was originally as much a part of the word as the *ta* (cf. S. Matsuoka, *Nihon Kogo Daijiten: Goshūhen*, Tōkyō, 1929, p. 805).

² Compare Goldi *gang*, Negidal *gan*, Oroche *ga* "steel". The Japanese word *kane* (< **kana*) was apparently borrowed in the sense "iron". When later it became a generic term for metal, the ancestors of the Japanese prefixed *ma-* and *ara-*, both meaning "pure, genuine", for distinction; thus *magane*, *aragane* "iron". The term *kurogane* "iron" is a formation of still later date. It may be mentioned in passing that the professional name *mara* "smith", which is represented by *Ama-tsu-mara* in the *Kojiki*, is considered by Torii, the renowned anthropologist, as related to Mongol *temür* "iron" (R. Torii, *Jinruigaku-jō yori mitaru Waga Sōdai no Bunka*, i. Tōkyō, 1928, pp. 325-9). That, however, is altogether impossible, for the first syllable in the Mongol *temür*, Orkhon *tāmür*, etc., cannot disappear so easily as Torii imagines. If one wishes to seek cognates of the Japanese *mara* in the Altaic languages, attention should be directed to the Mongol *bolot* (Classical), *bolat*, *bolat* (Buriat), Tungus *bolot* "steel". These words are usually considered as derived from the New Persian *pālād* "steel" (O. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte: Linguistisch-historische Beiträge zur Erforschung des indogermanischen Altertums*, Jena, 1907, iii, p. 78; B. Laufer, *Iranian Elements in Mongol, Sino-Iranica*, Chicago, 1919, p. 575).

³ Cf. M. Andō, *Kodai Kokugo no Kenkyū*, Tōkyō, 1924, p. 31.

⁴ Motoori Norinaga *Zenshū*, Tōkyō, 1926-7, vol. ix, p. 364.

(3) Why in this word is the Chinese *-jě-* replaced by *-u-*, whilst in the Go-on-version (fifth-sixth centuries A.D.) of the Chinese characters the former appears regularly as *-i-*?¹

We find no particular reasons for the Chinese *-t* to be changed into *-d-* in the loan form, since both *t* and *d* have always been possible in an intervocalic position in Japanese, whereas the latter seems to have been inadmissible at the beginning of a word in Archaic Japanese, hence the *d-* in Chinese *d'ien* "palace" and *d'ien* "cultivated field" was replaced by *t-* in Japanese; thus *tono* "palace" and **tana* > *ta* "paddy-field" as we have seen above. Nor is there any necessity for adopting a front vowel *-e*, in the articulation of which a greater effort is required than in the case of mixed or back vowels, particularly in a subordinate position of a parasite nature. It is likewise not easy to explain the change in the stem vowel from Chinese *jě-* into Japanese *-u-*, even if we admit that there was a mutation between *u* and *i* in Archaic Japanese in certain, but hitherto unexplained, circumstances.

The theory advanced by Motoari, on the other hand, is in perfect accord with the normal trend of phonetic changes in the Japanese language: thus *fumite* > **fumte* > **funte* > **funde* > **fūde* > *fude*, just as *fumuta* "document" > **fumta* > **funta* > **funda* > **fūda* > *fuda* "label" and *fumibako* > **fumbako* > **fūbako* > *fubako* "document-box". Moreover, in the *Wamyōshō*, a Japanese lexicon compiled A.D. 923-30, the word *fude* (筆) is read *fumite* (布美天), and *warafude* (藁筆) "a straw writing-brush", *wara-fumite* (和良布美天). We know that the Japanese language suffered certain phonetic changes during the two hundred years preceding the tenth century A.D., but finding no evidence of such an extraordinary change as *-de* > *-mite*, we must assume that the form *fumite* is the older of the two. The question will then be asked: Is it justifiable to assume the priority of the word *fumi* in the Japanese language as Motoori's derivation theory implies? There is reason to believe that the Japanese, or the *Wo-jên* (倭人) of the Chinese Chronicles, were in communication with their continental neighbours already at the beginning of the first century B.C., and that they would in all probability have become acquainted with the Chinese characters by the middle of the third century A.D.² But, according to the Japanese

¹ The date of borrowing of the word *fude*, if this is a Chinese loan, cannot have been very far removed from the fifth century A.D., which marks the dawn of literary culture among the Japanese.

² Cf. M. Andō, *Nihon Bunkashū*; Kodai, Tōkyō, 1925, pp. 310-11; O. Nachod, *Geschichte von Japan*, Leipzig, 1906, Band i. p. 74.

records, it was not until A.D. 325 (or 385 ?) that the Chinese literature was officially brought over to Japan.¹ This is, broadly speaking, all that we know and can guess about the introduction of literary culture into Japan. With such scanty and hazy evidence it is impossible either to affirm or to deny Motoori's hypothesis from an historical point of view, and it seems as though we are compelled to accept it on its face value as supported by the Wamyōshō.

There remains, however, one more possibility as to the origin of the word *fude*. As has been said above, the Japanese acquired the knowledge of the Chinese characters possibly before A.D. 250. To learn foreign symbols of writing is one thing, to apply them to recording one's own language is quite another. For this the Japanese had to seek the aid of their naturalized fellow-countrymen from China and Korea. It is highly probable, as Andō maintains, that the latter of these led the Japanese to the ingenious application of the Chinese characters for writing the Japanese language on the "Ritu" method, resulting in the evolution of the system known as the "Mana" or the "Man-yō-gana".² It may be argued then that the Japanese may have borrowed the word *fude* from the Koreans, in whose language the term signifying "a writing brush" is *pud*, undoubtedly of Chinese origin. Further, it will be seen from the Chi-lin-lei-shih (鷄林類事) that the word *pud* was also pronounced *pūd* in Ancient Korean.³ Thus if the Korean word *pud* or *pūd* was brought over to Japan, it may possibly have sounded to the Japanese ears something like *pudə*, which the Japanese turned into **pude*. This appears a very reasonable argument, but here again it is difficult to explain the final -e in the Japanese form. In the circumstances, therefore, we are disposed to consider the word *fude* as a native product, composed of *fumi* (< **pumi*) "a writing" and *te*, which latter does not mean "hand" as Motoori supposed, but is a substantival suffix, probably akin to Turkish -*dzi*, etc., and Mongol -*či*, -*dzi*, until further evidence to the contrary is forthcoming. In all probability the word was first pronounced **pumite*, which afterwards became **pude* ⁴ > *fude*.

Whilst such is the only hypothesis that is acceptable, at least for

¹ Andō, *Nihon Bunkashi*, op. cit., pp. 311-14.

² Andō, *Nihon Bunkashi*, op. cit., pp. 314-17.

³ K. Maema, *Keirin Ruiji Ruigen Kō*: The Sung scholar Sun Mu's Chi lin lei shih, Korean-Chinese glossary, deciphered and annotated: With index of words. The Tōyō Bunko Publications, Series A, 3, Tōkyō, 1925, p. 108.

⁴ This was later handed down to the Luchuans, who now pronounce it *pudi* or *fudi*.

the present, as regards the etymology of the word *fude*, the question raised here leads incidentally to a very interesting problem of great significance. For the vast majority of the Altaic languages have words which denote the concept of "writing", and which resemble phonetically very closely the Ancient Chinese *piēt* "a writing brush", etc.: Turkish *bitiy* (Orkhon), *bitig* (Uighur), *bitik* (Chaghatai) "a writing", *biti-* "to write"; Classical Mongol *bitšig* "a writing", *bitši-* "to write"; Manchu *bitxe* "a writing", Dakhur *bitiye*, etc., Solon *bitxe*, Tungus (Ienissei) *bitsik*, etc., "a writing", Goldi, Olcha, *bitxō*, Oroche *bitihō*, Negidal *bitxō* "to write". The Yakut borrowed the term *bitsik* "ornament, pattern" from the Mongols, whilst the Samoyed *pādāu* (Yurak), etc., "to write" are Turkish loans.¹ The word in question is found even in Hungarian in the form *betű* (pronounced *bātū*) "a writing, letter", which is a loan from Old Chuvash: **bitiy* "a writing".²

Authorities are divided on the origin of these terms in the Altaic languages. Some believe that they all go back to the common Altaic stem **biti-*, since the Mongol *-tši-* has in some cases developed from *-ti-*, as has been pointed out by Ramstedt.³ This theory, however, cannot be accepted as final until the exact relationship between Turkish *-t-* and Tungus *-t-* has been satisfactorily explained; this remains unknown at present. On the other hand, Georg von der Gabelentz suggested that the Mongol *bitšig* and Manchu *bitxe* were Greek loans: *πιττάχιον* ("a tablet for writing on, a billet, label").⁴ Refuting this theory of Western source, both Ramstedt and K. Donner, following Wassiljew, maintain that the Turkish *biti-*, etc., are of Chinese origin; *piēt*, "a writing brush", etc.⁵ This school further considers that the Chinese word in question was borrowed by Turkish prior to 500 B.C., but not before 1000 B.C. (following the words of Szü-ma-ch'ien), on the supposition that the people now known as the Samoyedes borrowed the words *pādāu*, etc., "to write" from the Turkish-speaking community some time between 500 B.C. and A.D. 400.⁶ Over and above

¹ Kai Donner, *Zu den ältesten Berührungen zwischen Samojeden und Türken*, JSFOu. xl, Helsingfors, 1924, p. 7.

² Z. Gombocz, *Die bulgarisch-türkischen Lehnwörter in der ungarisch Sprache*, MSFOu. xxx, Helsingfors, 1912, pp. 44-5; Gombocz Z. és Melich J., *Magyar etymologiai szótár*, Budapest, 1914-, pp. 386-7.

³ Cf. G. J. Ramstedt, *Das Schriftmongolische und die Urganmandart*, JSFOu. xxi, 2, Helsingfors, 1902, p. 12.

⁴ Georg von der Gabelentz, *Die Sprachwissenschaft, ihre Aufgaben, Methoden und bisherigen Ergebnisse*, Leipzig, 1901, p. 264.

⁵ Donner, op. cit., p. 7.

⁶ Donner, op. cit., p. 7 et seq.

these already perplexing controversies, another theory has recently been put forward by P. Schmidt,¹ according to whom the Altaic terms under consideration are decidedly of Western origin, but not from Greek as Gabelentz supposed. "There is," concludes Schmidt, "nothing in the way, if we derive the Altaic words from the Tokharian or Sakian *pīde* "he has written" and *pīdaka* "a document". It is entirely outside the scope of the present paper to examine each of these hypotheses in detail, but the fact remains that the words denoting the concept of "writing", undoubtedly of common origin, have spread over the wide tract of Central and North-Eastern Asia.

Here arises a question. If the Japanese language is Altaic in its essential features, as it actually is, and if the substratum of the modern Japanese came from or passed through Central or Northern Asia, as it is so believed by some historians and anthropologists, why does not the Japanese language possess a word homonymous to *biti*- with the meaning "to write"?² Is it because the ancestors of the Japanese already had the words *kaku*, *śirusu*, etc., "to write, note", when they came into contact with the speakers of the Altaic languages, and hence it was unnecessary for them to introduce another to express the same notion? But then the Turks, Mongols, and Tungus each have a word meaning "to write" or of kindred signification: Osmanli *yaz*-, Chuvash *śir*- "to write, mark"; Classical Mongol *džirū*- "to paint, draw a line"; Manchu *niru*- "to write", Goldi *ñirūri* "to dye, draw", Olcha *ñuri* "to write", *ñilu* "to dye, draw", Oroche *ñirgui* "to write", Negidal *ñiyui* "to write", all pointing to the common origin. Moreover, the Old Chuvash **ir*- "to write, mark", is preserved in Hungarian in the form *ír*- (pron. *ir*-) "to write, paint".³

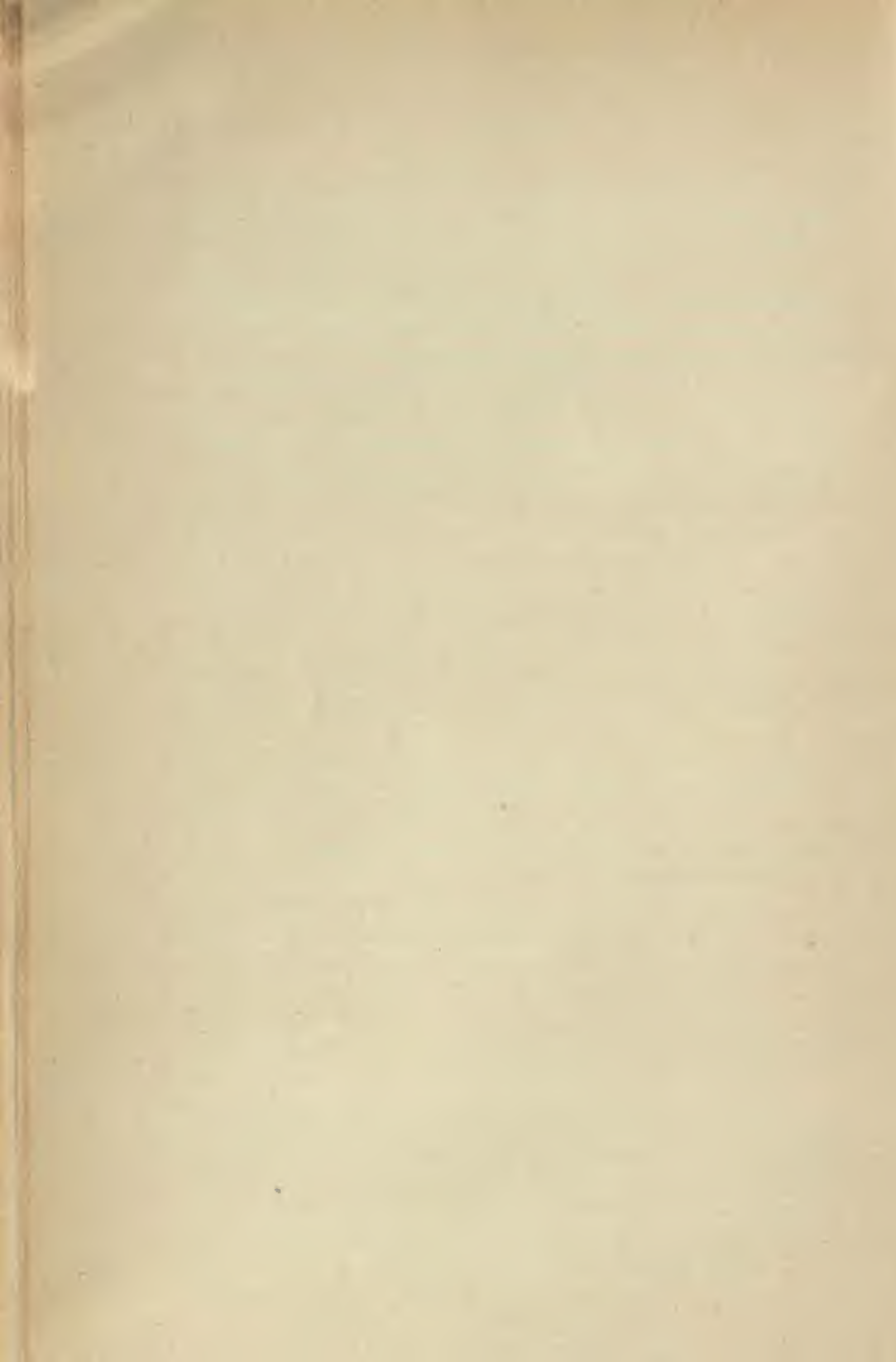
There is little room for doubt that these words are older than *biti*-, etc., and that the original word from which they have sprung signified "to dye, paint, mark", but not "to write". Are the Japanese words *nuru* "to paint", *suru* (Archaic) "to print", and *śiru-su* "to mark,

¹ P. Schmidt, *Etymologische Beiträge*, JSFOu. xlii, Helsingfors, 1928, p. 3.

² In his recent article "Explanation of the Mongol words in the Ko-li-shih, annals of the Kao-li Dynasty" (The Tōyō Gakuhō, vol. xlii, No. 2, Tōkyō, Dec. 1929, p. 173), Shiratori appears to consider the Japanese word *fude* as directly related to Turkish *biti*-, etc. That, however, is inconceivable, because a semasiological change from "a writing" or "to write" to "a writing brush" is almost impossible, and therefore, if we are to follow Shiratori's view, we must assume that the meaning "a writing, brush" is the older signification of the Altaic terms under consideration, which, as far as we can trace, are of verbal origin.

³ Gombocz, MSFOu. xxx, op. cit., pp. 87-8.

note", together with the Korean *sī-* (Old Korean), *ssī-* "to write", directly connected with the Altaic terms considered above, or is this an instance of mere coincidence? If they are of common origin, how is it that the *biti-*, etc., have come into being in the Altaic languages and not in Japanese? Is it because the forefathers of the Japanese had already been removed far away from the speakers of the Altaic languages when the latter mysteriously adopted the words *biti-*, etc.? Or, lastly, did Archaic Japanese contain a cognate which has since been lost? These are the problems for the comparative philologists of the future to solve; not by a mere comparison of words as has hitherto been the case, but on sound linguistic principles.



TO THE ZAMASP-NAMAK. I

By H. W. BAILEY

I GIVE below a portion of the Pahlavi *Žāmāsp-Nāmak* with notes. The text is easily accessible in J. J. Modi's *Jāmāspi, Pahlavi Pāzend and Persian Texts*, 1903, Bombay, and, for a part only, in West's edition in *Avesta, Pahlavi, and Ancient Persian Studies*, 1904. It has, therefore, seemed unnecessary to reprint the Pahlavi. West used a MS., entitled *DP.*, of the late Shams ul Ulama Dastur Dr. Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana (West, loc. cit.), for the other MSS. see Modi's introduction, loc. cit. I have noted the chief discrepancies only (Modi's MSS. are quoted as "MSS.", or separately as *MU.*, *DE.*).

1. *pursūt Vištāsp sāk kū ēn dēn i apēčak čand sāl raβāk bavēt ut pas hač ān čē āβām ut žamānak rasēt.*

2. *guft-š Žāmāsp i bitazš kū ēn hazār sāl raβāk bavēt.*

3. *pas oēšān martomān i andar ān āβām bavēnd hamāk ō miθrān-družān čstēnd.*

4. *ēvak apāk dāt kēn ut arašk ut drōy kunēnd.*

5. *ut pat ān čim Ērān šaθr ō Tāčikān apaspārīhēt¹ ut Tāčikān har rōc nērōktar bavēnd ut šaθr šaθr frāč gīrēnd.*

6. *martom ō apārōnūh ut drōy vartēnd ut har čiš (i) ān gōβēnd ut kunēnd hač-šān xvēš tan sūtōmandtar.*

7. *api-šān raβišn² i frārōn hač-š apār bavēt.*

Vištāsp asked, saying: How many years will this Pure Religion endure, and afterwards what times and seasons will come?

Žāmāsp, the minister, said: It will endure a thousand years.

Then those men who are at that time will all become covenant-breakers.


One with another they will be revengeful and envious and false.

And for that reason Ērān šahr will be delivered up to the Tāčiks and the Tāčiks will daily grow stronger and will seize district after district.

Men will turn to unrighteousness and falsehood, and all that they say or do will be the more profitable for themselves.

And from them righteous conduct will be distant.

¹ MSS. and *DP.* *apaspārēnd.*

² MSS. and *DP.* .

8. *pat apēdātīh ēn Ērān šaθr
ō dahyupatān bār i garān rasēt.*

9. *ut āmār i zarēn ut asīmēn
ut vas-š¹ ganž ut xvāstak hanbār
kunēnd, ut hamāk aβinn ut apaitāk
bavēt.*

10. *ut vas-š² ganž ut xvāstak i
šāyakān ō dast ut pāt,xšāhīh i
dušmanān rasēt.*

11. *ut margīh i apēžamānak vas
bavēt.*

12. *ut hamāk Ērān šaθr ō
dast i ōēšān dušmanān rasēt.*

13. *ut Anērān ut Ērān gumē-
ēhēnd ētōn kū ērīh haē anērīh
paitāk nē bavēt, ān i ēr apāčē (ō)
anērīh ēstēnd.*

14. *ut pat ān i vat āβām ān i
tuβānkar ān i driyūš farroxv
dārēnd, ān i driyūš xvat farroxv nē
bavēt.*

15. *ut āzātān ut vazurkān ō
živandakīh i apēmēčak rasēnd.*

16. *api-šān margīh ētōn xvaš
saēt ēčgōn pit ut māt vēnišn i
frazand ut mātār duxtar pat kāpēn
bē bavēt.*

17. *ut duxt kē-š haē-š zūyēt
pat vahāk bē fraxaxšēt.*

18. *ut pus pitār ut mātār žanēt,
api-š andar živandakīh haē katak-
xvatāyīh yut kunēt.*

For its lawlessness, this Ērān šahr will come as a heavy burden to the governors of the provinces.

And they will store up the tale of gold and silver, and much treasure and wealth also, and all will disappear and pass out of sight.

And much royal treasure and wealth also will pass into the hands and possession of enemies.

And untimely deaths will abound.

And all Ērān šahr will fall into the hand of those enemies.

And Anērān and Ērān will be confounded, so that the Iranian will not be distinguished from the foreigner; those who are Iranians will turn back to foreign ways.

And in that evil time rich men will deem the poor fortunate, but the poor man will not himself be fortunate.

And the nobles and the great will come to a savourless life.

And to them death will seem as sweet as to father and mother the sight of children and to a mother a dowered daughter.

The daughter who is born of her she will sell for a price.

And the son will strike father and mother and during his life-time will deprive him of authority in the family.

¹ MSS. 𐬔𐬀𐬌𐬎

² MSS. 𐬔𐬀𐬌𐬎 DP. 𐬔𐬀𐬌𐬎

19. *ut kas brātar mas brātar
žanēt, api-š xwāstak hač-š stānēt,
api-š xwāstak rād zūr apar gōβēt.*

And the younger brother will strike the elder brother, and will take his wealth, and for his wealth will make false statements.

20. *ut žan gyān i xwēs pat marg-
aržān bē dahēt.*

And a woman will commit mortal sin against her own life.

21. *ut avarik ut apaitāk martom
ō paitākīh rasēt.*

And the inferior and obscure man will come into notice.

22. *ut zūr ut gukāsīh i arāst ut
drōy frāxv šavēt.*

And wrong and false witness and lies will abound.

23. *šap ēvak apāk dīt nayn ut
maš xvarēnd ut pat dostīh raβēnd¹
ut rōč i dītīkar pat gyān i ēvak
dītīkar čārak sāčēnd ut vat handē-
šēnd.²*

By night one with another they will eat bread and drink wine, and walk in friendship, and next day they will plot one against the life of the other and plan evil.

24. *ut andar ān vat āβām ān
kē-š frazand nēst pat farroxv
dārēnd, ān i kē-š frazand hast pat
čašm xwār dārēnd.*

And in that evil time him who has no children they deem fortunate, but him who has children they hold cheap in their eyes.

25. *ut vas martom ō uzdēhīkīh
ut bēkānīh ut saxtīh rasēt.*

And many men will go into exile and foreign lands and fall into distress.

26. *ut andarvāy aδ'šuftak ut
sart vāt ut garm vāt varēt.*

And the atmosphere will be confounded, and cold wind and hot wind will blow.

27. *ut bar i urvarān kēm bē
bavēt ut zamīk hač barē bē³
šavēt.*

And the fruit of the plants will become less, and earth will be without fruit.

28. *ut būm vižandak⁴ ut vinās-
kār⁵ bē bavēt ut vas avērānīh bē
kunēt.*

And the earth will be corrupt and injurious and will cause much desolation.

¹ MSS. *raβēt* (cf. Bthl., *SR.*, 3, 30, No. 2), *DP.* *raβēnd*.

² MSS. *hand[ē]šēnd*, *DP.* *handēšēnd*.

³ *DP.* *hač bar bē*.

⁴ MSS. *اڻاڻاڻ DP.* *اڻاڻاڻ*.

⁵ *MU.* *اڻاڻاڻاڻ DE.* *اڻاڻاڻاڻ DP.* *اڻاڻاڻاڻ*.

29. *ut vārān i apēhangām vārēt¹ ut ān kē vārēt apēsūt ut vat bavēt.*

30. *ut aβr apar āsmān gartēt.*

31. *ut dipēr² pat nipišt³ i vat āyēt.*

32. *ut har kas haē guft ut gōβišn ut pašt ut patmān apāc ēstēnd.*

33. *ut har martom kē-š andak vēhīh ā-š živandakīh apēmēčaktar ut vattar bavēt.*

34. *ut katīčak bē kart xānak bavēt.*

35. *asβār⁴ pačak ut pačak⁵ asβār bavēt.*

36. *bandakān pat rāθ i āzātān raβēnd.*

37. *bē Yazdān āzālīh pat tan mēhmān nē bavēt.*

38. *ut martom i ān vis ō afsōs-karīh ut apārōn kunīšnīh vartēnd, ut mēčak i xvāstak nē⁶ dānēnd.*

39. *api-šān miθr ut dōšar'm pat dahīk⁷ martom.*

40. *apurnāy zūt pīr šavēt.*

And unseasonable rain will fall, and that which falls will be unprofitable and bad.

Clouds will gather over the sky.

And the scribe will come with bad writing.

And everyone will repudiate word and statement, covenant and agreement.

And every man who has little good, for him life becomes more savourless and more evil.

A small house, being built, will pass for a mansion.

A horseman will become a man on foot, and the man on foot a horseman.

Slaves will walk in the path of nobles.

Save through Yazdān, nobility is not a guest in any body.

And the men of that Great House will turn to mockery and iniquity and know not the flavour of wealth.

And for them affection and love will be towards the despised man.

The youth swiftly will become an old man.

¹ MSS. *وآرēt*, DP. *وآرēt*.

² MU. *دپēr*, DE. *دپēr*, DP. *دپēr*.

³ See notes.

⁴ MSS. *asβār*.

⁵ MSS. *adī*, *asβār*.

⁶ DP. *ne*, MSS. *asβār*, *be*.

⁷ MSS. *داهīk*, DP. *داهīk*.

41. *ut har kas kē pat vat kumišnāh i xvēš sāt bavēt pat aparmānd dārēnd.*

42. *ut šaθr šaθr ut dēh dēh ut rōtastāk rōtastāk ēvak apāk dit kōrxišn i kārēčār kunēt.*

43. *ut hač diṭikar ēiš pat apar stānēt.*

44. *ut sturg ut ruzd ut stahmak mart pat nēv dārēnd, ut frazānak ut vēh dēn martom pat dēv dārēnd.*

45. *ut kas-č kas pat apāyast i xvēš pat kāmak nē rasēnd.*

46. *ut martom i pat ān i vat āβām zāyēnd hač ās'n ut rōd i saxt¹ saxttar bavēnd bē (ka) ham xōn ut gōšt bavēnd ēnyā hač sang saxttar bavēnd.*

47. *ut afsōs ut riyahrīh pairaḍak bavēt.*

48. *ut har kas ō bēkānakīh ut [hač] xvēšīh i Ahraman druvand rasēnd.*

49. *ut miθrāndruž vinās andar ān āβām kunēnd.*

50. *tēž ut zūt dast (ō) passoxx rasēnd, čēgōn āp tačišn ō drayāp.*

51. *ut ātaxšān i Ērān šaθr ō hanžāpišn ut apasārišn rasēnd.*

52. *ut hēr ut xwāstak ō dast i Anērān i druvandān rasēt ut hamāk aydēn² bē bavēnd.*

And everyone who rejoices in his own bad deeds, they will hold it his privilege.

And the several districts and provinces and cultivated tracts one with another will struggle in conflict.

And from another he will take a thing as plunder.

And the contentious and greedy and violent man they will deem good, but wise men of good faith they will hold as *dōvs*.

And the several persons will not attain their desires according to their needs.

And the men who are born in that evil time will be harder than hard iron and brass; save that they are likewise blood and flesh they will be harder than stone.

And mockery and defilement will be an ornament.

And everyone will turn to strange ways and kinship with Ahraman the evil.

And the covenant-breakers will work injury at that time.

Swiftly and speedily their hands will be given to sureties, as the streams of a river flow to the sea.

And the fires of Ērān šahr will come to an end and be extinguished.

And treasure and wealth will come into the hands of foreigners, and all will become men of evil faith.

¹ DP. om.

² MSS. *aydēn*, DP. *āknēn*.

53. *ut xwāstak vas gart kunēnd,*
apī-š bar nē xvarēnd.

And they will amass much
wealth, but they will not enjoy
the fruit of it.

54. *ut hamāk ō dast i sardārān*
i apēsūtān rasēt.

And it will all pass into the
hands of unprofitable governors.

55. *ut har kas kart kunišn i ōē*
dūt nē passandēnd.

And everyone will disapprove
the work done by the other.

56. *ut saxtīh ut anākīh i ānšān*
hač ōēšān apar rasēt.

And the harshness and evil
of those men will come upon these.

57. *žūvandakīh pat apēmēčak ut*
margīh pat pānakīh dārēnd.

They will hold life savourless
and death a refuge.

1. *pursūt* "asked", NPers. *pursīdan* "to ask", Av. *pərəsā* "I ask". The problem of the *r* vowel in Iranian was fully discussed by Bartholomae (*MM.*, 6, 1925), and is touched upon by Reichelt in *Gesch. d. Idg. Sprachwiss.*, Bd. iv, Iranisch, pp. 34-5. The position of Armenian loanwords has not been clearly recognized. Junker, *Wörter u. Sachen*, 1929, p. 138, seems to consider that corresponding to NPers. *mury* "bird" Armenian must have had **murg*, not **marg*. The case is otherwise. Arm. lw. *vard* "rose" beside NPers. *gul* may be explained either as from a dialect in which *r* > *ar*, cf. Oss. *mard* "dead" < **mrtā*, *mary* "bird", *ard* "oath" < **rta*, or as from a form with vowel -*ar*-. Sammānī *vāle* "rose" (quoted by Reichelt, loc. cit.) has probably compensatory lengthening due to the change -*rδ*- > *l*, cf. WPers. *sāl* < **sarδ*-. Saka *vala* "rose, flower", *Sacu Doc.* 52, 53, and *salī* "year", *kamala*- "head", have not developed this long vowel—**vard*-, **sard*-, **kamard*-. Hence, in Arm. lws. -*ar*- exists beside -*u*- in the other dialects as representative of the *r* vowel. Another word of this kind is: Arm. lw. *barš*, *baš* "mane",¹ Av. *barəša* "back of

¹ Hereto probably Saka *bṛhaṇa*, *Mait. Sam.*, 145; *bṛhaṇa kīdī hvāhī pīṭavūa* "the back very broad and strong". *bṛhaṇa* < **braš-any-*, for *bṛ* < **bra*- cf. *pṛhiya*- "open", *Mait. Sam.*, 100, beside *prahāḷja* "open", 2nd sing. imperat., *Mait. Sam.*, 192, for *-h*- cf. *uḥu* "you", nom. < **yūšam*, Av. *yūšam*, for *-aṇa* cf. Leumann, *Zf. vgl. Sprachfor.*, 1930, pp. 184 f. (not altogether convincing). Cf. also Afg. *wraš* "mane", Oss. *bārzai* "neck", *barc* "mane", Morg., *Et. Voc. Pashto*, p. 91. [In this passage *Mait. Sam.*, 145-50, containing the description of the *uśca-ratna* "horse-jewel", it is possible to recognize: *dumei* "his tail", Av. *duma*-, Pahl. *dumb dumbak*, NPers. *dum dumb* "tail": *strihī dumei* "his tail is long-extended", where *strihī* < **strayā*- to **strag*- beside *star*- "be extended" as **grag*- to *gar*- "gather" (*haṃggaḷjīndī*), Av. *drag*- "hold" to *dar*- "hold". Tedesco, "Rapports sogdo-saces," *BSL.*, 1924-5, vol. xxv. For *-h*- < *-yē*- cf. *vimūha*- "vimokṣa".]

horse", Pahl. *brš*, NPers. *buš* "neck, mane", *HAG.*, 118. So, too, **mary* "bird" may safely be recognized in *siramarg* "peacock". De Lagarde's connection of it with Pahl. *sên murv* is certainly possible: **sênamarg* may have been altered by assimilation of *n* to *r* in accord with the Armenians' etymology "loving the meadows", *sēr* "love", *marg* "meadow" = Iran. (Av.) *maryā*, *HAG.*, 193. The Georgian *pharšamangi* < **frašamarg* "peacock" has apparently dissimilated the second *r* to *n*, but such a form as *varšamangi* "tiara", from Arm. lw. *varšamak* "headband, napkin", suggests the possibility of analogy in the ending. The same word **marg* "bird" is probably the second component in *loramarg* = *lor* "quail", see *HAG.*, 237. Sogd. (Buddh.) *mry-*, *Frag.*, 3, 38, 44, etc., should also be read **mary*. The absence of the mater lectionis *v* is not decisive, but so many examples of *mry-* without *v* are fairly convincing. So, too, for Sogd. (Buddh.) *mry'yst* "birds": Benveniste, *Gram. Sogd.*, ii, 79, reads **muryišt*. Arm. lw. *ištrmut* "ostrich", *HAG.*, 157, is late, thirteenth century.

Arm. lw. *parh-* is a further example: *parhak*, *pahrak*, *pahak* (*HAG.*, 218) occur as part of a geographical name: *pahak Ćorai* near Derbend. Hübschmann renders "Wache von Ćor". The Armenian phrase corresponding is *kapan Ćorai* "the pass of Ćor" or *drunk' Ćolai* "Gate of Ćol". Hence a connection with Iran. **prtu-* **prθu-*, Av. *porətu-*, Pahl. *puhl*, NPers. *pul*, Kurd. *purd* "pass, bridge" is likely. I find the same word in *taraparhak* and *pahak* in the phrase *taraparhak varel*, *pahak varel* or *ounel* "angariare" (Ciakciak). In *Mt.*, 27, 32, *zna kalan pahak zi barjčē zxaçen nora* "τοῦτον ἡγγάρευσαν ἵνα ἄρῃ τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ": here *taraparhak* "beyond the way or passage". So in *čanaparh* "way", though the first part *čana-* is obscure to me: *čana-* can come from Iran. **čāyana-* to *kay-*, *AIW.*, 441. Can Sogd. (Buddh.) *n'βē'n'y*, *SCE.*, 258, be compared? Gauthiot translated "frontière", *Gram. Sogd.*, 77, but Benveniste, *Glossaire*, "national". Cf. *n'βē'kh* "Länder", *Frag.*, 3, 6.

Saka *vala* "rose" has *-ar* < **vard*, like the Arm. lw. *vard*. Cognate with this word is Saka *vilakye*, *Sacu Doc.*, 65, *vilaki*, *ibid.*, 69, 73. < **vərda-* "plant". Cf. Av. *varəda-* "name of a plant", *AIW.*, 1369. (On *Sacu Doc.* 65, see § 27 *infra*.) The *-aka-* suffix is a Saka innovation. Old (Iran.) *-aka* was lost through **-aya-* > *-aa-* nom. sing. *-ai*, as *kšum̐dai* "husband", et pass. Both *-aka-* and *-ka* are found (perhaps originally diminutive): *murka-* "(small) bird" beside *mura-* "bird". Pahl. *mure*, NPers. *mury*, Sogd. (Buddh.) *mry-*, Oss. *mary*;

bataka "few", to *bata* "small", cf. § 14 *infra*; *pīḍaka* "written document", *Sacu Doc.* 8, etc.; *spyaka* "flower", *Sacu Doc.* 60, to *spīta* "flower"; *basaka-* "child", *L.*, 127; *hvarakya* instr. pl., *N.*, 163. 24, "sisters" < **hvaḥar-* Av. *xvaḥar-*, *AIW.*, 1864. *Vilakye* is gen. sing. -*ye* < **ahya*, cf. *L.*, 45, beside the common gen. sing. in -*i* < **ē* < **ah*. Accordingly I translate *Sacu Doc.*, 73:—

khvā ni vijsye vilaki brri mīrāraṃ aṃgi hamari gūsīṃdi biši

"as plucked plants they die early, in a short while they all pass away."

vijsye < **vičita-*, cf. *dye* < **dīta-* "seen", to *kay-* "select", *AIW.* Av. *vičīnaot*, Pahl. *vičītan*, NPers. *guzīdan* "choose", *čīdan* "pluck"; Eastern dialects, Sogd. (Christ.) *vyčēd'rt* "he chose", *ST.*, 33. 12, etc., Yagnobi *čīn-*: *čīt-* "gather", *Grund. Iran. Phil.*, ib, 339.

brri "early" < *brūi* "early", *Mait. Sam.*, 150, for *ūi* > *i*, see § 27 *infra*.

aṃgi hamari "a short moment": *aṃga-* is probably < **anta-* > **anda-* (cf. pres. part. -*andai* nom. sing. masc. < **-antaka-*, fem. -*aṃca* and -*aṃkya* *N.*, 79. 6 f.) with -*ka*. Cf. Av. *huška-* "dry", Saka *huška-*, Saka *bulysga* "long" < **brz-ka-*, *rraysga-* "quick" < **raz-ka*, etc. Hence, cf. *aṃga-* with Pahl. NPers. *andak* "little, few" < **antaka* to Pahl. *and* "so much". The loc. pl. occurs *Sacu Doc.*, 54, *hamarevā vaṃ aṃgā ne paštara* "even for a few moments they are not permanent".

paštara- adj. to *paštīṃdi*, *Sacu Doc.*, 55, "they stay" (*pati* + *stā*) for the form cf. *byātarā* "attentive", *Mait. Sam.*, 277, *byāta-* "memory" + *ra*, and *tarandara-* "body".

gūsīṃdi "they go, pass away" < **gaß-s-* to Sogd. (Buddh.) *γβs'nt* "they advanced", *VJ.*, 58c, pret. *γβt-*, *VJ.*, 784, etc., and MPT. *hñšftn* "to assemble", Pahl. *hanžāpišn* "bringing to an end", § 51 *infra*—**gap-* beside **gam-*. For the Saka form cf. *hūsīme* "I sleep", *Sacu Doc.*, 71, *hūs[t]* "he sleeps", *N.*, 94. 8. < **hvaß-s-*, Pahl. *xvaftan*, but Sogd. (Buddh.) *wβs* "he fell asleep", *Frāg. 2a*, 13, without *h-*.

Arm. *mah, marh* "death", *HAG.*, 472, a stem in -*u*, is also probably an Iran. loanword to Av. *mərəbyuš* "death". In genuine Armenian words -*rt-* gives -*rd* (*mard* "man", *ard* "now", *ἀρτι*). For -*rtj-* in Arm. I have no example, but *t* before *r* is lost initially (*erek* "three") and -*atr-* gave -*aur* (*haur* "παῖρός"). Brugmann, *Grund. Vgl. Idg. Gram.*, i, 1, 433, and Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, 472, derive *marh* < -*rt-* as a genuine Arm. word. It is important that Arm. *mah, marh* is an

-u stem like the Iranian word. The Gothic word *maurþr* (neut.), which Brugmann and Hübschmann compare, is classed by Brugmann, *Grund. Vgl. Idg. Gram.*, ii, 1, 343, with -tro-, -trā- formantia.

1. *Vištāsp šāh*. On *Vištāspa* see Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, i, 2; i, 3. *Vištāsp šāh* and *Kaivištāspšāh* in *Az.* (ed. Pagliaro), 1, *et passim*, and 39, etc.

1. *dēn* i *apēčak*. MPT. 'byčg, *Sal. Man. St.*, p. 44, NPers. *اوپر و پرده*. Cf. MPT. *dyn yēdhr* "pure Dēn", *Sal. Man. St.*, p. 67.

1. *āβām* *سر* *س*, discussed by Marquart, *Ādīna*, 3a, and Junker, *Wörter u. Sachen*, 1929, p. 151. The forms are: YAv. *aiwei-gāma*- (1) "winter", Pahl. transl. *zimastān*: *hama* . . . *aiwei gāme* "in summer . . . in winter"; (2) "year", *hazarōram aiwei.gāmanam* "1,000 years". MPT. "g'm, *āgām* "time", *Sal. Man. St.*, p. 39. Pahl. (Frah. Pahl.) 'v'm, 'v'm = *āβām*, Paz. *ōgām*, *ōgāma* *ōgām* (*apud* Junker, loc. cit.). The development is: **abi-gāma* > **abyām* > *āβām*.

For the Iranian words for "time" see Marquart, *Ādīna*, §§ 1-10. Junker's and Scheffelowitz's derivation of Iran. *zamān* from Ass. *simānu* (after Zimmern) is quite unconvincing (see ZII., 4, 333), and is not repeated in Scheffelowitz, *Die Zeit als Schicksalgottheit*, 1929. Marquart's suggestion (from the verb *gam-*) is the only possible etymology. To these Iranian words add Saka *bāda*- "time" < **varta*- "the revolving". For the -ā- cf. *kāḍarna*, N., 9, 15, "with a sword," to Av. *karata-*, Pahl. *kārt*, NPers. *kārd*, and Av. *vāša*- "chariot" < **vārta*-. On the verbs *vart*- "turn" and *gart*- "turn" see Morg., *Et. Voc. Pashto*, p. 27.

2. *Žāmāsp*. Historically certified by the Gathic references Y., 46, 17; 49, 9; 51, 18, and the important "Catalogue of the Community", Yt., 13, 103. He was a member of the wealthy **Haugava* (GAv. *Hvō.gva*, YAv. *Hvōva*) family, whence came also Zoroaster's third wife *Hvōvī* "The Haugava". Later as a type of omniscient wise minister.

For the form of the name cf. *HAG.*, 68. Arm. *Ĵamasp*, Syr. *Zāmāsp*, Arab. *Ĵāmāsb* *Ĵāmāsf*, Greek *Ζαμάσπης*, NPers. *Ĵāmāsp*, YAv. *Ĵāmāspa-*, GAv. *Dĵāmāspa-* (an experimental spelling *dē* for *j*). The origin of S.W. *z* is twofold initially, (1) < *j* < *g*, (2) < *y*. Tedesco, *Dialektologie*, § 5, has shown that Mid. Iran. N.W. preserved initial *y*, S.W. changed *y*- to *z* (or *j* ?): N.W. *yāvēdān*, S.W. *zāyedān* "eternal", N.W. *yud* "separate", S.W. *zud*, NPers. *judā*. The date of this change is uncertain. In the *Mahrnāmag* occur two forms of the

Turkish title : 1. 77 *žβγū* **žabγū*, 1. 93 *yβγū* **yabγū* equivalent to Indo-Scyth. ZAOOY, *yavuga*, -*jaüa*, NPers. *žabyū*. There is equal uncertainty in regard to another loanword, the name "Jew", Heb. *יְהוּדִי*.

Arab. *yahūd*, Pahl. *yhvt*¹ *𐭮𐭥𐭥*, Paz. *zuhudān*, MPT. *yhvd'n*, Sal. *Nachträge*, Christ. Sogd. *čzvd* (several times, *ST.*, p. 93), **žahūd* **jahūd*, but *ST.*, 32. 18, *yhed'* "Judas", 32. 22, *yhed'* "Judaea", 30. 6, *yhed'y γry* "mountains of Judaea". It is at least clear that the Chinese forms 尤忽 *šu-hu* < **ju-hud* and 主兀 *ču-wu*, discussed by Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 533-4, need not, as he supposed, have come from NPers. The Sogd. *čzvd* could have been the source.

2. *bitaxš*. This is also *Žāmāsp's* title in *Az.*, 35, etc. The word has been much discussed, see Herzfeld, *Paikuli Gloss.*, No. 214. On the inscriptions occur (Pahl.) *bythš*, (Pārs.) *bthšy*, Greek (fifth century A.D.) ΠΙΤΙΑΞΗΣ. It was a title of the margraves of Armenia and Assyria. In Arm. lw. *bdeaxš*, Georg. lw. *pitiaxši*, *patiašxi*. The *bitaxš* was an important imperial officer of high rank. For its application to *Žāmāsp* see Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, i, 171, No. 3. The form of the word is unusual. It is probably **pati-āxša* : *pit-* < *pati-* is found in Pahl. *patyārak* *𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥* beside *patyārak*, and in the nom. propr. (Arm.) *Bakour*, *b* and *p* vary : Πάκοπος, Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 238 f.

2. *hazār sāl* "millennium", see now Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, ii, 38 f. The "thousand years" were to end with the coming (*patākih*, ἐπιφάνεια) of Uxšyat-art (Hōšētar). It was therefore found necessary to extend the period from Zoroaster's ἐπιφάνεια beyond the thousand years to explain the continued reign of evil.

3. *miθrāndružān*. 4, 6, *drōy*. Wherever this word is found in Middle Iranian its meaning is "falsehood", as the corresponding *duruzta-*, *draušana-*, *drauga-* of the Old Persian inscriptions. The forms occurring are :—

Pahl. *drōy*. S.W. dial. *drōß*, *MX.*, 2, 177 ; Nyberg, *Hilfb.*, p. 41. Andreas, *Facsimile*, p. 17, l. 6, *𐭥𐭥𐭥*. The Semitic mask is *KDB'* "false".

Sogd. (Buddh.) *δρυw*, *Gr. Sogd.*, 137, "mensonge" ; *δρυmh*

¹ Pahl. *y-* may stand for *y*, *z-* or *f-* ; cf. *𐭮𐭥𐭥* *giyān*, *žān* "life", NPers. *jān*, MPT. *gy'n* < **vi-āna*, Av. *vyāna-* (only in loc. sing. *vyānayaš*). To the same verb *an-*, Saka *uysāna-* translating Sansk. *ātman-*, *N.*, 35. 7, 94. 12 ; cf. *L.*, 74, and *uysāne-jān* "exhaling", instr. sing., *N.*, 50. 24. The word *an-* is poorly represented in Iran., see *AIW.*, 112, 358. To Pahl. *žān* "life", cf. MPT. S.W. *gy'y* and *z'y* "place", NPers. *jāy*.

"imposture", *SCE.*, 253, etc.; *rty prw δρυμικ w'n'w w'βt* "and in falsehood he so speaks".

Saka *drūjō hratāndī* "they have spoken lies", *Mait. Sam.*, 235.

Arm. lw. *droužem, držem* "transgress, infringe, fail", *droužan* "faithlessness", *ouxtadrouž* "violator of a vow, transgressor".

The verb *družitan* occurs in Pahl., as *MX.*, 8, 15 (ed. Andreas, p. 24, ll. 10-11): *Miθr ut Zuvān i akanārak ut mēnōk i dātastān kē pat ēē kas nē družēt* "Mihr and Zuvān the infinite and the spirit of justice whom no one can deceive in aught".

Herodotus noted (i, 138): αἰσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ φεύδεσθαι *venómoustai*.

4. *arask* "envy". This is the Pahl. translation of Avestan *araskō* (*Y.*, 9, 5), NPers. *arask, rašk* "envy", MPT. *ryškyn* adj. "envious" (*Sal. Nachtr.*), and probably *ryšqer'n* "enviers"? *Sal. Man. St.*, p. 124. Pahl., NPers., and MPT. have *-šk-* over against Avestan *-sk-*. Sogd. goes with the Avestan: Christ. Sogd. *'rsqny* (*ST.* 33, 18): *šm'vn qt žyḡrty bwt 'rsqny* (*'arasqanē*), *Lk.* 6, 15, Σίμωνα τὸν καλούμενον Ζηλωτήν.

8. *dahyupatān* 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, Arm. lw. *dēhpet*. Bthl., *MM.*, 3, 23 f., reads *dēhupat*; cf. *Az.* 17: *ērān dēhupat*. It is the title of the great king OP *xšāyaθiṣya vazrka* as "King of the Lands". Bab. *šar matātē*, Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, ii, 33. In Pahl. it is parallel with *sardār, sālār, xwatāy* (Bthl., loc. cit.). Cf. on § 18 *infra*.

9. *zarēn ut asīmēn* 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. *zarēn* can be explained from **zaran(y)a-*. It is then distinct from the adj. *zarrēn* < **zarn-aīna* (cf. *AIW.*, Sp. 1678). So in *zarēn kart, zarēn pēsūt*, *AV. Gloss.*, 148, 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. *asīmēn* is adj. "of silver", but in *asīmēn pēsūt*, *AV.*, 12, 9, is apparently noun. It could be explained as analogic to *zarēn*. Hence (*a*)*sīmēn* might be kept in *Az.* 11 and here.

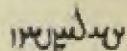
9. *āmār* "reckoning". Iranian (*h*)*mar-* is well represented. Pahl. *marak* 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, Paz. *mara*, NP. *mara* "number", Pahl. *mar*, NPers. *mār* "number", Pahl. *āmār* beside *ēmār*; see Bthl., *SR.*, 1, 21; Junker, *FP.*, 38, 93; *āmārēnitan* "pay" and "consider", *MM.*, 1, 37, *SR.*, 4, 46. In compounds: *pasēmār pasmār* "defendant", *pēsēmār pēmār* "plaintiff", *hamēmār*¹ "opponent", *MX.*, 1, 37, etc.; Paz. *hamēmār hamēmāl* (= "Ankläger", *MM.*, 2, 20; *MM.*, 1, 29).

¹ A similar form is found in Arm. lw. *hamemat* "proportionate" < **ham-ašī-māta*. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gram.*, 463, has no solution.

mārišn "memory" (see ZII., 2, 63). MP. Inscript. *'ḥmr* **ahmār* < **aḥimāra* in *aḥmār-kār* *'ḥmrkr* "Minister of Finance", see Marquart, *Ādīna*, § 24, Arm. lw. *hamarakar*, see also Nyberg, "Pahlavi Inscriptions of Derbend," *Bull. de la Société Scientifique d'Azerbaïdjan*, 1929, No. 8, part v. *'m'lk* **amārkar*. NPers. *hamār* "number", Arm. lw. *hamar* "calculation, number", can come from **ham-māra* or **adi-māra*.¹ Av. *mar-*, *AIW.*, 1147, Pahl. *pātmār* "judgment", *FP.*, 122. On the preverb **adi-* see Marquart, *Ādīna*, §§ 21-6, and add Pahl. Psal. *'deyn* **aḍ'eēn* "law".

Beside forms without *h-*: *š-*, are found, with *š*: Av. *hišmarəntō* *aīvi-šmarəntō* *patišmarəmina* *patišmarəntəm*, Pahl. *ōšmurtan*, *ōšmarišn*, NPers. *šumurdan* "to count", *šumār* "number", Sogd. (Buddh.) *šm'rt* "he thinks", *Dhuta*, 5, 11, etc.; *šm'r'kh* "thought", *Dhuta*, 46, etc.; *ptšmyrty* "he counts", *Frag.*, 2a, 9; *ptšm'r* "number", *SCE.*, 3, etc.; Sogd. (Christ.) *šm'ryq* "reflective", *šm'ryt* "thoughts". Arm. lw. *nšmar* "trace", *nšmarem* "perceive". But Pahl. *mārīk*, which Bartholomae derives from this word, is probably < **manθra-*, *SR.*, 1, 21, No. 1; cf. Sogd. (Buddh.) *m'r'kh* "words of sorcery", *m'rkr'yt* "sorcerers", Arm. lw. *margarē* "prophet", MPT. *mhr-* "hymn".

To **hmar-* belong also Saka *hamara-* "moment", *Sacu Doc.*, 54, 73, N., 5, 40, etc., and *aḥumāra-* "many, countless", *N.*, 3, 34, 66, 28, 75, 30, etc. Leumann's derivation **a-sumātra* is, as often, too Indian (*N.*, 78, 10).

To *ahmār*: Beside this M. Iran. *ah-* < **aḥi*, the same form of preverb resulted from **ati-* > *ah-*, see Bthl., *ZAIW.*, 63, No. 1, on MPT. *'hr'myd* *'hr'myšn* *v'd'hr'm*, Pahl. *ahrāmīšn*  Pāz. *aharāmīšn* "lead to". I see the same preverb in a Sogdian passage which has been misunderstood, *SCE.*, 27-30. In l. 28 f. occurs:—

rtymys 'sty Zkny ṣš'yt 'Pny wš'yt rtymys 'sty Zkny 'wyh γ'n'kh
skuty rty prw ryz γwert 't ny'wnt.

This Benveniste translates: *puis il y a celui qui a nourriture et vêtement (?)*. *Puis il y a celui qui demeure dans une maison et a, à sa satisfaction, nourriture et vêtements*. But the Chinese text refers only once to food and clothing, in Pelliot's translation, ll. 10 f.: *il y en a qui entrent au palais et vivent à la cour, et ont à leur gré vêtements et*

¹ Arm. lw. *hastat* "established" < **aḥistāta* beside Pahl. *ṣstāt*, NPers. *istād*.

nourriture. This antithesis is preceded in the Chinese ("il y en a qui errent au dehors et que la faim et le froid torturent") and in the Sogdian by the antithesis of hunger and cold and want of lodgment. With this it is possible to take l. 28, *rtymš 'sty Zkny čš'yt 'Pny wš'yt*. In this the two words *čš'yt* and *wš'yt* have lacked an explanation. Gauthiot, *Gram. Sogd.*, i, p. 72, clearly connected *čš'yt* with the word *čaš-* "to drink", whence Sogd. (Buddh.) *čš'nt* "boisson", cf. Arm. lw. *čaš* "meal, feast", and so Benveniste in the *Glossaire*, SCE., 74. For *wš'y-*, also in the *Glossaire*, "s'habiller" is given. But it seems better to explain both *čš'yt* and *wš'yt* as compounds of the verb *š'y-* which occurs also in *'βš'yt*, SCE., 457, etc., "il sejourne," the Sogdian cognate of Avestan *šay-*, Sanskr. *kṣeti*. Then *wš'yt* is clearly **vi-šāyati* "dwells apart, or in various places", for the vi- cf. Sanskr. *vivas-* "to dwell abroad, to lodge", and Junker's explanation of Mid. Pers. Truf. *vy'g*, Mid. Pers. Inscript. *gyo'k* in *Wörter und Sachen*, 1929, 147-8, as from **viwāhaka-*.

The other word *čš'yt* is rather more disguised. It is **čišāyt* from **ati-šāyati*. It is a case of assimilation, *tiš-* > *čiš-*, of which two other clear cases occur: *čštū'n* "poor", SCE., 11, 15, etc., and *čšn* "thirst". *čštū'n* is **čuštawān* from **duštawān* through **tuštawān*. The unassimilated form is also found: *δštū'n* "poor", Frag., iia, 3, 9, and in the abstract *δšt'wōy* "poverty", Frag., iia, 7. For the assimilation cf. further the Arm. lw. *t'snam* "enemy" from **dušman-*.

Similarly *čšn* **čišn-* "thirst" is from **tršna-*, New Pers. *tišna* "thirsty". It should not be connected with *čaš-* "to drink" (Gauthiot, *Gram. Sogd.*, 163).

The development of *'čštyk* "third" is naturally different and comes from **θrtiya-*, see *Gram. Sogd.*, ii, 141.


The preverb *ati-* may also be present in Ossetic in the form *-c-*. As is clear from *ācāg* "true" < **haθya-ka-*, *-θi-* resulted in *-c-*. When, therefore, *-c-* is found in *acaunjin* "aufhängen", *acamonjin* "anzeigen", *bacamonjin* "belehren", *ārcarazjn* "zurichten", and other verbs, it can be explained as **aθi-*, the form developed before vowels. This seems better than Miller's explanation, *Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.*, I Anhang, p. 84, of *-c-* from *us-*, *už-*.

With more hesitation it is possible to derive Oss. *cāfsjn* "brennen" from **ati-tafsa-*, if it is assumed that **c't-* could become **ct-* and **c-*.

The Saka preverb *tea-* in *teabaljiti*, N., 50. 23, "er zerstückelt", and *teabrīšti*, N., 50. 34, "er zerbricht", may possibly contain a similar *ati-* developed either before a vowel or by assimilation and later

in error when he connects MPT. 'gr'v with 'rg'v. MPT. 'rg'v "precious, dear" is to be connected with *arg-* "to be worth". This word is well represented: Av. *arəg-*, *arəjat*, Y., 50, 10; *arəjaiti*, Haδ. Nask., 1, 6; *arəja-* "valuable", *arəji-* "worthy", *arəjah-* "price".

Pahl. *arž*, *aržān*, Arm. lw. *aržan*, NPers. *arz*, *arž*, *aržān*, *aržidan*.

MPT. 'rg'v "dear", 'rg'vyf(t) "dearness", Sogd. (Buddh.) 'ry "price", VN., 38, Oss. *ary* "price", Arm. lw. *y-arg* "price", *y-argem* "to honour", *anargem* "to dishonour", Skr. *arghá* "price". Here belongs also Saka *alysānā*, later *eysānā*, "prince": this is **aržāna-ka-* < **aržāna-*. It is necessary to recognize *ys* (notation of *z*) < *ž* palatal development of Iranian *-g*. Similarly in Saka *diysde* translating Skr. *dhārayati*, L., 89, 5, and elsewhere, beside *dijs-* in *dijsāti*, 3rd sing conj., *dijsāka-* "one who holds", L., 89, 15, 97, 36, etc., and *drijsānā*, N., 107, 28, "to be held", Av. *drag-* "hold". *Alysānā*, therefore, does not represent a base (Indo-Iran.) **arǵh* distinct from **argh*, as Leumann supposed, L., 63. The form *alys-* (**arz-* or **alz-*) with palatal agrees with NPers. and Pahl. *aržān* "worthy". Two forms, one palatal and one guttural, exist side by side, originally due to the development of gutturals to palatals before front vowels in Indo-Iranian. Examples of the two forms in Pahl. *-k* and *-č* are: *āmōč* beside *āmōk* "teaching", NPers. *gurēz* beside *gurēy* "flight", *afrōy* "rays", *rōz* "day". For the voiced guttural cf. Pahl. NPers. *tang* "constricted", Pahl. *vidang*, MPT. *vidang*, Arm. lw. *vtang* "peril, distress" beside NPers. *tanj* "pressing, fixing", *tanjīdan*. In Pahl. occurs  *tanž* "straining" (of gaze), Iranian **tanga-* beside **tanjah-*. Hereto probably Sogd. (Buddh.) *wyty-* "pain", **vitaya-*, a form without nasal, cf. *pδ'nk-* beside *pδkh* "law", Christ. Sogd. *pdq'*. In this way, too, is to be explained Saka *bāysi* *bāysu* "garden", N., 169, 3, 4, loc. sing. *bāša*, L., 127, N., 171, 15 (*ys* = *z*, *š* = *zi*), from **bāzi(ah)-*, over against Sogd. (Christ.) *b'g* *βāy* "garden", Mt., 21, 33 = *ἀμπελωνα*, ST., 19, 15, etc.; Pahl. NPers. *bāy* "garden", otherwise Leumann, *Zvgl. S.*, 1930, 188.

The Saka word *pārāse* (*Sacu Doc.*, 63) can be explained in the same way. It may be *pā-rāsa-* (*s* = *z*, or it could be misspelling for *-ys-* as elsewhere). The *pā-*¹ < *pati-* cf. Pahl. *pātkōs*, *pātdahišn* *pātrūs* *pāzand*, Paz. *pādāšm*, NPers. *pāzahr*, see Bthl., *ZAIW.*, 179-88, Marquart *Ādīna*, § 31. *-rāsa-* **rāza-* < **rāža-* is the form with palatal which corresponds to NPers. *rāy* "a verdant meadow".

¹ Hereto Arm. lw. *pakas* "defective", *pakasem* "to lack", Pahl. *kās-* (*čāsmkās*, *MX.*, 2, 181, ed. Andreas, p. 17, l. 11), *kāhēnītan* "to diminish".

To return to Pahl. *ēr*. Paz. *anōrī*, *MX.*, 21, 25, is rendered into Skr. by *anādeśacāratā*. In *anērih*, therefore, is included both the non-Iranian peoples and their habits. Pahl. *ēr* "Iranian" occurs in *Az.* 79: *ēē ēr āzāt pasoxv nē dāt* "no Iranian noble answered".

Ērān uδ Anērān forms a regular part of the titulary of Sasanian kings, Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, p. 145. Both Northern (*aryān uδ anaryān*) and Southern (*ērān uδ anērān*) forms are known.

Arm. *erani*, and derivatives, "blessed", may be from either *arya-* or *ayra*, with a development of meaning in ecclesiastical use.

In Saka beside palatal forms, as above, a form with guttural is to be recognized in *dau* "fire", *Mait. Sam.*, 297, *dai* "fire", *N.*, 58. 16 = *dei*, *N.*, 102. 10, instr. sing. *daina*, *N.*, 58. 9, loc. sing. *dāna*, *N.*, 156. 12, from **dāya-*, cf. NPers. *dāy* "brand", Av. *dag-* "to burn", *AIW.*, 675. The palatal forms occur in the Saka verb *pa-dajsāñj* "to be burnt", *N.*, 101. 41, with part. *padāta-padīya-* "burnt" < **pa-dayda*.

14. *vat* 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭭 (Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch*, p. 55, 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭭) "bad", NPers. *bad*, Arm. lw. *vat*. In Saka, *bata-*, *bataka-* is "small". It is possible to compare for the semantics Sogd. (Buddh.) *ks-*, Av. *kasu-* "small" with Gr. *kakós* "bad". For the Saka words see *N.*, 13. 41; 93. 42; 76. 27; *bataku*, 13. 42; *Mait. Sam.*, 286, etc.

14. *driyus* "poor". It is here defined by its antithesis *tuβānkar* "rich". For the reading, Bartholomae (*MM.*, 1, 37) pointed to the Pārsi-Pers. درغوشان — دریوشان. In Pāz. *daryōš*, *daryōšī*, *darōšī*, *driošī*, *dryōšī*, *MX. Gloss.*, p. 55. Y.Av. *driyu-*, *drivī* f., G.Av. *dragu-*. The relation of Pāz. *daryōš* to NPers. *darvēs* is not clear. Has *-yō-* been interchanged with *-vē-*? It is possible to compare Pahl. *pērōž* < **paryōž* (**pari-ōjah*) and *aparvēž* < **upary-ōž* (?) "victorious".

15. *āzātān* 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭭 "nobles": epithet of the head of a *vis*, OPers. *viθ*, and his family—"nobly born". *Az.*, 79, *ēr āzāt* "noble Iranian", see Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, i, 183, No. 2, Av. *āzāta-*. The OPers. passage, *B.*, 1, 3, *ājmātā amahy* "we are noble" is still disputed. Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, adopts the conjecture *ādāta*, which would fit admirably. *āzātīh* "nobility, high birth" is a favour from Yazdān in § 37 *infra*.

For *āzāt* in the sense of "free", NPers. *āzād*, see Bthl., *SR.*, 1, 47, No. 5: *mart ē kā-š anšathrik . . . āzāt bē kart* "when a man has freed the slave".

16. *duxtar pat kāpēn* 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭭 "a daughter with

18. *katak xvatāyih* "authority in the house, patria potestas". *katak xvatāy* is found in two senses: (1) *katak* "house", corresponding to Av. *nmāna-* (G.Av. *dəmāna-*), OPers. *māniya-* (adj.), the family. (2) *katak* "House, the Great House", or *vis*, OPers. *viθ*. Hence *katak-xvatāyān* are Satraps, Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, 1, 118; Bthl., *MM.*, 3, 34 f. So in the *Iran. Bund.*, 214, 13: *Alak [du] sandar kesar . . . ērān šahr pat 90 *katak* [Text 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥] *xvatāy baxt* "Alexander Caesar divided Ērān Šahr among 90 princes".

19. *zur* *apar* *gopet*. *zur* § 22, 1; *Iran. Bd.*, 187, 1, 4: *zur* "lies", *z'ere'z* "lying speech", *Sal., Man. St.*, p. 80, 79, and *Nachträge*. The spelling *زور* remains obscure (see Junker, *Cauc.*, 3, 56); it may be either graphic distinction from *zur*, **zōr* "strength", or indicate a disyllable. In *Pahl.* occurs a word *𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥* *Iran. Bd.*, 187, 1, 4: *zēz dart 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 bēš*, which could be "peril, pain, wrong, hatred". Then read **zuhar*, in which -*h*- may be in hiatus, or **zuar* with scriptio plena of -*a*-. The same word may occur in *𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ham . . . ān* used of *dēvs*. Avestan *zārah-* in compounds *zūrō.jata-*, *zūrō.bārata-*, *AIW.*, 1698; OPers. *zura* "wrong", *zurakara-* "doing wrong", *B.*, 4, § 13, possibly Skr. *hvāras-* "deceit, wrong". Cf. *RV.*, 5, 20, 2 (374): *āpa dvēšo āpa hvāro 'nyāvratasya saścire* "they fall away into the hatred and evil of the worshipper of other gods". Here *hvāras-* appears with *dvēšas-* as in the *Iran. Bund.* passage just quoted.

In Sogd. (Buddh.) occurs another word for "wrong", 'rn, *Dhuta*, 83, *Dhyāna*, 141, 'rnk, *Dhyāna*, 144, 'rn ny γw'nh, *VJ.*, 1450, "tort et péché", which seems to offer a means of explaining the Avestan *arənať, čaēša-*, *Yt.*, 10. 35, ἀπαξ λεγ., epithet of Miθra—it remains unexplained in the latest translation of *Yast* 10 (Hertel, *Die Sonne u. Mithra im Avesta*, p. 143, § 35, No. 1). By comparison with this Sogdian word 'rn "wrong", the Av. is probably "punishing wrong": **arna-čaiša* to *kāy-*, *AIW.*, 464, Skr. *cāyate*, etc. Cf. also Miθra's

epithet *aśaśtārām*, *Yt.*, 10. 26, "punisher", < **ā-śai-tar-*. To **arna-*, cf. Skr. *ṛnā-*. For the spelling *t.ē* = *ē*, see Reichelt, *Av. Elem. buch.*, p. 45, § 61.

The same word is in Saka *ārra-*, translating Sanskrit *aparādha-*, *L.*, 88, *Mait. Sam.*, 274, etc. For the form cf. *kārra-* "deaf", Sogd. (Buddh.) *krrn-*, Pahl. *karr*, Av. *karəna-*. It is found also in the compound *ārragiḍa-* < **arna-kṛta-*. The Saka form with *ā-* supports the Avestan vocalization *ar-* against the Skr. *r-*.

21. *Avarīk* 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭭 "inferior". Av. *aorā* "under, down", Skr. *āvāra-* "inferior", Pahl. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭭 *avarōn*, *ōrōn* "down", MP. Inscript. *avarōnē*, *avarōndarē* "yonder, beyond, superior" (Herzfeld, *Paikuli*). This word *avarīk* should probably be read for 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭭, § 58 *infra*: *xvartak* "small" is less suitable. For the form cf. Pahl. *aparīkān*, *aparīk*, *aparak* "superior", *aḍarīkān* "inferiores", *aparīkān* "superiores", MPT. 'brg "superior"; cf. Bthl., *SR.*, 4, 30.

24. *ān i kē*, *ān kē* "he who". Pahl. MSS. are of no critical value in deciding on the presence or absence of the relative *i* (*ē*) < OPers. *hya*. The full relative sense was gradually obscured, and although still frequent in Pahl. (written either 𐭠 or 𐭠𐭣 *ZY*), is there, too, sometimes strengthened by the addition of *kē*, *ka*, or *čēgōn*. On *i kē* 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭭 𐭠 see *MX.*, 2. 165, 186; Bthl., *SR.*, 2. 26, No. 3; Pāz. *i ka*, *MX.*, loc. cit. On *i kē*, Bthl., *Zur Etym.*, 23 (where the text can be kept). On *i čēgōn*, cf. Paz., *MX.*, 41. 11, *panž drūž . . . i čuñ hast āž u zašm u varun u nang u azvarsandī* "the five Druž . . . which are avarice and anger and lust and shame and discontent".

25. *uzdēhīkīh* "exile". Av. *uzdahyunəmča fravašayō*, *Y.*, 26. 9, "the Fravrtis of those who are outside the provinces," is translated in the Pahl. *Comm.* by *uzdēhīkān-č ahraβān fravahr*. On *dahyu* § 8 *supra*. Sogd. (Buddh.) 'ztye **zda^hyu* (Benveniste, *Gram Sogd.*, ii, 170) "exiled". MPT. 'zdyh, 'vzdyh "exiled", Sal., *Man. St.*, 49, 104.

25. *bēkānīh* "foreign parts" 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭭𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭭, *bēkānakīh*, § 48. Pahl. *bē* "out, away", frequently in the phrase *bē ō* 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭭𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭭, *ruvān bē ō kū d'βārēt* "whither does the soul go?" Bthl., *SR.*, 2. 47. For *hač . . . bē*, see § 27 *infra*. Pahl. *bērōn* "outside", MPT. *byrcn*, Sal., *Man. St.*, 62; Bthl., *ZAIW.*, 51; NPers. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭭𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭭. Pahl. *bētom* 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭭𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭭 or 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭭𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭭 "outermost", superlative to *bē* "out", MPT. *bydvm*.

Pahl. *bēkānak* "foreign", NPers. *bēgāna* بگانه. Pahl. *bē šuθrīk*
 𐭠𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭫𐭪𐭥𐭲𐭬𐭥𐭲 "foreign". Cf. Bthl., MM., 3, 34, No. 1. It seems hard
 to separate from these words Sogd. (Buddh.) *βyk-*: *βyk'* "outside",
βykpṛmw "outside", *βyks'r* "to the outside", *βykdynyk* "heretic",
 plur. *βykdyn'yt*, DS., 5, 11, *čntr βyk*, Dhuta, 35, "inside and outside".
βykp'r, Dhuta, 123, *βykp'r'yčk*, Dhuta, 174, 50, etc., "external".
 Christ. Sogd. (ST., 70, 13, 14) (*fašaq*) *dārānt vinē pēsā* "they drove
 him out". Yaghnobi *wīk* "outside", *či . . . wīski* "outside of",
 see Benveniste, *Gram. Sogd.*, ii, 155-6. Further, Waxi *wič* "outside",
wičung "being outside", Sariqoli *wač*, *wačenj*, *Grund. Iran. Phil.*,
 ib. 308.

26. *aδsufatak* ʾaδsufatak (*ē*sufatak) "disordered". Marquart, *Ādīna*, § 24, has dealt with the preverb (Iranian) *adi* > *aδ*-, *ah*-, *h*-, *ē*-, see § 9 *supra* (also Junker, *FP.*, 38-9, 93; Bthl., *SR.*, 1. 21, No. 1). This preverb is found often beside forms with *ā*-, in which one can recognize either Iranian *ā*- or *adi* > *ā*-. Pahl. Psal. 'dēyn "law", MPT. 'dy'vr "helper" assure this *aδi*- for Pahl. With *aδsufatak* cf. *višufatan* "to ruin", *višōpišn*, *āšōp*, Arm. lw. *apšop*, *ašop* "tumult", *HAG.*, 106, NPers. *āšōb*, *āšufatan*, Sogd. (Buddh.) 'βš'unpt, *SCE.*, 104, "écorcher".

27. *bar* 𐰪 "fruit". Pahl. *bar*, NPers. *bar* "fruit, produce". Draxt i Asōrik, § 1 (Pahl. T., 109) *bar-š māmēt angūr* "its fruit resembles a grape". *barβar* 𐰪𐰣 "fruit-bearing", "profitable", Bthl., SR., 5. 29. Sogd. (Buddh.) *βr'k* "fruit", VN., 80, (Christ.) *βrūt, βrūtī* "τῶν καρπῶν", ST., 19. 18, 21. 14. This is probably the word which occurs in the Saka (*Sacu Document*, 65) *ma tūā tūā pvaī' sai bari vilakye brre vī* "Do not fear so, the fruit of the plants appears in its (time of) growth".

brre, < **abi-rōḍa*-. The development will be **birūi* > **brūi* > **brī* > *brī*, (*brē*), for the loss of -u- -v- cf. *grīcyō*, *grūico*, *grīcyau*, *N.*, 2. 20, and *tīye* "he goes", to *rūiti* "grows", *Mait. Sam.*, 125, 126, 117 < *rūi-ti* < **rōḍati*, *Av. rucd-* "grow", *AIW.*, 1492, *NPers. rustan*, *rōyad*, *Pahl. rōḍiṣn*, *rustan*, *Sogd. (Buddh.) ruḍt*, **rōḍi* "grows", *Dhyāna*, 284, etc., *ruḍ'k* "growing", *Frag.*, 3. 4, *ruḍ'i* "may it grow", *Frag.*, 3. 5. The Saka compound **abi-rōḍ-* is found in *hambrūitti*, *Mait. Sam.*, 128, "grows together", which also illustrates the earlier stage -*rūi*-. For -*e*, cf. *bre* "dear", *N.*, 163. 20, beside *brī*, *N.*, 119. 6.

With *rvitti*, *sai* illustrates a tendency in Saka phonetics in the treatment of intervocalic -δ-. For *sai* "appears" = *saitti*, *scitti*, *N.*, 50. 24, etc., cf. *kei* "he thinks", *Mait. Sam.*, p. 41 (*E.*, xiv, 31) = *kē'ti*, *N.*, 22. 33. In Saka -ada- became -aḍa- > *ai* > *ai*, *ei*, *ē* :—
mad-, *maitti* "is intoxicated", *N.*, 127. 8, 15.

band-, *baitti* "he binds", *N.*, 127. 9, 21; *baindi*, 3rd plur.; *basta-*, part.

sand-, *saitti*, *scitti* "appears", *N.*, 21. 1, 50. 34, etc.; *saindi*, 3rd plur.; *sasta-*, part.

rad-, **abi-rad-* *bvaitti* "mounts", *Mait. Sam.*, 150; *bv'asti*, part., *N.*, 76. 44; *bāyīndi* "they lead", *bāsta-*, part.

**ati-rad-*, *tvāyāki* "a guide".

**ni-rad-*, *nvāstai*, 2nd sing., "you have escaped", *N.*, 169. 10.

rōd-, *rvitti* "grows", *rrusta-*, part., *N.*, 171. 12; *hambruṭti* "grows together".

But from *bōd-*, *butte* "he awakes", *L.*, 129; *būtte* "it gives perfume", *L.*, 129, *bucāre*, 3rd plur.; and from *rōd-*, *rruye* "is deprived of", *Bhadrak. S.*, 32.

These verbs in -ad- therefore fall together in the present with -āy- verbs: *daitti* "he sees", *daindi* "they see", but with part. *dita-* "seen"; *pvai*, 2nd sing. imperat. "fear" < **pa-baya-*, *Av. bay-*, *AIW.*, 927.

It accordingly becomes possible to explain the line *Mait. Sam.*, 249 : *nyaskya nī hīmji bihiyu ēe ttiṭe āhvainā kuṣḍe* "humiliation is upon them exceedingly, whoso looks upon these desirable things".

āhvainā < **ā-hvāḍana-ka-* to Pahl. *xvāh-*, *xvāḍ-*, *xvāstan* "desire", NPers. *xvāh-*, *xvāstan* "desire", Afg. *xwand* "taste, pleasure", *Av. xwandra-kara-* "pleasing" (see Morg., *Et. Voc. Pashto*; *AIW.*, 1865), *xvāsta-* "cooked", *AIW.*, 1878, to Skr. *svād-*. MPT. *xvāšt* "desired" to *xvaz-*, and *xvāšt* "desired" to *xvad-*. For *xvaz-*, Kurd. *xvaz-*, *xvāst*, Zaza *vāz-*, *xvaz-*, *vāšt*, see Bthl., *SR.*, 5. 55, No. 2. In Sogd. (Buddh.) occurs *γwyz-* "beg for" (*γwyzty*, 3rd sing., *Dhuta*, 280, Frag., 2a. 10, etc.), *γwyz'kw* "question", *Dhuta*, 77, *γwyz'y k'm* "will seek", *Dhuta*, 144. Sogd. (Christ.) *γwēng* "I will beg", *ST.*, 75, 4, etc., *n'syrywzyty* ("not wishing well" =) "enemies". Christ. Sogd. keeps *γ* distinct from *x*, although in *pōyny p'ōyny* "answer" *γ* may replace *x*. At least, it is impossible to separate Sogd. *γwz-* "seek" from the Western *xvaz-* "desire". *āhvainā* is, therefore, "desired things". In *kuṣḍe* I recognize the verb corresponding to Sogd. (Buddh.) *k'wēš-* in *tk'wēš-* "contemplate", *tk'wēšt* "he regards",

Dhuta, 87, etc. < **ati-kōš-*: *kuṣṣe* with *ṣde* (phonetically -*ṣdē*) < **-šate* as in *pyūṣṣe* "he hears", *L.*, 124, < **pa-gōš-ate*.

On *vilakye* see § 1 (on *pursūt*) *supra*.

27. *hač . . . bē* 𐭠𐭣𐭥 . . . 𐭠𐭣𐭥 "without". This frequent phrase is illustrated by Bthl., *SR.*, 2. 47. Cf. archaic NPers. 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *bē az*, Browne, "Old Pers. Comm. on the Kur'ān," *JRAS.*, 1894, p. 439; Pahl. *bē hač* 𐭠𐭣𐭥, Spiegel, *Eint.*, 1. 147.

28. *būm* **vižandak* ut **vināskār bē bavēt*. All MSS. here are corrupt. The readings are:—

MU. 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥

DE. 𐭠𐭣𐭥

DP. 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥

𐭠𐭣𐭥 and 𐭠𐭣𐭥, *būm* and *pus*, are often confused. For 𐭠𐭣𐭥 I read 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *vižandak* "injured, damaged", connected with Pahl. *vižand* "damage", MPT. *vzynd*, NPers. *gazand*. A similarly corrupt passage seems to occur in *AV.*, 53. 5. 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 should be read 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *zamīk vižandēnand* "they injure the earth". In *SBE.*, 47. 166, 𐭠𐭣𐭥 (West, *gangāito*): one can read *vižandēhēt*—a passive form of the denominative *vižandēnūtan*, see Bthl., *Mir. St.*, 5. 35: *raṣākīhastan*, pass. to *raṣākēnūtan*. [But see Corr.]

For 𐭠𐭣𐭥 I read 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *vināskār*. *Vinās* "(1) injury, damage, (2) sin", as in Arm. lw. *vnas* "(1) injury, (2) sin". Cf. § 74 *infra*, the complaint of Spandaramat. Pagliaro, *Az.*, 48, translates *vinās kunēt* by "*usando frode*", but a less ethical sense is equally possible: "he causes damage, does injury to". NPers. *gunāh* is "sin". Cf. Bthl., *SR.*, 5. 6, *vināskārīh* (1) "Verschulden", (2) "Schädigung".

avērānīh "desolation" 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭠𐭣𐭥 *avērān* "desolated, waste" is usually written with 𐭠 = *v* (not *β*): NPers. *vērān*, Paz. *avīraṇ*, Jud. Pers. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭠𐭣𐭥, Pahl. *avērak* "waste", 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭠𐭣𐭥, Arm. lw. *averak*, see Bthl., *ZAIW.*, p. 110, No. 1.

30. *gartēt* 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭠𐭣𐭥 "turns about". Two roots *vart-* and *gart-* are to be distinguished. They occur together in *Māfīkān i Čatrang*, § 17,

"In the time of delight (?) the flowers grow. This rose of mine is good to see and sweet-scented. This rose in my hand will fade. But it is carried in my mindful heart when the flowers are no more".

jūhānai, possibly part. middle to *jsūštj* "he delights in", *Vajracchedikā*, 43: for *js* = *j* = *gy* cf. *janīdī* "they kill" = *jsānīndī*, *jsanānī* "to be killed", *N.*, 101. 39, *jsīna* "lifetime", *jvīni* "may I live", *jvīndī* "they live", *paljsite* "it blooms", *M.*, 120, *haspalgya* "make bloom", *M.*, 191. Beside *jsūštj*, of which *js-* is unusual if it is related to *Av. zaoš-* (*Skr. jōsate*, etc.), occurs a word *ysūsde* "he treasures", *Leumann, Supplet.*, p. 187, with the expected *ys-* = *z*, *Av. zaoš-*. For *-h-* < *ž*, *š* cf. *uhu* "you", nom. < **yūzam*, *pihei* "he strikes", *pihyūniṇa* "with a blow", *N.*, 9. 15 < **piž-* to *Av. *paiš-* in *pištra-* "striking", *NPers. pišt* "meal", *Skr. pināṣṭi*, *pištā-*, and *brhaṇa*, § 1 *supra*. Hence *jūhānai bādī* "time of rejoicing (?)".

spyakyi "flowers", *spita-* "flower", with (diminutive) suffix *-ka*, see § 1 *supra*.

būšajsa probably adj. Cf. *rrī'tajsa* "having holes", *khūnājsa* "defective", *rrīmajsa* "defiled", *ysōjsa* "savoury".

būda "borne, carried" < **brta-*.

*pūmūda*¹ "withered" < *pāmṛta-*. *mūda* "dead" < **mṛta-*, for *pā-*, *pū-* cf. *pāramjite* "diminishes" (to *Afg. rangai*).

ysīri byāji "in mindful heart". *byāji* is adj to *byāta-* "memory": **byāgya-* < **byāta-kyā*. For omission of *-t-* cf. *bāna* "with wind", *nānīdi* "they took" beside *nāti* "he took", *dā*, nom. acc. sing. "law" = *dāta-*. The suffix is treated by *Leumann, L.*, 101. The word *daji*, *Sacu Doc.*, 67, *daji gūni* "of — colour", is probably an adj. meaning "of fire": *daji* < **dagya-* to *dai*, *dei* "fire", only one would have expected **dāji*, cf. *dāna*, loc. sing., "in the fire" < **dāya-*.

In contrast to *būda mūda*, where *-u-* is due to the labial, *āysdaḍa-* "honoured" < **ā-uz-darta*, cf. *Av. adarātō*, (*kačša-* "not honouring the teacher", and, for **āz-*, *NPers. āzmāyad* "he tries", *Pahl. uzmayēt*, and *hamdāda-* "favoured" < **ham-dārta-*, cf. *Arm. lw.*

¹ In Saka a tendency to interchange *ū* and *ū̄* is distinctly noticeable. In *Sacu Doc.*, 62, occurs *māhāsamūndrri* for *Skr. mahāsamudra-*. Beside *kūmdai* "husband" appears *kūmdai*, *N.*, 164. 8: to be connected with *Pahl. kūš*, *NPers. kūy* "husband". *Leumann's* etymology, *N.*, 163. 10, **kūntaka* is unsatisfactory. For a derivation of *kūmdai* see *Morg., Indo-Iran. Frontier Languages*, i, p. 298. *Parachi zā* "husband" = *Yd. šfoh* to *Av. fuyant-* "peasant". Further, *ū* beside *ū̄* in *Saka rruṇḍj* = *rrāndj* "of the king", *JRAS.*, 1914. 340, and *kūmṇj* "regnal year", *Sacu Doc.*, 7, 32, beside *kūṇj*, *JRAS.*, 1914. 351.

handart "tranquil" have *-art-* and *-ārt-*. From *yan-* "make, do", *yīda-* < **yirta-*, in which *-i-* is due to the *y-*, beside *yuḍa-*.

34. *paḍak* or *paḍīk* "footman". Arm. lw. *payik* "foot-soldier", NPers. *paig* "messenger", Arab lw. *faiḡ* "courier", Syriac *pyg* "foot-soldier", *HAG.*, 220. The short *-ā-* is found also in OPers. *nipadiy* "behind", NPers. *pai* "foot, track", *az pai* "behind", Pahl. 𐭯𐭮𐭮 *padē* (Nyb., *Hilfsb.*, p. 57), *paḍ*, *FP.*, p. 98. Sogd. (Buddh.) *pōy pōy*, **paḍē paḍē* "at every step", *Dhyāna*, 284. Here belongs also Saka *nvai*, *nvī* < **nipadi* + *ahya*, *nva*, *nuva* < **nipadā*, *nvaiya* < **nipadayā* (loc. sing.), cf. *dāña* < **dāyanayā* "in the fire", § 13 *supra*. References are *Mail. Sam.*, 157 (*nvai*), 247 (*nuva*); *Sacu Doc.*, 38, 63 (*nvī*); *Bhadrak S.*, 18 (*nvī*), 7 (*nvaiya*). With long *-ā-*: Pahl. 𐭯𐭮𐭮, *FP.*, 10. 10, *pāḍ* regularly written with the Semitic mask *RGLH*, *FP.*, 107. MPT. *p'd* "foot", NPers. *pāy* "foot", and in the derivative Pahl. *pāḍak* "station", NPers. *pāya*, Sogd. (Buddh.) *p'dk*, *p'dy* "foot", *Dhyāna*, 284, *Frag.*, 2a. 11. Christ. Sogd. *p'dy vn-* "to set up", *ST.*, 22. 22. *aṭ pāḍē vanfiqā* "καὶ στήσει". *p'dyt*, *pāḍēt* "feet", *ST.*, 54. 17, etc. Saka *pā* "feet", loc. plur. *pō'*, *N.* 47. 16, *paduā* *pv'ā*.

For the treatment of *-ḍ-* in the Saka forms, cf. § 27 *supra*. In compounds two treatments are found: (1) *-d-* (= *-ḍ-*) is preserved, *paḍita* "burnt" < **pa-dayda*. (2) *-ḍ-* > *-y-*, *ayıştvā*, loc. plur., *Sacu Doc.*, 45, **a-dišta-* "not built, unwall'd", cf. Sogd. (Buddh.) *ḍšt-*, **ḍišta-* "built", *VJ.*, 11b, to **daiž-*, Av. *daēž-*, *AIW.*, 673; *āyāri* "they appear", *Vajracch.*, 41b < **ā-dāy-*.

37. *bē Yazdān* 𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮. The Semitic mask *BL'* is the correct representative of *bē* "without", Syriac ܒܠܐ *b'lā* "without". This is but a small part of the functions of 𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮 *bē*. Semitic masks may be employed as phonetic symbols with the phonetic value of the corresponding Iranian word ("inverse masks"). Of this use are the following types:—

I. (1) 𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮 *bē*: (a) "but", (b) verbal particle, (c) "God, majesty" = *bay*, *MM.*, 3. 9, *Az.*, 41; (d) "outside" in 𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮 *bētom* = 𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮, *bēšaθrīk* "foreign", 𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮, see *MM.*, 3, 34, No. 1.

(2) 𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮 *xānak* "house", Aram. *BYT'* used for *xānak* "stream, spring", *MM.*, 1. 39. Note, *SBE.*, 47. 155.

(3) ܠܗܡ *ham*, Aram. *HVH*- "I am", for (a) *ham* "same", *Az.*, 26, (b) "likewise", *MX.*, ed. Andreas, p. 7, l. 8. For *hōm* "Haoma", *Iran. Bund.*, 119. 15.

(4) ܠܗܟܐ *kū* "that", Aram. 'YK, for *kū* "where".

(5) ܐܦܪ *apar*, Aram. *QDM* for *Apar* in ܐܦܪܫܐܗܪ *Aparšahr* "land of the *Ἀπαρροι*", Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, i, 108, No.; 82, No.

(6) ܡܢܐܢܬ *mānēt* "remains", Aram. *KTRVN* for *mānēt* "resembles".

(7) ܬܪ *tar* "across", Aram. *LSD* for *tarr* "fresh", *Drazt i Asōrīk*, 1.

(8) ܐܘܙܝܬܢ *uzītan* "go out", Aram. *YNPQ* "go out" for *ōzītan* "injure", see *MM.*, 1. 35.

(9) ܐܢ *ān* "that", Aram. *ZK*, for *an* "other".

(10) ܐ *ē* "this", Aram. *HN'*, for *ē* "optative particle".

II. The mask forms part of a word.

(1) ܚܘܦܪܝܗ *xvāparih* "goodness" beside ܡܪܝܢܠܝܬ *SR.*, 4, 30.

(2) ܢܝܫܬ *nīst* "lowest", *ny* + the symbol for *sat* "hundred", Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch*, p. 43 = *MX.*, ed. Andreas, p. 16, l. 6.

(3) ܢܡܚܚܝܫܬ *nāmxxāst*, Aram. *ŠM*— beside ܡܚܚܝܫܬ *Az.*, 4, 6.

(4) ܟܪ ܫܡܐܟ *Kār ŠMak* = *Kār nāmā*, Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch*, p. 1, l. 1.

(5) ܕܬܟܪܬ *dastkart* "a property", *Kn.*, 4. 19.

(6) ܦܪܫܘܚܐ *passōxx* "answer", *MX.*, 2. 170, for ܦܪܫܘܚܐ.

III. Semitic mask with "phonetic complement" prefix or suffix.

(1) ܢܫܡ *nšM nām* "name", *MM.*, 1. 28; *SR.*, 1. 48, No. 1.

(2) ܟܡܢܫܐܢ *kMNšān* = *kēšān* "who to them", *SR.*, 5. 48, No. 2.

(3) ܠܡܢܥ *MNē* = *hač*, *SR.*, 1. 48, No. 1.

(4) With Iranian "mask" ܕܕܦܝܪܐ *d-dpyr-r dipēr*, after ܕܦܝܪܐ *FP.*, p. 89, was no longer clear.

(5) 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *z-šamānak* for 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *šamān* with the short *z*, West, *Av. Stud. Zatspārm*, § 9.

IV. Confusion due to later pronunciation of the Iranian words.

(1) 𐭪𐭥 *bē* for 𐭪𐭥 *pat*—both pronounced *bā*.

(2) 𐭪𐭥 *pas*, Aram. 'HR "after", for 𐭪𐭥 *pus*, Aram. BRH, JN., iii, 6: the MSS. vary between the two.

(3) Confusion of 𐭪𐭥 *kā* "when", Aram. 'MT with 𐭪𐭥 *kē* "who", Aram. MNV and with 𐭪𐭥 *kū* "that, where"—all pronounced later (*ki*, *ku*, *kə*) *kə*.

On *Yazdān* see Marquart, *Ādīna*, §§ 45–6.

37. *mēhmān* 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 "guest". The "guest in the body" is a favourite expression. -Pahl. Comm. to Y. 31. 6c (Spiegel, p. 134) *ēand-š Vahman pat tan mēhmān* "as long as Vahman is a guest in the body". MX., 21. 13, Pāz. *vaš har drūž pa tan ēdum mahmā bōnd, kuš hōēi vohi ō tan nō hōlēnd* "And in his body all the Druž are guests so far that they allow no goodness into the body". Pahl. *mēhmān*, NPers. *mihmān* "guest" < **maiθman-*, cf. Av. *maēθana-*, Pahl. *mēhan* "dwelling-place", Afg. *mēna* "habitation", Morgenst., *Et. Voc.*, p. 44. The Afg. *mēlmo* "guest", Morgenst., *Et. Voc.*, p. 44, is apparently uncertain. It is possibly < **maiθman-* < **maiθman-*. The ending *-mā* (*-ma*) possibly preserves the old nom. form **mā*. The Sogd. (Buddh.) 'zre', (Man.) 'zrv' (Lentz, *Die Stellung Iesu*, p. 71) is, in the same way, from the nom. **zruvā* = "Zurvān" in the Manich., but translating "Brahmā" in the Buddhist texts. Pahl. and MPT. *zurvān* is from the acc. **zruvānam*. So Bang's question can be answered, *Türkische Turfan-Texte*, ii, p. 10, No. 1, *SBAW.*, 1929. The Uigur has *āzrua*, Mōngolian *āsrua* (or *āsrun*). See further § 47 *infra* on *Saka vrīman-*.

38. *vis* 𐭪𐭥 "the Great House", usually named after a real or fictitious ancestor: the Haxāmanišiya House (Achaemenians) or the Spitama House (Σπιταμαῖς in Ktesias). See Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, ii, p. 30 f., i, 145, No. 1. Hence the *visō.puθra-*, *AIW.*, 1455, as title of a member of a *vis*, already in Aram. Pap. 𐭪𐭥 𐭪𐭥𐭥 "sons of the house". MPT. *vyspuhr'n*, *vysduxt'n*, **vispuhrān*, *visduxtān*, Sal., *Man. St.*, p. 33, ll. 17, 18.

40. *dahik* 𐭪𐭥𐭥 —?—. Freiman on *Pandnāmak*, § 34, *WZKM.*, 20, 271, has discussed this word, which is known only to Av. and Pahl.

Av. *dahika-*, *dahaka-*, *AIW.*, 704, *āaṭ ahmī nmāne zaydānte dahakāśa mūrakāśa* "and in this house are born—?—and—?— (Daevish creatures)", *Y.*, 11, 6. *Dahāka-* is the name (or epithet) of the *Aži*, a mythological dragon, who plays a great part, in human form, in Iranian saga. In the *Pandnāmak*, § 34, Freiman reads *dahikik* 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀, to the Av. passage the *Pahl. Comm.* gives 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀, read by Neryosang as *daxšak* "mark". Etymologically *daha-* suggests Saka *daha-* "man" in contrast to "woman", *N.*, 127. 5; 125. 38; 131. 29, etc. *hudaha-* "good man", and the tribal name *Δάοι* in *Herodotus*, i, 125, and Avestan *dāhīnam dahyunəm* "Dāhian provinces", *Yt.*, 13. 144 (*AIW.*, 744), *Ind. Bund.*, 15. 29, *dāy* (*SBE.*, v, 59), *Iran. Bd.*, p. 107, l. 1, *dāh* 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀. On the Indian side correspond Skr. *dāsa-*, *dasyu-* in form, but with evil connotation "foreigners", therefore *dangerous men*. It is clear that *daha-* could take on a derogatory sense, and in this way it is possible to connect Av. *dahaka-*, *dahāka-*, *Pahl. *dahik*. Is it possible also to refer to **daha-* the Arm. lw. *dahič*, *πράκτωρ*, *σπεκουδάτωρ*, *ὀπηρέτης*, "executioner," with the Syriac lw. *dḥš* "licitor, satellites", *HAG.*, 133?

40. *apurnāy* "not fully grown, youth". Here **purna-* "full", with *-rn-* preserved, but *purr* "full" as *karr* "deaf": *-āy-* < **āyu-*, *Gy.* Av. *āyav-* "duration" (only *āyā*, *AIW.*, 333), Skr. *āyu-*, surviving in Sogd. (Buddh.). **yh *āya*, *DS.*, 76 (see Benveniste, *Gram. Sogd.*, ii, 177). *Purnāyih* "being of adult age", *Bthl.*, *SR.*, 5. 17. The compound is known already in the Av. *puθrahe apərənāyaoš*, *N.*, 54, NPers. *burnā*, *Pahl. apurnāyak*, *-ik*.

41. *aparmānd* "privilege", see *Bthl.*, *SR.*, 5. 3 f., 48 f. *Pāz. awarmad*: *aparmānd* in juristic sense of a special type of inheritance, *SR.*, 5. 19. In *JN. Frag.*, iii (Modi, p. 17), occurs *frōtmānd* "sin": *hač har vinās ut frōtmānd i vēš pahrēcēt* "refrain from all injury and sinfulness."

43. *apar* "booty", verbal noun to *apurtan* "carry off", **apaburtan* (see *FP.*, 80). The *Pahl. Comm.* to Av. *hazahiśca* has *hač apar*, *AIW.*, 1799, and *apar*, *aparak* translate Av. *hazavhan-* "robber", *AIW.*, 1799. *Pāz. apar* "booty", *apardan* "carry off", *Mr. Gloss.*, pp. 13-14. For the form **bāra-* cf. *marak*, *mar* "number", *bar* "fruit". Hereto MPT. *šrj* (*M.*, 32, 9) *'vn sfsyr nyr čym 'e šrg 'stft* "O goodly sword, which for me in afflicting *grief . . .": **šarag*, Arm. lw. *ašxar* "lamentation", *Pahl. vitarak*, *vitarg* "passage", *Y.Av. stara-* "sin", *-kara*, *-bara*; *xvara-* "wound".

44. *sturg ut ruzd*, see Sal., *Nachträge*, s.v. *rvzd*. *sturg* < **sturak*, cf. Pahl. *vastrak* "garment", written 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 (Av. *Gloss.*, 243) *vastarg*, Pāz. *vastarg*, *gastarg*, *MX. Gloss.*, 86, 210, Pahl. *marg* "death" < **marka*, Av. *mahrka-*, cf. Sogd. (Buddh.) *mr̥h* "death", but Pahl. *marak* "number", written 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥. It therefore appears that *-rak*, *-rk* are alike changed to *-rg*, but with exceptions: whereas *-rg* remains in N.W. dial., but is *-re* in S.W. NPers. *mury* "bird", Pahl. *murv*, see Junker, *Wörter u. Sachen*, 1929. To *sturg* < **sturak* or **starak*, NPers. *saturg* (*si-*, *su-*) "quarrelsome".

ruzd, MPT. *rvzd* "greedy", NPers. *razd* "glutton", *ražad* (*sic*, Steingass) "voracious". Salemann, loc. cit., رژد — شکم خواد.

45. *pat apāyast i xvēš* "for their own needs": *Husr.*, 5, *api-šān hēr pat apāyast i xvēš ēštāt* "and they had treasure according to their needs".

46. *bē kā . . . ēnyā* 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 "otherwise". For the definitive reading of this Pahl. word we are indebted to Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, p. 132, No. 63: MP. Inscript. (Pārsik) 'yuy' with the final *alif* certain. Pāz. *ainā*, *MX.*, 9. 6, etc.: *ēnyā*, cf. Y.Av. *ainya* "except", hence < **anyād*, cf. Pahl. *ā*, § 33 *supra*, < **ād*.

47. *riyahrīh* "defilement". Pāz. *riārī*, *ryārī*, *MX.*, 2. 184, etc., to Pahl. *rītan*, NPers. *rīdan*, Bal. *riyay*, Oss. *liyun* "cacare", Av. *ray-*, *AIW.*, 1511, *irimant-* < **rīma-mant-*, *AIW.*, 1529, "mit Unrat angefüllt", MPT. *ryymn*, *rym*, Pahl. *rēman* (Pāz. *rīmanī*, *MX.*, 62. 27), NPers. *rīm*, Bal. *rēm*, Afg. *rīma*. To the suffix cf. MPT. *zyghr*, **živahr*. Pahl. *gōhr* 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥—𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, Arm. lw. *gohar*, NPers. *gōhar*, Arab. lw. *jauhar* "essence", are probably < **gavaθra*, *gvaθra* (the Pahl. spelling with *-ah-* is naturally not conclusive) to Av. ¹*gav-*, *AIW.*, 504, *gūnaoitī* "er verschafft". To this word belong Saka *gēāru* "Wesen", *N.*, 109. 36, *gvāna-* "existing", *hugvāna-*, *Vajracch.*, 42a, 44a, 41b, and *gvīra* "they exist" in *Sacu Doc.*, 53:—

ysāya drrīgmāmjsa kyī hva hva gvīra "born of such as exist by themselves".

For *hva hva* < **hvatah hvatah* cf. *hvatī hva*, *N.*, 176. 2. Av. *xvatō*, Pahl. *xvat* 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, NPers. *xud*, Sogd. *γte* **xutō* (Benveniste, *Gram. Sogd.*, ii, 119). Hence Vedic *gotrá-* (*RV.*, 2. 23, 18 (214) *gávām gotrá-*) "stall" has probably been influenced by *gav-* "ox". To the verb *ray-* belongs also Saka *rrīman-*, nom. sing. *rrīmī*, acc. plur. *rrīma*,

50. **𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥** "sureties": *passox* < **pati-sahva(n)*- (1) "speaking in reply", (2) "speaking for". Cf. Saka *paṭihvāna-*, *Mat. Sam.*, 92, "Zuweisung". The converse to the second meaning seems to have been expressed by **abi-sahva(n)*- preserved in Arm. lw. *osox* "litigatore, accusatore, nemico" (Ciakciak), *osoxem* "to be at law" (Bedrossian). This word has not yet apparently been noticed in Pahl. texts. Bartholomae had met this word *passox*, *pāsox* "surety" frequently in the *Mātikān i hazār Dāstastān*, but failed to recognize it in the unusual spelling. In *SR.*, 4, p. 6, he gave the meaning "Bürge", and on p. 19 the variant forms. These forms **𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥—𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥** contain a scriptio plena of the *v*: *p'svzv*, which disguises the word. For this spelling cf. MPT. 'vz, *ox* "world", Pahl. *axv*, MPT. *prex passox* and *frex farrox*, *ZAIW.*, 47. So in Pāzand *ōxi*, *aoxi* = Pahl. **𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥** "world of" beside Pāz. *axan*, plur.; see Bthl., *WZKM.*, 25, pp. 395–6.

[illegible]

³ *Saka tīma* "seed" < **tayma*-, cf. *siya* < **sayda* "learnt" is to be connected with Sogd. (Buddh.) *tym* "seed", **taym* < **tuym*- to OPers. *tauhman*- [Tolman, *Anc. Pers. Lexicon*, 91, is wrong in comparing *Īdralazma*, name of a Sagartian rebel, and hence dialectical form with -*zm*-. In South-Western Persian -*zm*- > -*hm*- > *m*, cf. NPers. *mardum* = MPT. *mrtūhm*, Sogd. *mrtūym*-], Av. *taocrman*, Pahl. *tōxm*, MPT. *txm* "seed", NPers. *tuzm* (N.W. dial. form). Leumann's **takman*- is needless, loc. cit., 192.

To *apasārišn*, *afsārišn* cf. *Iran. Bd.*, 214, l. 12 (*Alaksandar kēsar*) . . . *vas marak ātaxš apasārt* "Alexander Caesar . . . extinguished a great number of fires". Pahl. Comm. *apasārītan* to Av. *frāvayōit* "he should extinguish", *AIW.*, 1407. Cf. NPers. *afsārdan* "press, constrain" and Oss. *āfsārun*, *āfsārīn* "auftreten, drängen", Miller, *Grund. Iran. Phil.*, Anhang, p. 57, 31 (otherwise).

ABBREVIATIONS

- Arch. Mitt.*: Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 1929.
AIW.: Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 1904.
ZAIW.: Chr. Bartholomae, *Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch*, 1906.
Sachau: *Aram. Papyri u. Ostraka*, 1911.
HAG.: Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, Teil i, 1897.
SBE.: *Sacred Books of the East*.
Morg., *Et. Voc. Pashto*: Morgenstierne, *Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*, 1927.
WZKM.: *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*.
Anc. Pers. Lexicon: Tolman, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, 1908.
BSL.: *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique*.
Grund. Iran. Phil.: *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*.
Bull. ASP.: *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences St.-Pétersbourg*.
Zegl. S.: *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*.

PAHLAVI

- Ind. Bd.*: *Indian Bundahišn* (transl. *SBE.*, v), ed. Justi.
Iran. Bd.: *Iranian Bundahišn*, ed. Anklesaria.
Pahl. T.: *Pahlavi Texts*, ed. J. M. Jamsasp-Asana, 1913.
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NOTE OF CORRECTION TO § 28.—The emendations proposed are unnecessary. The words are from *ēōḍ-* "to agitate", *ēōḍak* "agitated", *ēōḍēnand* "they agitate", *ēōḍihēt* is agitated, cf. Sanskrit *codayati*. For the meaning, *Iran. Bund.* 152, 10, *āp . . . pat ēōḍiṣn ut ēust šaspēt* "the water tosses in agitation". Against a *ēōḍ* = **viṣand* is also the regular spelling *ēōḍ*, *viṣand*.

*TWO MALAY LETTERS FROM TERNATE IN THE
MOLUCCAS, WRITTEN IN 1521 AND 1522*

Edited and translated by C. O. BLAGDEN

(PLATES I AND II)

THE two letters with which this article is concerned were written in the name of Sultan Abu Hayat of Ternate, when he was about 7 years old, and are of peculiar interest as being, perhaps, the oldest Malay letters extant. The first, which is catalogued under the reference Gavetas 15-16-38 in the Lisbon archives known as Torre do Tombo, appears to have been written between 27th April and 8th November, 1521. The second, preserved in the same archives under the reference Gavetas 15-15-7, was probably written early in the following year. These conclusions are based on what is known from other sources about the history of the Moluccas in this period, combined with the internal evidence of the letters themselves. Unfortunately their style betrays the fact that they were not written by a Malay, but by some scribe (or, as seems more likely, two scribes) probably indigenous to Ternate and certainly very imperfectly acquainted with the Malay language. These documents, therefore, cannot be regarded as typical of the Malay epistolary style of the period. The handwriting is good, but the plates hardly do it justice, because the rotographs were produced in a poor light and under difficulties, aggravated in the case of the second letter by its being on yellow paper, and therefore the reproductions have not come out as well as could have been wished. In the first letter part of the lower left-hand corner is missing, causing the loss of a few words.

The spelling of the letters is, of course, archaic; but it is not very consistent and is full of irregularities. The style and grammar are bad, the order of the words appears to have been influenced by the syntax of the quite alien local language of Ternate, and the meaning is therefore often ambiguous or obscure. My tentative translations sometimes conflict with the apparent literal sense of the original, and represent what, from the known facts of the case, I consider the writer must have meant to say, though he did not say it correctly or plainly. But it is only too probable that some of my renderings, being conjectural, are also wrong.

For the discovery of these letters, for the photographic copies of them, for a translation of the Portuguese version of the second letter, which has been preserved with the Malay original in the Lisbon

archives, and for all the collateral information bearing on the contents of the letters and explaining the circumstances under which they were written, I am indebted to Father G. Schurhammer, S.J., of Bonn. His intimate acquaintance with the Portuguese and other sources for the history of the Moluccas (a list of which will be found at the end of this article) has alone enabled me to make some sort of sense out of these letters; and for his invaluable assistance in all these respects I hereby express my hearty thanks. The following statement of facts is based on notes he has kindly supplied.

The relations of the Portuguese with the Moluccas began almost immediately after their conquest of Malacca in 1511. In fact, this conquest was really a step towards the capture, amongst other things, of the valuable spice trade for which those distant islands had long been celebrated. Soon after the conquest, therefore, Affonso de Albuquerque sent Antonio de Abreu and Francisco Serrão, with the Nakhoda Ismael as their guide, to discover the route to Banda and the other spice islands (Barros, pp. 583-4). On his return from Banda, Serrão was shipwrecked at the island of "Luco Pino", which represents Nusa Pënyu, as Barros says the name means "turtle island" (ibid., pp. 589-90; cf. also Tiele, pp. 356-7; Correa, ii, p. 710; and Gabriel Rebello, pp. 200-1). The island is said by Barros to be not very far from Amboina.

This is the event mentioned at the beginning of the first letter. Barros (pp. 590-2) merely says that pirates came to the turtle island in quest of booty, that people of Veranula (Seran, Ceram) attacked the shipwrecked men, and such of the Amboina people as harboured them, and that Ternate and Tidore vied with one another in trying to get the shipwrecked European soldiers to enter their service. The Sultan of Ternate at this time was Bayan Sirrullah, whom Barros calls Cachil Boleife, "a man advanced in years, of great ability, and regarded by the Muhammadans almost as a prophet." He adds that this Sultan sent about a thousand men, under the leadership of Cachil Coliba, to fetch Serrão. According to Rebello (p. 201), the Sultan sent his brother Cachil Vaidua, who was the chief *kasis* (that is the principal religious official, possibly the mufti). Barros says that the Sultan of Ternate sent ten ships, and the Sultan of Tidore seven, of the kind known as *korakoras*. According to Correa, a less reliable authority, Ternate only sent two ships.

It was in 1512 that Serrão, with Nakhoda Ismael, arrived at Ternate. Serrão stayed there, and Ismael sailed with a cargo of cloves

for Malacca, but was shipwrecked in Java. The Captain of Malacca sent João Lopez Alvim to his aid, and after his return despatched Antonio de Miranda d'Azevedo with a fleet to the Moluccas to get cloves. The Sultans of Ternate and Tidore vied with one another in procuring cloves for him; each of them was trying to get the support of the European strangers, and when Azevedo set out on his return journey to Malacca, both gave him letters for King Manuel (Barros, p. 598). Translations of the letter of Sultan Bayan Sirrullah to King Manuel and of another to the Captain of Malacca are preserved in the Lisbon archives (Torre do Tombo, Gavetas 15-4-1 and 15-15-29 respectively), and it seems possible that the Malay original of the former letter may still exist among the "Arabic" manuscripts preserved under the heading "Manuscriptos da Casa dos Tratados" in the same archives. The Portuguese translation of the letter to King Manuel contains the note, "Translation of the red letter." Presumably the original was written on the yellow paper used in the Malayan region by princes, as in the case of our second letter. The translations of Sultan Bayan Sirrullah's letters contain no dates, but internal evidence shows that the letters were written in 1514, as it is mentioned that this was the first time that the Sultan addressed a letter to the Portuguese.

When King Manuel received the Sultan's letter he despatched with the fleet of the year 1517 a letter to the Viceroy of India, directing him to send a competent person to the Moluccas in order to build a fort there. Accordingly D. Tristão de Menezes was sent and in 1519 conveyed King Manuel's replies to the Sultans of Ternate and Tidore. There is a reference to this in the second paragraph of our first letter. As, however, the Sultans of Ternate, Tidore, and Bachian disputed amongst themselves as to which of them should have the privilege of getting the fort built in his territory, Menezes took no further action in that matter, but left with his ship and four junks full of cloves for Banda, in order to ship nutmegs there, and so return to Malacca (first letter, line 8 seq.). Three of the junks, namely those in charge of Francisco Serrão, Simão Correa, and Duarte d'Acosta, were, however, separated from the rest of Menezes' fleet by a storm, and, as on his arrival at Banda in April, 1520, he did not find them there, he turned back to Ternate, where he met Serrão, and was compelled to stay himself on account of the advanced state of the season (Barros, pp. 597-603). Simão Correa's junk had been driven by the storm to Bachian, and he had to stay there (*ibid.*, p. 603).

At this time the Sultan of Jailolo, whose name, according to Pigafetta (p. 133, cf. Koelliker, p. 197) was Jussu, was an old man, and the Sultan of Bachian, Ala-ud-din (Barros, p. 601), was 70 years old (Pigafetta, p. 143). Both of them, being jealous of Ternate, which was an ally of Portugal, eventually sided with Tidore and the Castilians (Pigafetta, loc. cit.). Near the end of the monsoon, Simão Correa begged Menezes to come to Bachian to help him and the six or seven Portuguese who were there with him. Menezes left for Bachian, but as he took the view that the Sultan of Bachian was in the wrong in the matter of his differences with Correa and failed to get the Sultan to surrender some fugitive Muslim slaves, a conflict broke out between the native inhabitants and the Portuguese of Correa's junk, which ended in the death of all the Portuguese save one. A contrary wind that immediately set in made it impossible for Menezes to land, so that he could not avenge the death of his friends and had to go on to Amboina and Malacca (Barros, pp. 603-5). João de Lourousa, who went over to the Castilians, reported to them that the cause of the conflict was the misconduct of the Portuguese towards the wives of the natives, and even those of the Sultan, of Bachian (Pigafetta, p. 132, Koelliker, p. 196).

In the first half of the year 1521 Francisco Serrão and Sultan Bayan Sirrullah of Ternate both died; but as to the manner of their deaths there are several varying accounts. One of these is contained in the ll. 13-15 of our first letter. Pigafetta (p. 127) gives a different version. He writes: "When we arrived here" (that is, at Tidore) "eight months had not elapsed since a certain Portuguese, Francisco Serrano, had died in Tarenate. He was captain-general of the King of Tarenate when he was making war on the King of Tadore; and he acted so strenuously that this king was compelled to give his daughter in marriage to the King of Tarenate, who also received as hostages about all the sons of the chief men of Tadore. Peace was then made. . . . But the King of Tadore never forgave Serrano in his heart; and he having come several years later to Tadore to traffic in cloves, the king had him poisoned with some betel leaves" (presumably some poison was mixed with the betel, the Italian original has "*il Re lo fece avvelenare nelle foglie di betel*") "so that he survived hardly four days." Barros (p. 610, cf. p. 649) says that Serrão died about the same time as Magellan, who was killed in 24th April, 1521. After mentioning some other matters concerning Serrão, Pigafetta (p. 128) proceeds: "Ten days after the death of Serrano, the King of Tarenate,

named Raja Abuleis, drove out from his kingdom his son-in-law, the King of Bachian, whose wife, the daughter of the King of Tarenate, came to Tarenate under the pretext of concluding peace and gave him (her father) such a poison that he only survived two days."

According to Rebello (pp. 201, 205 ; cf. Correa, ii, p. 713), peace was made while Menezes was still at Ternate. At a banquet in connection with that event the Sultan of Tidore poisoned both Serrão and the Sultan of Ternate. Serrão died of the poison, but the Sultan of Ternate, though he became ill, did not die at once. According to Barros (p. 610) the Sultan was poisoned a few days after the death of Serrão by some Muhammadans concerned in the clove trade. He adds (pp. 611-12): "When Cachil Boleife, King of Ternate, felt that his death was nearing, as he was leaving two sons, the elder being Bohaat, aged seven, and another named Dayalo, and seven bastards . . . he appointed the queen, a daughter of Sultan Almancor of Tidore, to be regent . . . and in his will he recommended her and his successor and all the chiefs to endeavour to secure our friendship . . . and he called them to him and recommended them . . . to value highly the friendship of the Portuguese, for they would defend them against their foes." De Brito (Alguns Documentos, p. 495) says that in 1523 his successor, Abu Hayat, was eight or nine years old.

On 8th November, 1521, the *Victoria* and *Trinidad*, two vessels of Magellan's fleet, arrived at Tidore (Pigafetta, p. 124 ; cf. Koelliker, p. 186). These are the two ships referred to in l. 4 of the second letter. Al-Mansur, the Sultan of Tidore, who at this time was upwards of 55 years old, visited them and at once proclaimed himself to be for ever a vassal of Castile (Pigafetta, p. 126). On 17th December the Castilians gave him "some pieces of artillery, that is some arquebuses . . . and some of our swivel guns" [verzi] "with four barrels of gunpowder" (ibid., p. 143). On the following day, when preparations were being made for the departure of the two ships, the three Sultans—of Tidore, Bachian, and Jailolo—were all present (ibid., p. 144). The *Victoria* actually left on 21st December, leaving the *Trinidad*, which was leaky, behind at Tidore. On 6th May, 1523, Antonio de Brito wrote from Ternate to King John III of Portugal, that the Castilians had left a gunner with artillery at Tidore in order to help the Sultan against the Portuguese, continuing: "vendiam bombardas, espyngardas, bestas, espadas, dardos e polvora," i.e. they sold (them) mortars, muskets, crossbows, swords, arrows, and gunpowder (Alguns documentos, pp. 464-5). With all this may be compared the

corresponding passage in ll. 8-9 of the second letter. The *Trinidad* eventually left Tidore on 6th April, 1522 (Koelliker, p. 209), from which it is clear that the second letter was written before that date. It mentions the departure of one ship, i.e. the *Victoria*, in the month of Muharram, which began that year on 1st December, 1521. The translation of the letter made at Malacca and dated 28th August, 1522, is another piece of evidence as to its date.

The translator, Alvaro Fernandez, was perhaps the same man who on 30th December, 1520, wrote from Cannanore to King John III (Alguns documentos, pp. 448-54) and was "mestere" of Goa from 1552 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon zur Zeit Bhuvaneka Bahu's*, Leipzig, 1928, p. 620). His translation is a somewhat free one, which is not surprising in view of the peculiarities of the original, but it has seemed worth while to append an English version of it for comparison. This has been made from a German translation supplied by Father Schurhammer. Jorge de Albuquerque, whose signature is under the note at the end of the Portuguese translation, sailed to India in 1512, as captain of a ship, and was at once appointed Captain of Cochin. Subsequently he had two spells of office at Malacca, where he was captain at the time the translation was made.

With regard to the transcripts of the two letters, I must state that I have not attempted in my Romanized versions to reconstruct contemporary pronunciation, which is insufficiently known. Consequently, when no particular vowel is indicated, I have followed modern standards, and therefore frequently written the neutral vowel (ê) in places where it is quite possible that some other sound was used four centuries ago.

I

Raja Sultan Abu Hāyat surat datang ka-pada mama Raja Portukal raja (bê)sar al-dunia 'alam (2) sêmuha-nya tuwan basar karana dahulu Raja Portukal manyuroh Frangshisko Sêra datang dari Muluku (3) binasa dari Ambun maka Raja Mêluku sêmuha-nya dêngar Fêringgi ada binasa dari Ambun maka Raja (4) Têdore dan Jailolo di-suroh Ambun sêmuha-nya bêrhimpah mau bunoh pada Frangshisko Sêra (5) maka Raja Têrnateh dêngar di-suroh saudara duwa mêmawah përauh tuchoh buah di-ambil Frangshisko Sêrra (6) mêmawah ka-Têrnate maka nagëri Têrnate sapërti nagëri Portukal maka Raja Portukal suroh karawal (7) mêmawah surat datang pada Raja Têrnate karawal dan hërta dan lashkar asêrahkan pada tangan

Raja (8) Tërnete maka jong Tërnete dan karawal balayar ka-Mëlaka musim kasip dayam di-Bajahan maka Tëdore dan Jailolo di-suroh (9) Raja Bajahan bunoh pada orang Fëringgi dayam di-Bajahan hërta dan lashkar sèmuha-nya di-rampas maka Raja Tërnete (10) dëngar maka Raja Tërnete kata bagaimana Raja Portukal jong dan harta dan lashkar asërahkan pada tangan (11) kita mari-lah jong han hërta dan lashkar kita suroh këm balek ka-Mëlaka jika tiada këm balek Raja (12) Portukal jong dan hërta dan lashkar tiada këm balek bëparang-lah pada Raja Bajahan maka Raja Bajahan pun (13) hadir-lah sënjatah Tëdore dan Jailolo pun sërta Bajahan sèmuha-nya lëngkap-lah Tëdore dan Jailolo Bajahan (14) lëkas suroh anak përëmpuan itu anak Raja Bajahan dalam Raja Tërnete përëmpuan itu kaseh maka dapat di-bëri-nya rachu(n) (15) maka wafa'at Raja Tërnete dahulu Raja Tëdore suroh jëmput mëmbawah Frangshisko Sërra ka-Tëdore bëri minum waktu (16) itu di-bëri rach(un) maka datang ka-rumah ëmpat hari sakit mati bërapa hari . . . Raja mati maka (17) ia waktu mati itu Raja Abu Hayat asërahkan dari-pada mama Raja Portukal kara(na) . . . Tërnete pëlabuwan (18) Raja Portukal karana Tëdore dan Jailolo dan Bajahan bagi hërta Raja Portukal bëparang pada Të[rnete] . . . (këm balek) (19) mama kaseh lëkas thulong pada Tërnete surat ini sapërti kita mëmbawah baik ja(hat).

I

Letter of Sultan Abu Hayat to his uncle the King of Portugal, the (great ?) king of the whole (2) world, the great lord. Because formerly the King of Portugal ordered Francisco Serrão to come to the Moluccas, (3) (and he) came to grief at Amboina, and all the Rajas of the Moluccas heard that Europeans had come to grief at Amboina, the Rajas (4) of Tidore and Jailolo ordered all Amboina (to assemble together ?) in order to slay Francisco Serrão. (5) When the Raja of Ternate heard it, he ordered two brothers (of his) to take seven ships and fetch Francisco Serrão (6) and bring him to Ternate. So the country of Ternate (was) even as the country of Portugal. And the King of Portugal ordered a caravel (7) to bring a letter to the Raja of Ternate, to deliver the caravel, goods and soldiers into the hands of the Raja (8) of Ternate. And the junks (from ?) Ternate and the caravel sailed for Malacca at the close of the monsoon (and) stopped at Bachian. Then (the Rajas of) Tidore and Jailolo ordered (9) the Raja of Bachian to kill the Europeans stopping at Bachian and the goods and soldiers were all seized. (10) When the Raja of

Ternate heard it, he said : " How shall the junks, goods and soldiers of the King of Portugal be delivered into our hands ? (11) Come, let us order the junks, goods and soldiers to return to Malacca. If the junks, goods and soldiers of the King (12) of Portugal do not return, there will be war with the Raja of Bachian." The Raja of Bachian too (13) was furnished with weapons. Tidore and Jailolo also, together with Bachian, were all equipped. Tidore, Jailolo, and Bachian (14) quickly gave orders to a young woman, a daughter of the Raja of Bachian, whom the Raja of Ternate loved, and she succeeded in giving him poison, (15) so that the Raja of Ternate died. Previously the Raja of Tidore ordered Francisco Serrão to be invited and brought to Tidore and given drink. On that occasion (16) he was given poison, and going home was sick for four days and died. Some days . . . the Raja died. (17) At the time of his death he entrusted Raja Abu Hayat to his uncle the King of Portugal. (For ?) . . . Ternate is a port (18) of the King of Portugal, because Tidore, Jailolo and Bachian, for the goods of the King of Portugal, are making war against (Ternate) . . . (return ?). (19) Let my (loving ?) uncle speedily help Ternate ! This letter is as if we brought good (and bad ?) . . .

Notes on the Text and Translation of the First Letter ; the references being to the lines.

1. " Letter of Sultan Abu Hayat," the text, contrary to Malay idiom, but in conformity with the language of Ternate, here puts the possessive before the thing qualified by it. So also in l. 10, and probably l. 11, and likewise in l. 4 of the second letter.

2, 3. The preposition *dari*, primarily meaning " from ", but also sometimes " along, by ", is used here for " to " and " at ".

4. " Ordered " : the Malay *di-suroh* is in the passive and the sentence, as it stands, literally means " the Rajas of Tidore and Jailolo were ordered by all Amboina ", an improbable rendering. Cf. the same word in l. 8, where such a translation would be still more unlikely. I have taken *bêrhimpah* to be intended for *bêrhimpun*. The preposition *pada* is superfluous after the transitive verb *bunuh* " to kill " ; but this use may be compared with the similar use of *sama* in modern Bazaar Malay. So, too, in l. 9.

5. The passive *di-suroh* is ambiguous here ; *di-suroh-nya* would have made it clear that the order was given by the Raja of Ternate to his two brothers, not vice versa. The *di*, being above the line, may

have been an afterthought. The passive *di-ambil* is awkwardly used instead of *ambil* or *měngambil*.

6. *Karawal* could be transliterated *karual*, *karawala*, or *karuala*, so far as the spelling goes, but these would be further from the Portuguese form.

7. The objects (*karawal*, etc.) are put before the verb (*asěrahkan*, for *sěrahkan* "to deliver") in an abnormal way. So, too, in ll. 10, 14, and 17.

8-9. *Dayam* is an error for *diam*. For "and the goods", etc., "and to seize" (or "plunder") "all the goods and soldiers" may possibly be intended.

10. The sentence "How . . . hands?" involves an un-Malay order in two respects, as in l. 1 and l. 7 respectively.

11. The phrase "of the King" recurs here, and must, no doubt, be translated in the same way, though at a pinch it could here mean "to the King". The repetition of *tiada kěmbalek* "do not return" must be due to an oversight.

12-13. Perhaps the Raja of Ternate's statement is meant to continue down to "equipped", in which case we must read "is" and "are" for "was" and "were", respectively, in l. 13.

13, seq. What follows is rather obscurely expressed.

14. The first *itu* is out of place if it is to go with *anak pěrěmpuan* "young woman", because she has not been mentioned before. It might be construed with the next three words to mean, parenthetically, "she was a daughter of the Raja of Bachian." Presumably the meaning of *dalam* here is "while", and the literal translation is "while the Raja of Ternate loved that woman". This involves having the object before the verb, as in ll. 7, 10.

16. After "some days" probably a word meaning "later" (possibly *sudah*) has been lost, the paper being torn here.

17. "Entrusted Raja Abu Hayat": the object again precedes the verb, as in ll. 7, 10, 14. Moreover *dari-pada* should mean "from", not "to"; but cf. *dari* in ll. 2, 3.

19. The rendering "loving" is uncertain, the sentence might be rendered "let my uncle be so kind as to help Ternate speedily!" The preposition *pada* is superfluous, as in ll. 4, 9.

II

Ini surat kaseh Sultan Abu Hayāt surat datang ka-pada ayahanda Sultan Portukal (2) dunia 'alam ia-lah yang maha-besar kēri mēngatakan hal nēgēri sangkalah sanakdah (3) Sultan Bayān Sīrrullah

mēninggalkan nēgēri Tērnate sakalian-lah hal (4) nēgēri Tērnate sēkarang Raja Kastila datang dua buah kapal mēngatarkan sēnjata-nya (5) dan hērtā-nya dan mēmēliharakan bandar Raja Tēdore bandar Raja (6) Kastila sa-bēnar-nya-lah Sultan Portukal mēmēliharakan Sultan (7) Tērnate dari karana bandar Sultan Tērnate bandar Sultan (8) Portukal sēkarang ini Raja Kastila mēmberī Raja Tēdore bēdil ēmpat (9) puloh buah bēdil gandi tujuh puloh gandi janchi t(a)un ini kan datang (10) ka-Tēdore sa-bu(ah) kapal bēlayar bulan Muharram sa-bu(ah) kapal tinggal nantikan kapal (11) dua puloh bu(ah) taun lagi kan datang ada pun anakdah Sultan (12) Abu Hayāt tiada harap lain harap ayandah Sultan (13) Portukal sa-bēnar-nya-lah Sultan Portukal mēmēliharakan anakdah pihatu (14) lagi kanak kanak sa-bēnar-nya-lah mēmēliharakan nēgēri Tērnate chēndor mata (15) anakdah tiada sapērti-nya wa-s-salam bi-l-khair.

II

This is a loving letter of Sultan Abu Hayat, a letter to his father, the King of Portugal, (2) he is the greatest in the world. Now to set forth the unfortunate condition of the country, his relative (3) Sultan Bayan Sirrullah having departed from the country of Ternate, the whole condition (4) of the country of Ternate at present. Two ships of the King of Castile have come bringing his weapons (5) and goods and they protect the port of the Raja of Tidore, (now) in very truth a port of the King (6) of Castile, while the King of Portugal protects the Sultan (7) of Ternate, because the port of the Sultan of Ternate is a port of the King (8) of Portugal. At this present time the King of Castile is giving the Raja of Tidore forty (9) guns and promises that seventy crossbows are coming (10) to Tidore this year. One ship sailed in the month of Muharram, one remains behind awaiting (11) twenty ships that are to come next year. Now your son Sultan (12) Abu Hayat has no other hope but his trust in his father the King (13) of Portugal, that in very truth the King of Portugal will protect his son, an orphan (14) and (still) a child, and in very truth will protect the country of Ternate! Your son's gifts (15) are inadequate. Farewell!

Notes on the Text and Translation of the Second Letter

1. The repetition of the word *surat* "letter" is curious. In my translation I have taken together all the words that follow the first *surat*. But perhaps we have here again a case of the possessive preceding the word qualified (as in I, 1, 10 and probably 11, and II, 4). In

و اعز الله امره
 این مورخ هجری سلطان اب حیات سور مدینه کفر اهل
 دین عالم ایالتی معتمد کبری و مختارین محل تدبیر استقامت
 سلطان بیاد منیر الله متعالی که در تبرات مطهره محل
 در تبرات استوار و سراج استیلا دایم دو یوه کافل و مختارین
 در آن تبرات دایم بیاد و کمال استوار و کمال استوار
 استیلا بیاد سلطان فخر توکل مملکت این سلطان
 تبرات دهر که این سلطان بیاد بیاد سلطان
 و فخر توکل استوار و کمال استوار و کمال استوار
 قوله یوه بدلی کند توچه فخر توکل حجت توکل
 کمال و کمال و کمال و کمال و کمال و کمال
 دو قوله یوه بدلی کند توچه فخر توکل حجت توکل
 اب حیات بیاد هارقی این هارقی این سلطان
 فخر توکل بیاد سلطان فخر توکل مملکت این سلطان
 کمال کمال و کمال و کمال و کمال و کمال و کمال
 این سلطان فخر توکل مملکت این سلطان

that case the translation would have to be "this is a loving letter, a letter of Sultan Abu Hayat".

2. I have not found the word *kəri* (perhaps properly *kari*) elsewhere, except in a letter given on pp. 140-1 of *J. Straits Branch R.A.S.* (1898), No. 30, in a passage which follows after some five lines of the usual compliments: *ammā ba'du kēmudian dari itu kəri beta mēngatakan ikhlās hati beta ka-pada Sinyor Kapitan Inggëris*, "after that we express the sincerity of our heart towards the English captain". I suspect the word is the Javanese *kari* "achter, terug, overblijven", and merely duplicates the preceding phrase *kēmudian dari itu* "after that", which in its turn duplicates the two Arabic words at the beginning of the passage. Dr. W. G. Shellabear's suggestion that it may be an error for *kirim* "to send" seems unacceptable.

Very doubtfully I have taken *sangkalah* (or *sēngkalah*) to be the Javanese *sangkala* (or *sēngkala*) in the sense of "misfortune, disaster", referring to the death of Bayan Sirrullah, father of Abu Hayat, euphemistically called his "departure".

4. "Two ships of the King of Castile" is another case of the possessive preceding what it qualifies, as in I, 1, 10, and probably 11, and II, 1. The translation "bringing" implies that *mēngatarkan* is a mistake for *mēnghantarkan*, or *mēngantarkan*.

5-7. After "the goods" an alternative rendering would be "and to protect the port of the Raja of Tidore, (as) a port of the King of Castile. Verily may the King of Portugal protect the Sultan of Ternate".

8. Alternatively, "at this present time," may be construed with the preceding sentence, and for "is giving" and "promises" we may read "gave" and "promised" respectively.

9. The word *kan* is short for *akan*, indicating the future.

11. Father Schurhammer points out that Pigafetta says nothing about these twenty ships.

13. It may be that the first "Portugal" ends the preceding sentence, and that we should go on "Verily may the King of Portugal protect".

14. The word *lagi* may mean either "and" or "still".

Translation of the Portuguese Version of the Second Letter

Letter from Sultan Aabohad to the King of Portugal, the very great king, the mighty, and lord of the world.

Sir ! I inform Your Highness, for I know that it will give you pain, to wit that my father has died and I am here in his place. Your Highness will be aware that two ships from Castile have come here, in which there was nothing but goods and weapons, in order to fortify the island of Tudoree, inasmuch as they say that the place is on their side. May Your Highness now cause the country of Tarnatee to be protected, for it is a country of Your Highness. The Castilians give the King of Tudoree forty guns and sixty arquebuses, and promised him that they would come next year with twenty ships. One ship sailed off at once with this news, and the other remained in the harbour, saying that it would wait for the rest till they came. I, Sir, have never obeyed these people and never shall obey them, as long as there are Portuguese on earth, but will live and die for Your Highness's service. Therefore, Sir, I again entreat Your Highness look to your country of Tarnate and defend it, for I am a boy and an orphan. Sir, I say no more to Your Highness, save that I and this country are yours. Sir, if in this letter there should be contained any incivility towards your Highness, forgive me for I am a boy and know no better.

Footnote to the Portuguese Version

This letter was translated by Alvaro Fernamdez, interpreter of this fort of Malacca. This letter is a translation of the annexed Malay one, which I opened, as I do not know whether there will be anyone in Portugal who can read it, and therefore I did so. Malacca, 28th August, 1522. Jorge de Albuquerque.

Notes on the Writing and Spelling of the Letters

A comparison between the two letters seems to indicate that they are by different hands ; various minor points of writing and spelling, as well as differences in the general aspect of the two documents point to this conclusion. For example, in the name Portugal (which is written throughout with *kaf*, not *ga*) the first letter always uses the long variety of *kaf* (I, 1, 2, 6, 10, 12, 17, 18), whereas the second one uses the ordinary *kaf* in this word (II, 1, 6, 8, 13), though it has the long kind, with a dot below, for *ga* in *nĕgĕri* (spelt *nun ga ra*, without any indication of vowel, in II, 3, 4, 14), but not elsewhere. The first letter also uses the long *kaf* in *karaual* (I, 6-8), and with a dot below it for *ga* in *bagimana* (I, 10). Elsewhere *ga* is represented in these letters by the ordinary *kaf* (1) without a dot (*nĕgĕri*, II, 2), (2) with one dot below (*nagĕri*, I, 6 ; *Fĕringgi*, I, 9 ; *mĕninggalkan*, II, 3 ; *gandi*, II, 9 ;

tinggal, II, 10; *lagi*, II, 11, 14), and (3) with three dots below (*Fëringgi*, I, 3; *bagi*, I, 18; *gandi*, II, 9). The use of a dot or dots below this letter is archaic and no longer current.

The letter *nya* when final has the form of *nun*, with three dots above instead of one, as it normally has to-day. But in other positions than final our letters also put the dots above, thus identifying it in form with *tha*, in the words *manyuroh* (I, 2), and *sa-bënar-nya-lah* (II, 6, 13, 14). (Also in *sënjatah*, I, 13, for *sënjata*, where the ordinary usage is to write *nun*, as I have transliterated, though phonetically *nya* is correct.) In non-final positions *nya* should have its dots below to distinguish it from *tha*, but this rule is often disregarded.

Among archaic spellings may be mentioned the *alif* in *nagëri* (I, 6), which represents an older pronunciation than the modern *nëgëri*, and it may be argued that the same is true of *manyuroh* (I, 2) and the first *alif* of *balayar* (I, 8), as their prefixes formerly had *a*. It is possible that the initial in *asërahkan*, instead of the normal *sërahkan* (I, 7, 10, 17), may be a Javanism. But the superfluous *alifs* in *basar* for *bësar* (I, 2), *dayam*, for *diam* (I, 8, 9), *di-rampas* (I, 9), *bëparang*, for *bërpërang* (I, 12, 18), and *waktu* (I, 15, 17), are merely cases of bad spelling.

It is characteristic of most of our older Malay documents to find *alif*, *wau*, and *ya* often omitted where modern usage inserts them, the chief reason being that the old spelling was framed with a lively recollection of the vowel points, though texts were not as a rule vocalized. This principle is illustrated in *tucan* (I, 2), *duwa* (I, 5), *dua* (II, 4, 11), *pëlabucan* (I, 17), *buah* (II, 4, 9, 11), which last instance wrongly omits *ha* also, as does *sa-buah* (II, 10). *Sërra*, for *Serrao*, (I, 2, 4, 5), is likewise devoid of an *alif*. In *sënjatah* for *sënjata* (I, 13), *këri* or *kari* and *sëngkalah*, for *sëngkala* (II, 2), the omission of *alif* may be archaic spelling, and *dalam* without *alif* (I, 14) occurs in other old documents, but *taun*, written *ta wau nun* (II, 9), and, of course, *'alam*, properly *'älam* (I, 1), are wrong.

Archaic omission of *wau* occurs in *dahulu* (I, 1, 15), *Muluku* (I, 2), *Mëluku* (I, 3), *pihatu* (II, 13), and also in *Jailolo* (I, 4, 8, 13, 18), where it is curious that the second *lam* is never joined up with the first one (just as in *Mëluku* the *mim* is not joined to the *lam*). The omission of *wau* in *Tëdore* in I, 8, 13, 15, 18, seems equally peculiar in view of its presence in I, 4, and II, 5, 8, 10. The use of double *wau* in *tucan* (I, 2), *duwa* (I, 5) and *pëlabucan* (which is fully vocalized, I, 17), is archaic and may be justified phonetically by the glide between *u*

and *a*; but *wau* with a *tashdid* would have been neater. In the proper name *Frangshisko*, i.e. Francisco, *wau* is used in I, 2, but omitted in I, 4, 5, 15.

The omission of *ya* is archaic in *Térnate* (written with a final round *ta* in I, 6-8, 10, 14, 15, 17, 19; but with a long *ta* in I, 9; II, 3, 4, 7, 14), *mari-lah* (I, 11), *mati* (I, 16, 17), *bagi* (I, 18), *Tédore* (II, 5, 8, 10; but *ya* is used in I, 4, 8, 13, 15, 18), *měmběri* (II, 8), *gandi* (II, 9), *janchi* (for *janji*, II, 9).

The use of *ha* is archaic in *sěmuha-nya* (I, 2-4, 9, 13) and probably in *pihatu* (modern *piatu*, but Sundanese *pihatu*, II, 13). It is wrong in *Térnateh* (I, 5), *měmbawah* (I, 5-7, 15, 19), *pěrauh* (for *pěrahu*, I, 5), *sěnjatah* (I, 13), *sangkalah* and *sanakdah* (II, 2), *anakdah* (II, 11, 13, 15), and *ayandah* (II, 12, for *ayahanda*, but the omission of this medial *ha* can be phonetically justified). It must, however, be admitted that many modern scribes add a final *ha* to words which really end in the honorific *da*. In *taun* (II, 9), *sa-buah* (II, 10), and *buah* (II, 11), *ha* is wrongly omitted, and in *hadir* the wrong *ha* has been used, and the *dal* is also not the right letter; this is probably phonetic spelling of the unconscious type.

The remaining orthographical peculiarities are minor matters, and mostly mere slips like the *tha* for *ta* in *tulong* (I, 19), *cha* for *jim* in *tuchoh* (for *tujoh*, I, 5) and *janchi* (for *janji*, II, 9), and the omission of *nun* in *měngatarkan* (for *měnghantarkan*, II, 4) and at the end of *rachun* (I, 14), and of both *wau* and *nun*, or, at any rate, the latter, at the end of the same word in I, 16. The omission of *ra* in the prefixes *běr* and *pěr* of *běparang* (for *běrpěrang*, I, 13, 18) and *pělabuan* (I, 17), respectively, is permissible. The spelling *kěmbalek* (I, 11, 12) is due to a confusion between *kěmbali* and *balek*, two words of similar meaning, and *wafa'at* (I, 15) is an error for *wafāt*. The use of *hamzah* in *Jailolo* (I, 4, 8, 13, 18) is intelligible, if rather peculiar, and is intended to indicate that the pronunciation was Jailolo, not (as usually spelt) Jilolo. The *tashdid* in *lashkar* (I, 7, 10, 11, 12) seems superfluous, but in *lėkas* (I, 14, 19) it symbolizes the neutral vowel of the first syllable, as it often does elsewhere in old Malay documents. Possibly it may be doing the same in *Sěrra* (for *Serrāo*, I, 5, 15), unless it is here performing its proper function of prolonging the *ra*. In the second letter *tashdid* is several times used for this purpose, but only in foreign words. Finally, I am not at all sure whether my transcription *Bajahan* is right. The modern spelling suggests *Bajhan* or *Bajihan*, but in the absence of any clear indication of vowels I have let it stand.

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EARTHQUAKES IN PERSIA

By Sir ARNOLD T. WILSON

(PLATE III)

PERSIA is as a whole less liable than Europe, but more than most Asiatic countries, to catastrophic earthquakes, but the references thereto in printed literature are few and peculiarly difficult to discover as few, if any, indexes to books on Persia so much as mention the word.

Watson (p. 190) remarks that earthquakes are "very frequent in most parts of Persia". *Allemagne* (i. 3) classes them, with plagues and famines, as Acts of God to which the country is specially liable.

Khurasan.—Hamdallah Mustawfi refers to a cypress at the village of Kishmar near Turshiz (100 miles south of Nishapur): "such was its power that earthquakes which frequently devastated all the surrounding districts never did any harm in Kishmar." This was in A.H. 247 (A.D. 861).

Nassiri Khusrau (A.D. 1340) states that Nishapur was completely destroyed by an earthquake in the reign of Abaqa Khan (A.D. 1267). Wajid ud Din Zangi Fariwandi rebuilt it in A.H. 669 (A.D. 1270). A similar catastrophe overwhelmed the town in A.H. 808 (A.D. 1405), when most of the inhabitants were buried in the ruins.

Rukn-ud Din Khoi (quoted by Barbier de Meynard, p. 132), in his edition of Yaqut's "*Mujam ul Baldan*", relates that at this time there resided in the city a learned astrologer of Shiraz called Abu Tahir, who foretold that upon the sun's entrance into Scorpio in the year A.H. 235 (A.D. 849), an earthquake would overthrow the whole city. When he found the people would give no credit to this prophecy, he importuned the Governor to force the people out of the city. The Governor . . . did all he could . . . but could not persuade above one-half of the people to stir, which fell out to their destruction, for the earthquake happened at exactly the hour mentioned in the prediction, to the overwhelming of 40,000 persons.

Le Strange quotes Hamdallah Mustawfi and Ibn Battutah in reference to earthquakes in A.D. 1208 and A.H. 679 (A.D. 1280) and Yate refers to one in A.D. 1267.

Kuchan in the same province suffered severely in 1852, when 2,000 persons lost their lives, and again in 1871, 1893 (Nov. 17), and 1895, after which the town was abandoned (*Allemagne* III, 67).

The year 1830, says Watson (p. 257), "was marked in Persia by the occurrence of a series of shocks of earthquakes. In the month of April the town of Demavend suffered severely; not less than 500 persons are said to have been buried in the ruins."

Morier writes (*Second Journey Through Persia*, 1818, p. 355), "Very severe earthquakes are sometimes felt at Demavend. We had a strong shock whilst residing there in June (1811) and nine years ago (viz. in 1802) they were so violent and repeated that many villages in Mazandaran were totally destroyed."

The towns of Semnan and Damghan likewise suffered great injury; in all seventy towns and villages are said to have been destroyed. Damghan was destroyed by an earthquake in A.H. 242 (A.D. 856) (Fraser, p. 314).

Azarbaijan.—Of disastrous earthquakes in the Tabriz neighbourhood we have ample evidence.

Le Strange refers to earthquakes which destroyed Tabriz in A.H. 244 (A.D. 858) and A.H. 434 (A.D. 1042), when 40,000 of the inhabitants perished.

Mustawfi (p. 79), writing in A.D. 1340 with regard to the earthquake of A.D. 1042, refers to a prophecy that the city would not again be laid in ruins by an earthquake and adds "up to the present date during the 300 years that have elapsed since this prediction the prophecy has been proved to be perfectly true, for though the city has many times been visited by earthquakes, these have caused no great ruin."

In the spring of 1721, however, Tabriz was destroyed by an earthquake, wherein 80,000 souls perished. To quote Father Krusinski (Du Cerceau's translation), "what most frightened Isfahan was a phenomenon that appeared there in the air during the summer of 1721. The clouds being at that time very thick, the sun appeared through them of a blood colour, which lasted for two months."

Malcolm in his *History of Persia*, gives the date as A.H. 1134 (A.D. 1721), and says that the city was completely destroyed, 100,000 people losing their lives.

Morier (*First Journey*, 112, p. 276), writes as follows of Tabriz in 1810: "... close to the walls near the Teheran gate is the complete ruin of a mosque ... built about 600 years ago ... destroyed by an earthquake within thirty years.

"The inhabitants complain ... of frequent and violent earthquakes, which they attribute to the volcanoes in the district, which

throw out smoke but no flame. The smoke is so mephitical that it kills immediately a dog or fowl placed over it. The danger of earthquakes has taught the inhabitants of Tabriz to build their houses generally as low as possible and to employ more wood than brick and plaster in their construction. For the same reason the bazaars have only wooden roofs and are not arched. . . . Yet I am told that in earthquakes the domed buildings have invariably stood, where others, the strongest walls, have been rent asunder."

Sir H. J. Brydges, writing in 1834, states (p. 306): "Between the camp and Bosmeech, we passed over ground which some years before had been rent by a succession of earthquakes in the most extraordinary manner, and on the left hand of the road I was shown a mountain riven at that time from top to bottom. This terrible calamity took place in the year 1774."

Of Tasuj (north-west of Tabriz) Morier (*First Journey*, p. 297) writes in 1810: "It appears once to have been a large place but it is now reduced, by earthquakes, to the denomination of a village. There are remains of domed bazaars and mosques spread in every part of the place."

Kazvin was described in 1810 by Morier (*First Journey*, p. 254) as "almost one mass of ruins. An earthquake within no distant period threw down the buildings . . . and made cracks in almost every wall. A large mosque, built by the Abbasids, has been rent in many places in its thick walls and totally ruined".

Chardin, who visited Tabriz in April, 1672 (p. 382), writes as follows of Kazvin: "*The History of Qasvin* makes mention of two other fatal disasters that befell it, occasioned by earthquakes. The first in the year A.H. 460 (A.D. 1067) that overturned all the walls and a third of the buildings, and the second, which did not so much mischief as the first, in the year A.H. 562 (A.D. 1169)."

Chardin, in his description of the Coronation of King Solymán (p. 127 of App. to *Travels*), writes as follows: "Towards the end of 1667 arrived sad tidings at Isfahan from the provinces adjoining to the Caspian Sea that at Shirwan (the capital city of a province of the same name, and which makes a part of Armenia the greater, near Tiflis, the capital city of Georgia) an earthquake has overturned the greatest part of that city and ruined four villages near adjoining, and that above 30,000 Persians had perished in the ruins. That in another city called Shamakhi in the province of the same name another earthquake has occasioned the loss of 20,000 persons and swallowed

up three-quarters of the city—which two accidents had reduced those two provinces to utter desolation.”

Isfahan.—Hamdullah Mustawfi (A.D. 1340) states in reference to this city that “earthquakes very seldom occur here”.

Turning now to South Persia we find that though local tradition and the testimony of living men state that earthquakes are of by no means infrequent occurrence, there is little reference thereto in current literature. It is a notable fact that of all the massive bridges built from Sasanian times onwards, often of great beauty, solidity and strength, not a single one remains. The site of some of them precludes the possibility of their being carried away by the most abnormal floods, and the appearance of the ruins in certain cases, notably those across the Kashgan in the Khurramabad plain and in the mouth of the gorge above its confluence with the Said Marreh River, suggests seismic movement rather than the operation of decay and neglect, though the latter was doubtless a powerful feature.

Curzon, vol. ii (p. 219), states that local tradition favours the theory that the colossal statue of Shapur in the Kazrun Valley was thrown down by an earthquake. The steady diminution in the number of pillars noted as standing at Persepolis by successive travellers suggests that earthquakes have been frequent but not excessively severe. The construction of the pillars is so massive as almost to preclude destruction by any other agency. Up to 1670 there were at least 19 pillars standing. In 1677 Fryer saw 18; the number thereafter recorded is uniformly 17, till Franklin in 1787 reports 15, which figure is repeated till De Bode in 1841 reports 13. This figure is likewise recorded by subsequent travellers till 1881, when Stack gives the number as 12. Dr. G. M. Lees has drawn attention to the fact that as a result of earthquakes the topmost stones of certain pillars have been rotated some 30 to 40 degrees and, displaced from their original position, lie askew and overhanging the edge of the parent pillar.

Wills (p. 260) describes in great detail a great earthquake at Shiraz in the Sixties which caused great loss of life, and he mentions that slight earthquakes were very frequent in the neighbourhood during his residence there. The tradition still remains and the light wooden structures in the gardens are still known as earthquake houses (*zilzileh khaneh*).

Sawyer (pp. 3 and 73) refers to the southern slopes of Shuturun Kuh in the Bakhtiari country as being deserted in 1839 owing to frequent earthquakes.

There were several shocks of earthquake in Fars in 1890 and at Jahrum some thirty lives were lost. Kamarij Khisht and Fasa were also visited by several shocks, but no great damage was done. Towards the end of February, 1894, Shiraz and the neighbourhood were visited by an earthquake which caused some injury to life and property (Administration Reports Persian Gulf Residency).

Sykes makes no reference to earthquakes in his books on Persia, but Le Strange (p. 307) states that the Kubbat-i-Sabz at Kirman was completely ruined by an earthquake in 1896.

Sistan.—Mustawfi (p. 193) refers to a gold mine in Sistan which was laid in ruins by an earthquake in the time of the later Ghaznawids, and became choked so that its very position was hid from sight.

PERSIAN GULF

Earthquakes are frequent and sometimes severe in the Persian Gulf Proper, especially towards the lower end upon the Persian side. In 1865 an earthquake levelled the villages of Darveh Asuh, near Mugam, with the ground; and its remarkable effects were witnessed by Dr. Colvill of the Bushire Residency.

In August, 1880, an earthquake was said to have destroyed some houses and caused about 120 deaths in Bastak.

On October 16, 1883, a severe shock was experienced at Kangun, 'Asalu and Tahiri and in their neighbourhood, where much damage was done, and tremors continued until the 24th; this shock was felt also at Bushire.

In 1884 a somewhat serious earthquake occurred and was felt most severely on Qishm Island; the shocks continued for several days, the most violent being May 20, when a number of villages were partially destroyed; and 132 deaths were said to have been occasioned. Many of the inhabitants left the island and there was much distress, in consequence of which the annual revenue was remitted and the Shah of Persia subscribed 1,400 Tumans for the relief of the destitute and the repair of mosques. Shocks were experienced at Lingeh also, but did no damage there; and in June one was observed at Ras-al-Khaimah on the Arabian side of the Gulf.

By far the most severe earthquake of recent times in the Persian Gulf area was one which, on the night of January 11, 1897, laid Qishm town in ruins; only two mosques and three or four other buildings

were left standing, and over 1,600 bodies were said to have been afterwards recovered from the ruins. There was some loss of life, on this occasion, on the island of Larak, and vibrations were felt as far to the west as Lingeh.

In June, 1902, Qishm and Bandar 'Abbas were affected by seismic disturbances, which began on June 9 and lasted for several days, and as usual the damage was greater at Qishm town than elsewhere.

In 1905 shocks were experienced on Hanjam Island on April 25 and on Qishm Island on April 27, and at the same time there were movements in the neighbourhood of Bandar 'Abbas which caused landslips and the collapse of houses at the Ginau mountain and 'Isin village.

RECENT SHOCKS

Two severe earthquake shocks occurred in Nabandan and Sistan districts on March 12 and 13, 1928, and on August 22, 1928, a severe earthquake occurred which affected Sabzawar, Nishapur and Shirwan, some ten persons being killed.

A very severe earthquake occurred on May 2, 1929; twelve distinct shocks were felt within twenty-four hours at widely separated points in the province of Khurasan, running from Bandargaz to Kalat on the frontier between Persia and Russian Turkistan. The towns of Shirwan, Bujnurd and Jajarm were severely damaged, and it is clear from reports received from Moscow that much damage was done across the frontier in the district of Askhabad, telegraphic reports from Moscow stating that 1,000 persons were killed. The earthquake shocks penetrated far into the interior of Persia and it was stated in the *Daily Telegraph* of May 6, 1929, that a cleft three yards wide was opened between the towns of Khaki and Bagham, to the east of the Tehran Isfahan road, the cleft extending to a distance of 18 miles. The towns of Kuchan and Rubat also suffered severely, huge fissures in the ground being opened up, one being, according to a report in *The Times* of May 9, 24 miles long and 9 feet wide. The total casualties were subsequently given in an official report from a Government Inspector at Kuchan as 3,253 persons killed, 1,121 injured, 83 villages destroyed and 6,542 cattle killed.

A disastrous earthquake, in which some 2,000 persons were reported killed, occurred at Salmas on May 9, 1930, and was severe at Tabriz Khoi and the environs of Urmia. Subsidiary shocks continued intermittently till May 29.

GEOLOGICAL NOTE ¹

I am indebted to Mr. M. W. Strong for the following observations on the relationship to tectonic lines of the earthquakes given in the subjoined list.

The record may be conveniently divided into three portions :—

(1) A.D. 550–1800 in which about forty-five earthquakes are recorded, the main portion being mentioned from A.D. 850–1280. The poor record from 1280–1600 may be due to the disturbed history of the times. The average number recorded is one in thirty years.

(2) A.D. 1800–1908. A steady record of about seventy earthquakes during this period is given, or about ten times as frequently as before, i.e. about one shock in three years.

(3) A.D. 1908–1930. About fifty earthquakes are recorded during this period and their epicentres determined. The frequency is about one shock per six months or about six times as great as during the preceding century.

STATISTICAL

Of about 166 recorded shocks :—

(1) About forty-five are recorded from the tectonic line running from Syria across to near Mosul and thence down the edge of the folded country through eastern Mesopotamia, east of Baghdad, Zorbatia, east of Kut, thence to Bushire and round the coast to Bandar 'Abbas.

(2) Some thirty-six refer to the Tabriz area alone.

(2a) Over forty shocks are associated with the ranges bordering the Caspian Sea, the Elburz and their extension eastward, viz. Astarabad to Meshed.

(3) Some thirteen records are from the Isfahan-Hamadan line, which may extend towards Tabriz.

(4) About ten shocks were in the region round Shiraz.

(5) Some nineteen further shocks in scattered areas mainly in the Median Mass.

Only about one-third of the total record (extending over about 1,500 years), refers to earthquakes during the last thirty years, and although the records during this period are precise, the epicentres

¹ Many of the geological concepts and terms employed in this note were introduced into Persian geology by Dr. H. de Böckh. A full explanation can be found in his contribution to the *Structure of Asia*, Methuen, 1929.

being given, insufficient time has elapsed for a representative distribution to have been recorded and it is only with the aid of the older records that we are able to determine the great seismic zones.

Of the last fifty, about fourteen seem to be duplicate records of the same shock or records of subsidiary shocks and about twenty refer to large earthquakes.

THE SEISMIC REGIONS AND GEOLOGICAL STRUCTURE

(1) *Syrian-Mesopotamian-Gulf Line*

Nine records are of shocks felt in Mesopotamia and Syria and the record of the disaster south of Diarbekr is an important link.

It is, however, impossible, where epicentres are not given, to correlate these disturbances more exactly than with the depressed edge of the foreland or the western and southern edge of the zone of autochthonous folding, or in other words the edge of the Gulf depression in which folding has continued up to post-Pliocene times.

The neighbourhood near Zorbatia is not the only one where more intense seismic activity is in evidence where tectonic lines in different directions appear to be present. In this area, however, the evidence of a north-west trend is not considered by some as convincing. We have similar highly seismic centres in northern Palestine, at Tabriz and the Hormuz Straits and Astarabad at tectonic junctions.

At Bushire, again, it appears that the influence of the north-south structural line, possibly connected in some way with the north-south strike of Qatar Peninsula on the south side of the Gulf, and again evident in the neighbourhood of Ahram, Dalaki, and Kamarij, may affect the stability of this region.

At Qishm and Bandar 'Abbas an association between the seismicity and the intersection of two or more structural lines is clear.

There is evidence here of the movement of salt plugs until very recently, and they may indeed be in process of movement at the present, but it is possible that the movement of the salt is a product of the same factor as that causing the earthquakes.

(2) At Tabriz, the most striking seismic centre, the association with the Armenian volcanic zone extending down through the Elburz and Central Persia is important. The junction here of the Persian strike and the east-west strike of the Armenian folds has rendered the area particularly unstable. Many of the shocks, though severe locally, seem to be associated with volcanic causes rather than with movements along the junctions of the deeper blocks, but movements

along the Hamadan-Isfahan and Saidabad line of depression appear in some cases to be connected with movements at Tabriz. Similarly, movements along the Armenian trends need to be studied in their connection with Tabriz. Of Tabriz shocks some appear to be grouped round the Urmia depression and the association of many shock centres with local depressions in the Median Mass has been noted by Mr. F. D. S. Richardson.

The line of centres, Khoi-Tabriz-Mianeh-Zenjan, following the south side of the Elburz is closely connected tectonically, while its continuation leads to another interesting line running through Kazvin, Tehran, Demavend ?, Semnan ?, Damghan. This in turn continues to the syntaxis of the Elburz and Kupeh Dagh ranges, in which unstable region Bujnurd, Shirwan, Kuchan, Mazinan, Sabzawar, Nishapur and Meshed are affected.

North-east of the Elburz and bordering the Caspian, shocks are recorded from Ardebil, Enzeli, Resht, Bandar-i-Gaz and the Caspian Sea itself where the sea bed goes steeply down from the south coast.

Late Tertiary volcanic activity in the Elburz and existing solfatara action are of interest, but it will need more exact data before the association of the shocks can be worked out, their focal depths estimated and the surface and deep seisms disentangled. The late uplift of the Elburz has left lines of weakness both on the south and north sides, both lines seeming to possess their own foci.

(3) *The Hamadan-Isfahan Line and Extension*

This line marks the south west side of a long depression coinciding with the back of the nappes and it continues to the south east of Saidabad whence its continuation bends round the south side of the Jaz-Murian-Hamun depression (north of Jask).

It is interesting to note that similar depressions occur behind the nappes as at Van and Mush in Armenia and at Urmia in Persia.

At Saidabad the Oman direction of folding may influence the stability.

(4) *Shiraz-Fasa-Persepolis Area*

This area, though in the folded zone, is broken down, the frontal partial nappes tend to die out to the north-west towards Niriz and at the same time the main nappe tends to swing back towards Deh Bid. The possible effect of the Oman and Qatar north-south strike on each side of this area should not be overlooked when studying the

LIST OF RECORDED EARTHQUAKES IN PERSIA AND IRAQ OR ON ITS BORDERS (EXCLUDING THE U.S.S.R.)

Notes.—(1) An asterisk indicates earthquakes not included in Milne's *Catalogue of Destructive Earthquakes* up to 1899 (British Association, 1911). Two asterisks indicate earthquakes hitherto unrecorded in any technical publication.

(2) On the annexed map the locality of each earthquake is marked as far as practicable by the corresponding serial number.

Serial No.	Country.	Year A.D.	Month.	Place.	Remarks.	Class.
1	Iraq.	*550 or 551	July 7 or 9	Mesopotamia.	Felt also in Arabia, Syria, Phœnicia, and Greece. <i>Mallet</i> . <i>Theophrastus</i> , p. 192. <i>Cedrenus</i> , p. 376.	III
2	"	*678 or 680	"	Mesopotamia.	<i>Mallet</i> . <i>Theophrastus</i> , p. 296. <i>Anastasius</i> , p. 112. <i>Centurion Magdeburgensis</i> , vol. II, p. 224.	III
3	"	*749	Jan. (?)	Mesopotamia and Syria.	Part of the hills thrown down. A chasm opened in the earth more than 1,000 paces long. <i>Mallet</i> . <i>Theophrastus</i> , p. 357. <i>Cedrenus</i> , p. 403. <i>Anastasius</i> . <i>Barontius</i> , etc.	III
4	Persia.	856	Dec. 3	Khurasan, Hamadan, Damghan.	<i>Oldham</i> . <i>Mallet</i> . Destroyed A.D. 242. <i>Fraser</i> , p. 314. See <i>Haji Khalifa</i> ; <i>El Makin</i> , p. 150. <i>D'Herbelot</i> . Bibl. Orient.	—
5	"	*858	—	Tabriz.	Town destroyed A.D. 244. ¹ <i>Le Strange</i> . <i>Chardin</i> , p. 359, says A.D. 234.	III
6	Iraq.	859	—	Baghdad.	<i>Mallet</i> . <i>Oldham</i> . Also Antioch and Damascus. Latakia and Tarsus.	III
7	Persia.	*880	—	Persia (loc. non cit.), also Syria and Europe.	<i>Mallet</i> . <i>Collection Academique</i> .	III

¹ Rukn-ud Din Khoi (quoted by Barbier de Meynard in his edition of Yaqut's *Maajaz al-Buldan*, p. 132) relates that at this time there resided in the city a learned astrologer of Shiraz called Abu Tahir, who foretold that the said earthquake should happen upon the sun's entrance into Scorpio in the year A.D. 235 = A.D. 849, and should overthrow the whole city. To which, when he found the people would give no credit, he went and was importunate with the Governor to force the people out of the city. The Governor . . . did all he could . . . but could not persuade above one-half of the people to stir, which fell out to their destruction, for the earthquake happened at exactly the hour mentioned in the prediction, to the overwhelming of 40,000 persons.

8	Persia.	*898	Jan. 9	Rai (near Tehran) and Tabaristan.	<i>Mallet, Haji Khalifa.</i>	III
9	"	*957	—	Rai and Thalekan (?).	The Caspian (?) Sea retreated from its shores, disclosing near islands to view. <i>Ibn el Alsir</i> in <i>Abulfeda</i> , vol. ii, p. 407. <i>Haji Khalifa, Bar Hebraeus, El Makin.</i>	III
10	"	*958	—	Deisan and Kaschan (—Kashan ?) in Persia and the country round.	More violent than that of the preceding year. <i>Mallet, Abulfaraj</i> , p. 196. <i>El Makin.</i>	III
11	Iraq.	1007	—	Delmar in Iraq.	10,000 persons were buried in the ruins of buildings and many more swallowed up by the earth. At Baghdad great destruction. <i>Mallet, Haji Khalifa, Abulfaraj</i> , p. 219.	III
12	Persia.	1040	Feb. 2.	Tabriz, also Smyrna and Africa.	Many buildings thrown down; 50,000 persons perished in Tabriz. <i>Mallet, Haji Khalifa.</i>	III
13	"	**1042	—	Tabriz. <i>Note.</i> —This may possibly refer to the 1040 earthquake.	Town destroyed. 40,000 inhabitants perished. See <i>Chardin</i> , p. 359. <i>Le Strange.</i> See also <i>Nuzhat-ul-Quteb</i> , vol. viii, p. 79. Two odes by Qatran on this disaster; one printed by Ch. Schefer in his <i>Chrestomatie Persane.</i>	III
14	"	1052	—	Khuzistan, especially the city Ardeschan (?). Iraq-i-Ajami, Khurasan (city of Bihak).	<i>Mallet.</i> A large mountain in the neighbourhood of the city of Ardeschan cleft in two so that one could see into the interior. <i>Abulfida</i> , vol. ii, p. 143.	I
15	Iraq.	1058	—	Mosul and Mesopotamia.	Lasted an hour; great damage done to buildings and to life. <i>Mallet, Abulfida</i> , vol. iii, p. 1.	II
15a	Persia.	**1067	—	Kasvin.	Walls overturned and one-third of town ruined. <i>Chardin</i> , p. 382.	III
16	"	1124	—	Khurasan.	<i>Mallet, Oldham.</i>	III
17	Iraq.	*1129	—	Baghdad.	<i>Mallet, Bar Hebraeus</i> , p. 308.	II

Serial No.	Country.	Year A.D.	Month.	Place.	Remarks.	Class.
18	Iraq.	*1135	—	Baghdad.	<i>Mallet. Bar Hebraeus,</i>	I
19	"	1139	—	Mesopotamia. ¹	Also Syria and especially Aleppo where shocks lasted more than two months. <i>Mallet. Abulfida</i> , vol. iii, p. 479.	I
20	"	1139	—	Hira and Ambar, also Aleppo. ¹	And at the Persian town Gansana, which was destroyed, 100,000 persons losing their lives. <i>Haji Khalifa. Abulfida</i> , p. 329, <i>El Makin. Bar Hebraeus</i> , etc.	III
20a	Persia.	*1169	—	Kaavin.	A severe earthquake. <i>Chardin</i> , p. 382. ²	III
21	Iraq.	1201 or 1202	—	Mesopotamia, also Syria and Palestine.	Many towns greatly injured. Some authors, not Arabian, give the dates 13 or 20 or 30 May, 1202. <i>Mallet. Haji Khalifa. Abulfida</i> , iv, p. 165. <i>Bar Hebraeus</i> , p. 435.	III
22	"	1204	—	Mesopotamia, also Egypt and Syria.	<i>Mallet. Abulfida</i> , iv, p. 211. <i>Abulfaraj</i> , p. 405.	III
23	Persia.	*1208	—	Nishapur.	Town almost completely destroyed A.D. 605. <i>Le Strange</i> , p. 386. <i>Bar Hebraeus</i> , p. 452, gives an earthquake here in 1209.	III
24	"	*1267	—	"	Town completely destroyed. <i>Schefer</i> , p. 281. <i>C. E. Yates</i> .	III
25	"	*1273	—	Azarbaijan and Tabriz, also Thrace.	<i>Mallet. Bar Hebraeus</i> , p. 548, also <i>Cent. Magd</i> .	III
26	Persia.	*1280	—	Nishapur.	Town almost completely destroyed A.D. 679. <i>Le Strange</i> , p. 386.	III

¹ These entries may refer to the same event.² *Morier* (First Journey, p. 254) writes: "Qazvin is almost one mass of ruins. An earthquake within no distant period threw down the buildings . . . made cracks in almost every wall. A large mosque built by the *Abbasides* has been rent in many places in its thick walls and totally ruined."

27	Persia.	**1405	—	Nishapur.	Jackson, p. 257; most of the inhabitants buried in the ruins.	III
28	"	1505	July 6.	—	On the 3rd day of the month of Safar, A.H. 911. This earthquake which is recorded as having done great damage in India appears from memoirs of Sultan Babar to have been felt in Persia (Erskine's edition, p. 170). It lasted for a month and was at its worst near Kabul. <i>Oldham</i> .	III
29	"	**1549	—	Bujnurd.	33 shocks in one day. <i>Arabic History of Gujarat</i> , Text, p. 934. (<i>Sir E. D. Ross</i> .)	I
30	"	1549	—	Khurasan and Qa'in.	3,000 killed. Described in 'Aham Arai Sikandari. <i>Oldham</i> . See also previous items.	III
31	"	1611	Dec. 9.	Khurasan, Dughabad.	" At several other places during the whole year there had been earthquakes, but especially in Khurasan. The town of Dughabad . . . looked to be an immense heap of bricks. From 700 to 800 killed. In one house alone about 70 corpses found; there had been a bridal party. The bride alone was saved." <i>Aham Arai Sikandari</i> . <i>Oldham</i> .	III
32	"	1619	Nov. 27.	Khurasan, Dughabad.	<i>Oldham</i> .	III
33	"	1640	—	Tabriz, and at the same time in Damascus.	Very violent; houses thrown down. <i>Mallet</i> , <i>Haji Khalifa</i> .	III
34	"	1641	Feb. 5 (?).	Tabriz, also felt at Baghdad.	<i>Mallet</i> .	III
35	"	1664	—	Tabriz and the country round.	Very violent; did great damage in many places. <i>Mallet</i> . <i>Haji Khalifa</i> .	III
36	Iraq.	1666	Nov.	Mosul and the country round.	5 towns and 45 villages ruined, and 4 new mountains raised. <i>Mallet</i> .	III

Serial No.	Country.	Year A.D.	Month.	Place.	Remarks.	Class.
37	Persia.	1673	Aug.	Khorasan.	Mashhad and Nishapur, and a third, the name of which is not given, were destroyed. <i>Mallet</i> .	III
38	"	1683	Nov. 27.	N.W. Azarbaijan.	<i>Mallet</i> .	I
39	"	1687	April.	N.E. Persia.	The town of Machat ruined. <i>Mallet</i> .	II
40	"	1721	" 20.	Tabriz.	8,000 lives lost. See Du Cerceau (Krusinski), who states 80,000 killed; Malcolm puts figure at 100,000 and says city was totally ruined. "What most frightened Isfahan was a phenomenon that appeared there in the air during the summer of 1721. The clouds being at that time very thick, the sun appeared through them of a blood colour, which lasted for two months." <i>Morier</i> (First Journey, 1812, p. 276) writes as follows of Tabriz in 1810: "... Close to the walls near the Toheran gate is the complete ruin of a mosque ... built about 600 years ago ... destroyed by an earthquake within thirty years. The inhabitants complain ... of frequent and violent earthquakes, which they attribute to the volcanoes in the district which throw out smoke but no flame. The smoke is so mephitical that it kills immediately a dog or fowl placed over it. The danger of earthquakes has taught the inhabitants of Tabriz to build their houses generally as low as possible and to employ more wood than brick and plaster in their construction. For the same reason the bazaars have only wooden roofs, and are not arched. ... Yet I am told that in earthquakes where others, the strongest walls have been rent asunder." <i>Sir H. J. Brydges</i> , writing in 1834, states (p. 306), "between the camp and Basmeech, we passed over ground which some	III

41	Persia.	1727	Nov. 18.	Tabriz.	City ruined; 77,000 killed. <i>Mallet, Haji Khalifa</i> , (<i>Perrey</i> quotes <i>Huot</i> , <i>Geol.</i> , vol. i, p. 112.)	III
42	"	1755 ¹	—	Tabriz, Kashan, Isfahan.	Very violent shocks; in Kashan more than 600 houses thrown down; altogether 40,000 persons perished. (See <i>Ker Porter</i> .) <i>Perrey</i> quotes <i>Gazette de France</i> , 8th Nov., 1755, and <i>Journal Historique</i> , Dec., 1755, p. 462. <i>Mallet</i> , <i>Watson</i> , p. 190, says shocks very frequent at Kashan.	III
43	Iraq.	1760	May 1.	Baghdad.	2,000 or according to others 4,000 houses thrown down; shock was accompanied by a terrible hurricane. <i>Mallet</i> .	III
44	Persia.	**1774	—	Azarbaijan.	<i>Brydgess</i> , p. 306.	III
45	"	1780	Feb. 28- Mar. 3.	Tabriz.	"A terrible earthquake a few months ago destroyed every building in the city of Tabriz and its adjacent villages, some of which, it is said, were swallowed up; and as this dreadful calamity happened at night it is computed that 50 to 60,000 people perished." <i>John Beaumont</i> , <i>Resident</i> <i>Bushire</i> to Governor of Bombay, 15th July, 1780. <i>Saldanka</i> , p. 316. <i>Mallet, Perrey</i> .	III
46	Omitted.					
47	Persia.	**1802	—	Demavend ¹ and Mazandaran.	<i>Morier</i> , p. 355. In all 70 towns and villages were destroyed; Semnan, Damghan . . . received great injury.	III

¹ *Rabiao* (p. 34) refers to an earthquake of a.d. 1225 = a.h. 1810, which caused much destruction at Sari. An inscription on the Masjid-i-Juma at Bafurush states that it was destroyed by an earthquake in the reign of Fath Ali Shah. For further references to earthquakes see *ibid.*, pp. 40, 44.

Serial No.	Country.	Year A.D.	Month.	Place.	Remarks.	Class.
48	Persia.	**1811	June.	Demavend.	<i>Morier</i> , p. 355.	I
49	"	*1819	Jan. 29.	Tabriz.	Very numerous shocks, extending over several weeks, and including Tasuj. <i>Mallet</i> . (Milne gives Caucasasia only.) Of Tasuj (N.W. of Tabriz) <i>Morier</i> (First Journey, p. 297) writes in 1810: "It appears once to have been a large place but it is now reduced, by earthquakes, to the denomination of a village. There are remains of domed bazaars and mosques spread in every part of the place."	II
50	"	**1820	—	Mazandaran.	<i>Rabino</i> , p. 44.	III
51	"	*1824	June 2.	Shiraz.	Some slight motion premonitory of the great earthquake of 23rd-25th June. <i>Mallet</i> .	I
52	"	1824	June 23 or June 25.	Shiraz and Kazrun.	A violent shock, followed by many slighter ones for six days and nights. The principal damage was done by the first and three others that followed it before 10 a.m. A part of Shiraz was almost completely destroyed and swallowed up. Kazrun also suffered severely and some mountains in the neighbourhood of Kazrun were levelled (27th Shawal, 1239). On the same day there was a renewed eruption on the island of Banda (Dutch E. Indies). <i>Mallet</i> . See also <i>Wills, G. J., Verner</i> , <i>Journal des Voyages</i> . <i>Curzon</i> , vol. ii, p. 219, states that local tradition favours the theory that the colossal statue of Shapur in the Kazrun Valley was thrown down by an earthquake.	III
53	"	*1824	Dec. 30.	Shiraz.	Several shocks. <i>Mallet</i> .	I
54	"	**18—	—	Persepolis.	The steady diminution in the number of pillars noted as standing at Persepolis by successive	

55	Persia.	1825	Oct. 24.	Shiraz.	III	travellers, suggests that earthquakes have been frequent but not excessively severe. The construction of the pillars is so massive as almost to preclude destruction by any other agency. Up to 1670 there were at least 19 pillars standing. In 1677 Fryer saw 18; the number thereafter recorded is uniformly 17 till Franklin in 1787 reports 15, which figure is repeated till De Bode in 1841 reports 13. This figure is likewise recorded by subsequent travellers till 1881, when Stack gives the number as 12 (see Curzon). Dr. G. M. Lees has drawn attention to the fact that as a result of earthquakes, the topmost stones of certain pillars have been rotated some 30 to 40 degrees and, displaced from their original position, lie askew overhanging the edge of the parent pillar. (See also Herzfeld.)
56	"	1830	May 9.	Tehran.	I III	A shock almost as severe as that of the year before; numbers of buildings were reduced to ruins. (Milne classes this as II.) <i>Mallet</i> .
57	"	*1843	Apr. 26- May 6.	Tabriz.	III	The city suffered much. <i>Mallet</i> . Denavend suffered severely, not less than 500 persons killed. <i>Watson</i> , p. 257, says that the year was marked in Persia by a series of shocks of earthquakes.
58	"	1844	May 12.	Ispahan, Azarbaijan, Iraq-i-Ajami.	III	Violent shocks; Khoi destroyed. <i>Perrey</i> .
59	"	*1851	Feb. 14, 16, and 23.	Tabriz.	I	Violent shocks. <i>Perrey</i> .
60	Persian Gulf.	1851	Apr. 19.	Gwadar.	III	Three shocks; several houses destroyed. <i>Oldham</i> .
61	Persia.	1852	Feb. 22 (?)	Kuchan.	III	2,000 persons killed. <i>Attenoguer</i> , vol. iii, p. 67. (<i>Perrey</i> gives Derbent only.)

Serial No.	Country.	Year A.D.	Month.	Place.	Remarks.	Class.
62	Persia.	1853	Apr. 21-22.	Shiraz.	12,000 killed, Mosque of Abbas fell. Shock felt at Washington at same time, but <i>Perrey</i> in Supplement gives date as 2nd May. <i>Perrey</i> . For full account see <i>Wille, C. J.</i>	III
63	"	1853	July 11.	Isfahan.	10,000 killed; <i>Perrey</i> . <i>Hamdallah Mustaeef</i> (A.D. 1340) in his account of Isfahan states that "earthquakes very seldom occur here".	III
64	"	1854	Sept. 23.	Tabriz.	4 shocks of which the first and strongest lasted twenty seconds; several villages almost entirely destroyed, as also the town of Khol. <i>Perrey</i> .	II
65	"	1854	Oct. 1.	Gilan, Resht, Enzeli, and Caucasus.	<i>Perrey</i> .	I
66	"	*1856	July 3.	Tabriz.	Strong shock from N.N.E. to S.S.W. with subterranean noises; shock felt at Nahend but not at Ali Shah. <i>Perrey</i> .	I
67	"	*1856	Oct. 4.	"	Strong shock apparently vertical, but shown by seismometer as having direction E. 23° 16' N. Followed immediately by a second shock in the direction W. 31° 12' S. <i>Perrey</i> .	I
68	"	1857	Apr. 9.	Persian frontier W. of Urm.	Violent shocks. Four villages destroyed on Turkish side. <i>Perrey</i> .	III
69	"	*1857	Aug. 13-Sept. 21.	Environs of Lake Urm.	Violent shock. <i>Perrey</i> .	I
70	"	1857	Oct. 27 (?).	Azarchaijan.	Considerable damage done and small town of Tesong (Tasuj ?) completely destroyed. <i>Perrey</i> .	II
71	"	*1862	June 4.	Tabriz.	No damage done. <i>Perrey</i> .	I
72	"	*1862	Aug. 13.	Kohrud (Kashan-Isfahan road).	2 shocks at 3 minutes interval. <i>Perrey</i> .	I

73	Persia.	1862	Oct. 1.	Resht and Enzeli.	Three long violent shocks. <i>Perrey</i> .	I
74	Iraq.	*1862	Nov. 9.	Kirkuk.	Strong shock. <i>Perrey</i> .	I
75	Persia.	1862	Dec. 21.	Shiraz.	<i>Perrey</i> .	II
76	"	*1863	Jan. 1-2.	"	"	I
76a	"	*1863	Jan. 4.	"	2 slight shocks. <i>Perrey</i> .	I
76b	"	*1863	Jan. 21.	"	A very strong shock. <i>Perrey</i> .	II
77	"	*1863	Dec. 22-30.	Ardabil.	4 villages destroyed in neighbourhood. 500 persons killed; town slightly damaged. <i>Perrey</i> .	III
78	"	1864	Jan. 3.	"	See also previous entry. <i>Perrey</i> . <i>Mallet</i> . <i>Oldham</i> .	III
79	"	1864	Jan. 6.	near Ardabil.	4 villages destroyed. <i>Perrey</i> .	III
80	Iraq.	1864	Dec. 2-26.	Baghdad, Zorbatia, Badrah, Mossuli, Basrah, Kut al Amara.	Slight shocks continued until 7th Jan., 1865. 100 houses destroyed at Zorbatia. <i>Perrey</i> .	II
81	Persia.	*1865	(No date.)	Shiraz.	5 shocks of which 3 violent. <i>Perrey</i> . <i>Willa</i> in "Behind an Eastern Veil" refers to the great earthquake of 1853 and mentions that slight earthquakes were very frequent in the neighbourhood during his residence there. The tradition still remains and the light wooden structures in the gardens at Shiraz are still known as earthquake houses (<i>silzaleh khaneh</i>).	I
82	Iraq.	*1865	Feb. 8.	Baghdad.	Several shocks from E. to W., several houses ruined; hills reported cracked in N. of Kut al Amarah (?). <i>Perrey</i> .	I
83	Persia.	*1865	(No date.)	Darveh Asub, near Mugam.	" In 1865 an earthquake levelled the villages of Darveh Asub, near Mugam, with the ground; and its remarkable effects were witnessed by Dr. Colvill of the Bushire Residency." <i>Persian Gulf Gazetteer</i> .	III

Serial No.	Country.	Year A.D.	Month.	Place.	Remarks.	Class.
84	Iraq (?).	1866	July.	Between Tigris and Euphrates, not far from Diarbeckr.	Violent shock, cracks in earth over more than 30 leagues, 16 villages destroyed with all their population. <i>Perrey</i> .	III
85	Persia.	1867	Dec. 31 (?).	Tabriz.	<i>Perrey</i> . (Milne gives Caucasans only.)	I
86	"	*1868	Jan. 20.	Village of Alshaki, 3rd station on route between Shahrud and Sabzawar.	Slight shock. <i>Perrey</i> .	I
87	"	*1868	Apr. 19.	Bushire.	Several shocks of which two were violent. <i>Perrey</i> .	I
92	"	1869	Mar. 1.	Bushire.	A violent shock. <i>Perrey</i> .	I
88	"	*1870	Jan. 26.	Tabriz.	Two shocks from N. to S. <i>Perrey</i> .	I
89	"	*1871	Sept. 6.	Bushire.	Several violent shocks. <i>Perrey</i> .	I
90	"	*1871	Dec. 23.	Kuchan.	<i>Allemagne</i> , vol. iii, p. 67, 1st shock, half town overthrown. <i>Perrey</i> .	III
90a	"	*1872	Jan. 6.	Kuchan.	A second and more terrible shock. The rest of the town destroyed. Four forts in the neighbourhood so completely engulfed, wrote the British Consul at Tebran, that no trace remained. <i>Perrey</i> .	III
93	"	1872	June.	Hamadan.	<i>Fuchs</i> .	III
94	"	**1872	July 15 (?).	Shirvan in Caucasus and Persian frontier.	<i>Bassett</i> .	III
95	"	1874	July 28.	Tabriz.	<i>Fuchs</i> .	I
96	"	1879	Mar. 12-Apr. 2.	Tabriz to Miauch, and Zenjan.	<i>Fuchs</i> .	III
97	"	**1880	Aug.	Bastak, Persian Gulf.	20 deaths. <i>P.G. Gazetteer</i> .	III

98	Persia.	1881	Aug. 28.	Khoi, Tabriz.	<i>Fuchs.</i>	II
99	"	1883	May 3.	Tabriz and most of Azar- baijan.	<i>Mallet, Oldham, Fuchs.</i>	III
100	"	**1883	Oct. 16-24.	Kangun. Asadu. Tahiri. Bushire.	<i>Persian Gulf Gazetteer.</i>	III III II I
101	Persia and Persian Gulf.	1884	March.	Persian Gulf, Muscat, Nejd.	<i>Fuchs.</i>	III
102	"	1884	May 19-20.	Qishm I.	<i>Fuchs.</i> 132 killed; many villages destroyed; Shah gave 1,400 Tomanas for relief. Persian Gulf Gazetteer. Annual revenue remitted; many inhabitants left island. No damage.	III
103	Persian Gulf.	**1884	June.	Langeh.	<i>Persian Gulf Gazetteer.</i>	I
104	Persia.	**1887	Nov. 14-24.	Ras-al Khaimah. Bushire.	<i>Persian Gulf Gazetteer.</i>	I
105	"	**1890	—	Fars. Jahrum. Kamarlij. Khisht. Fasa.	<i>Persian Gulf Gazetteer.</i> 36 killed. <i>P.G. Gazetteer.</i>	II III I I I
106	"	1893	Nov. 17.	Kuchan.	<i>Allemagne.</i>	III
107	"	**1894	End of Feb.	Shiraz.	<i>P.G. Gazetteer.</i> Some injury to life and property.	II
108	"	1895	Jan. 7 and 17.	Khurasan, Kuchan, Meshed.	See also <i>Allemagne</i> , vol. iii, p. 67.	III
109	"	1896	Jan. 2.	Khadkhal, N. of Mianch, Khoi and Gangabad.		III
110	"	**1896	—	Kirman.	Kubbat-i-Saba destroyed. <i>Le Strange</i> , p. 397.	II

Serial No.	Country.	Year A.D.	Month.	Place.	Remarks.	Class.
111	Persia.	**1897	Jan. 11 (night).	Qishm Isd.	Town levelled to ground, 1,660 killed. Only two mosques and three or four other buildings left standing.	III
				Larak Is. Lingeh.	Loss of life. <i>Persian Gulf Gazetteer</i> .	III
112	"	**1902	June 9.	Qishm.	No loss of life. <i>Persian Gulf Gazetteer</i> .	I
					Considerable damage. Shocks also felt at Bandar Abbas, where 10 lives lost and many houses destroyed. Shocks continued for several days. <i>Persian Gulf Gazetteer</i> .	II
113	"	**1903	Apr. 25.	Bandar Abbas.	Also felt at Qishm and on Hanjam. Landslips and collapse of houses on Kuh-i-Ginnu, and at Isin village. <i>Persian Gulf Gazetteer</i> .	I
114	"	1908	Jan. 10-23.	94 m. E.S.E. Samman. Lat. 35° 5'. Long. 55° 0' E. 100 m. W.N.W. Isfahan. Lat. 33° 3'. Long. 50° 2' E.	Severe shock.	I
115	Persian Gulf.	1913	Mar. 24.	115 m. W.N.W. Lingeh. Lat. 27° 5'. Long. 53° 8'.	<i>Académie Imperiale des Sciences</i> , vol. iii, pt. iii. St. Petersburg, 1910.	I
INTERNATIONAL SUMMARY.						
116	Persia.	1917	June 2.	92 m. E. of Tabriz. Lat. 38° 0'. Long. 48° 5'.		—
117	Persia and Iraq.	1917	July 15.	14 m. E.S.E. Badrah. Lat. 33° 5' N. Long. 46° 5' E.		—
119	"	1917	July 24.	14 m. E.S.E. Badrah. Lat. 33° 5'. Long. 46° 5'.		—
120	"	1917	Nov. 23.	14 m. E.S.E. Badrah. Lat. 33° 5'. Long. 46° 5'.		—
121	"	1917	Nov. 24.	14 m. E.S.E. Badrah. Lat. 33° 5'. Long. 46° 5'.	Observed by 23 stations.	—

122	Persia.	1918	Mar. 24.	226 m. E.S.E. Samnan. 34° 5'. Long. 57° 1'. Lat.	Observed by 13 stations.
123	"	1918	Mar. 24.	226 m. E.S.E. Samnan. 34° 5'. Long. 57° 1'. Lat.	Observed by 16 stations. Previous shock on 24th Nov., 1917.
124	"	1918	May 25.	120 m. N. of Kirman. 32° 0'. Long. 57° 0'. (Big.) Lat.	Badrah. Houses shaken in Baghdad.
125	"	1919	Oct. 24.	48 m. E.S.E. Dizak. 27° 5'. Long. 63° 0'. Lat.	Minor tremor 22nd May, S.E. to N.W. (not recorded in International Summary).
126	"	1919	Oct. 24.	48 m. E.S.E. Dizak. 27° 5'. Long. 63° 0'. Lat.	Observed by 12 stations.
127	"	1920	May 25.	14 m. E.S.E. Badrah. 33° 5'. Long. 46° 5'. Lat.	
128	"	1920	May 25.	60 m. W.S.W. Kirmanahah. Lat. 33° 5'. Long. 46° 5'. Masjid Sulaiman, 30 m. E. of Shushtar.	
128a	"	1921	May 21.	102 m. W.N.W. Isfahan. 33° 0'. Long. 50° 0'. Lat.	
129	"	1922	Mar. 21.	102 m. W.N.W. Isfahan. 33° 0'. Long. 50° 0'. Lat.	
130	"	1922	Mar. 21.	120 m. N. of Kirman. 32° 0'. Long. 57° 0'. Lat.	Observed by 39 stations.
131	"	1923	May 25.	120 m. N. of Kirman. 32° 0'. Long. 57° 0'. (Big.) Lat.	
132	"	1923	May 25.	120 m. N. of Kirman. 32° 0'. Long. 57° 0'. Lat.	Observed by 3 stations.
133	"	1923	June 18.	20 m. S.E. Kerind. 34° 8'. Long. 46° 0'. Lat.	

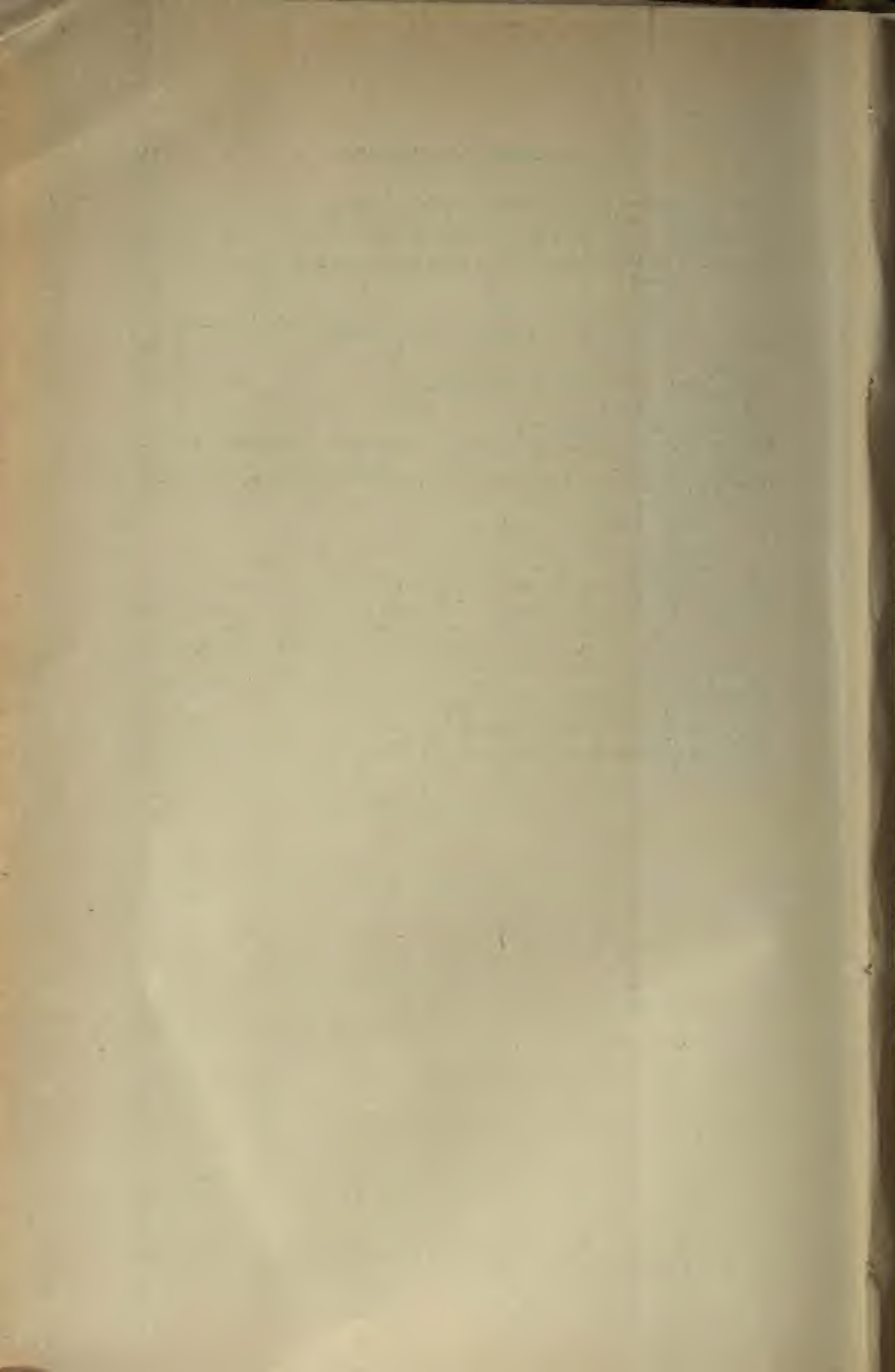
Serial No.	Country.	Year A.D.	Month.	Place.	Remarks.	Class.
134	Persia.	1923	Sept. 14.	44 m. E. of Bam. 29° 5', Long. 59° 5'.	Observed by 14 stations.	—
135	"	1923	Sept. 14.	44 m. E. of Bam. 29° 5', Long. 59° 5'.		—
136	"	1923	Sept. 17.	94 m. E.S.E. Semnan. 35° 5', Long. 55° 0'.	Observed by 53 stations.	—
137	"	1923	Sept. 17.	94 m. E.S.E. Semnan. 35° 5', Long. 55° 0'.	A big shock.	—
138	"	1923	Sept. 22.	38 m. S.E. Saidabad-Kirman. Lat. 29° 5', Long. 56° 0'.	Observed by 74 stations.	—
139	"	1923	Sept. 23.	38 m. S.E. Saidabad-Kirman. Lat. 29° 5', Long. 56° 0'.	Observed by 13 stations.	—
140	"	1923	Sept. 22.	38 m. S.E. Saidabad.	(Big.)	—
140a	"	1923	Sept. 23.	Kirman. Lat. 29° 5', Long. 56° 0'.	(Small.)	—
141	"	1923	Nov. 29.	84 m. N. Kuh-i-Malik-i-Shah. Lat. 31° 2', Long. 61° 6'.	Observed by 16 stations.	—
142	"	1923	Nov. 29.	84 m. N. Kuh-i-Malik-i-Shah. Lat. 31° 2', Long. 61° 6'.		—
143	"	1924	Jan. 18.	38 m. S.E. Saidabad-Kirman. Lat. 29° 5', Long. 56° 0'.	Observed by 15 stations.	—
144	"	1924	Feb. 19.	38 m. N. of Ahar. 39° 0', Long. 47° 5'.	A big shock.	—
145	"	1924	May 30.	115 m. W.N.W. Lingeb. 27° 5', Long. 53° 8'.	Observed by 17 stations. Previous shock 24th March, 1913.	—

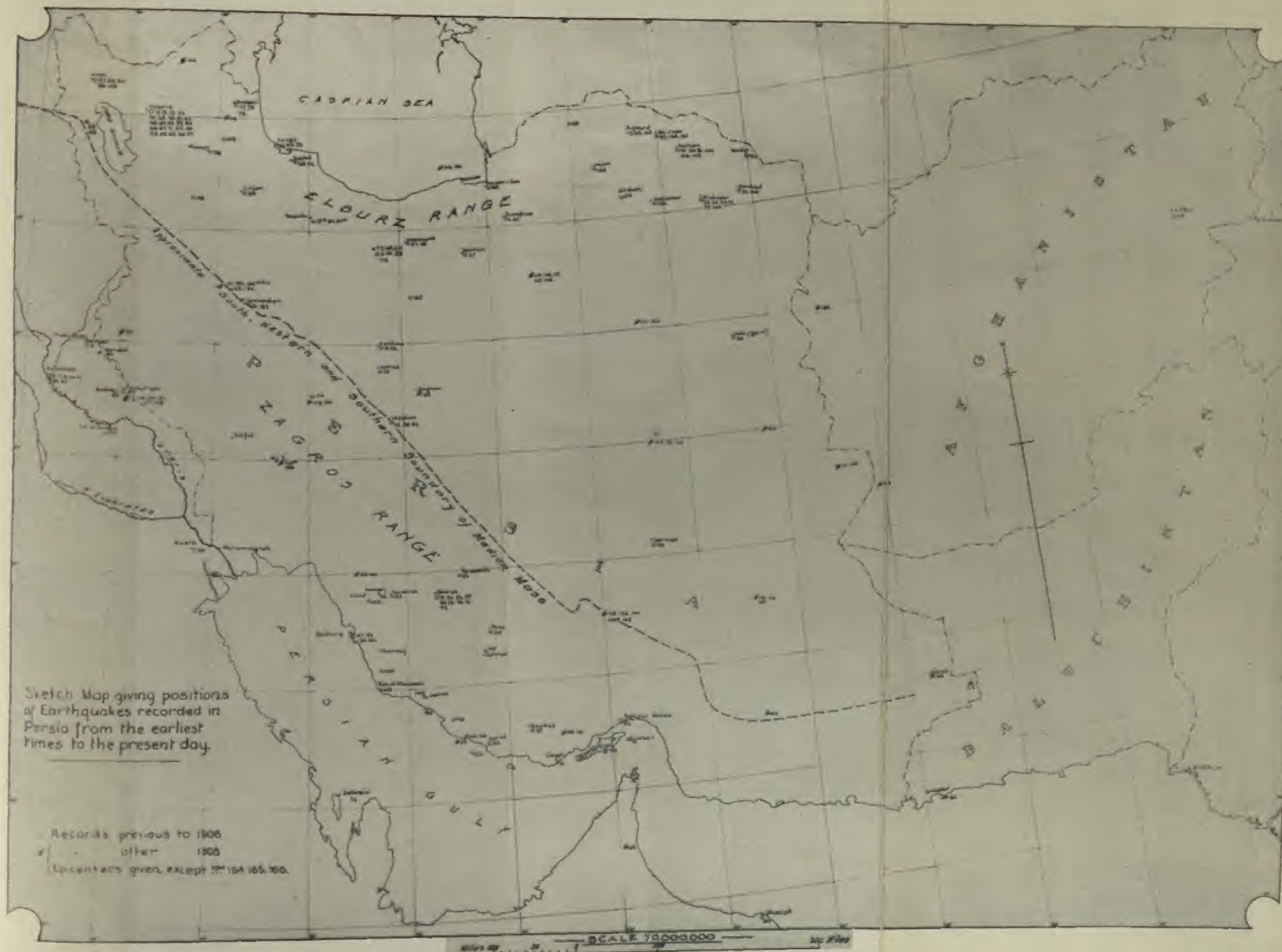
146	Persia.	1924	June 30.	115 m. W.N.W. Lingeh, Lat. 27° 5'. Long 53° 8'.		
147	"	1924	July 3.	94 m. E.S.E. Samnan, Lat. 35° 5'. Long. 55° 0'.	Two quite small shocks.	
148	"	1924	July 3.	94 m. E.S.E. Samnan, Lat. 35° 5'. Long. 55° 0'.	Observed by 5 stations. 2 shocks at 10 hours interval. Previous shocks on 17th Sept., 1923.	
149	Caspian Sea, Persia.	1924	Sept. 27.	36 m. N. Barfarush, Lat. 37° 0'. Long. 53° 0'.	Quite small.	
150	"	1924	Sept. 27.	36 m. N. Barfarush, Lat. 37° 0'. Long. 53° 0'.	Observed by 3 stations.	
151	Persia.	1924	Nov. 8.	34 m. N.W. Hamadan, Lat. 35° 5'. Long. 48° 0'.	Observed by 26 stations. A smaller shock 8 hours later.	
152	"	1924	Nov. 8.	34 m. N.W. Hamadan, Lat. 35° 5'. Long. 48° 0'.	(Two.)	
152a	"	1924	Nov. 10.	" " " "	"	
152b	"	1924	Nov. 11.	" " " "	"	
152c	"	1924	Nov. 12.	" " " "	"	
153	"	1924	Nov. 10.	34 m. N.W. Hamadan, Lat. 35° 5'. Long. 48° 0'.	All quite small except first.	
154	"	1924	Nov. 12.	34 m. N.W. Hamadan, Lat. 35° 5'. Long. 48° 0'.	Observed by 8 stations. 2 shocks at intervals of 45 minutes.	
155	Persian Gulf.	1924	Dec. 11.	44 m. S. of Dibah, Masandam Peninsula, Lat. 25° 2'. Long. 56° 8'.	Observed by 3 stations.	
156	Persia.	1925	May 2.	66 m. W.S.W. Herat, Afghanistan, Lat. 34° 0'. Long. 61° 5'.	Observed by 11 stations.	

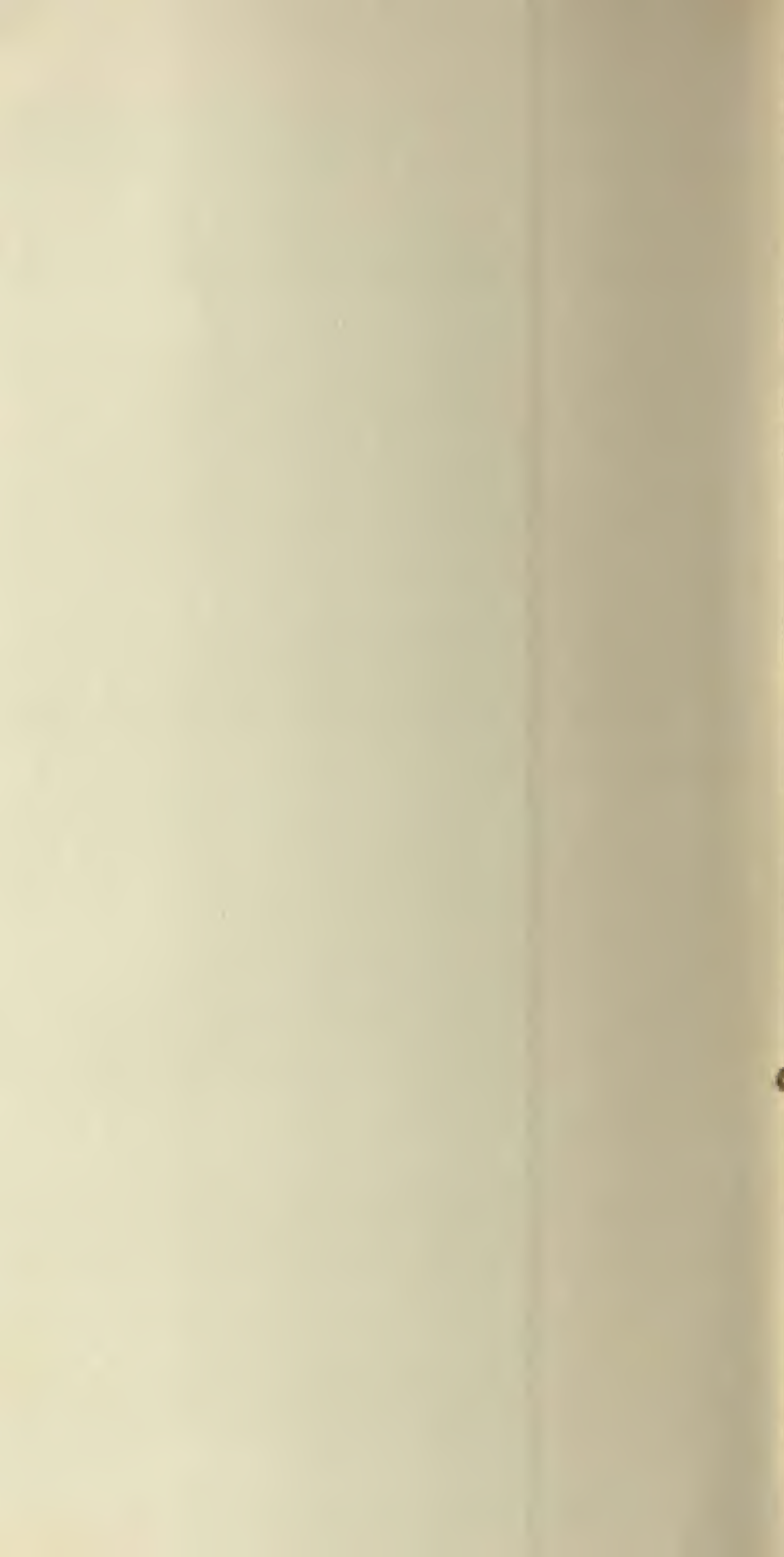
Serial No.	Country.	Year A.D.	Month.	Place.	Remarks.	Class.
157	Persia.	1925	July 11.	44 m. E. of Bam. Lat. $29^{\circ} 5'$. Long. $59^{\circ} 5'$.		—
158	"	1925	July 30.	50 m. E. of Bandar Dilam. Lat. $30^{\circ} 0'$. Long. $51^{\circ} 0'$.		—
159	"	1925	Sept. 24.	38 m. N. of Lingeh. Lat. $27^{\circ} 5'$. Long. $55^{\circ} 0'$.		—
160	"	1925	Dec. 18.	50 m. E. of Bandar Dilam. Lat. $30^{\circ} 0'$. Long. $51^{\circ} 0'$.		—
161	"	1926	Apr. 23.	38 m. N. of Lingeh. Lat. $27^{\circ} 5'$. Long. $55^{\circ} 0'$.		—
162	"	1926	May 19.	22 m. N.E. of Ramishk. Lat. $27^{\circ} 2'$. Long. $59^{\circ} 5'$.		—
163	"	1928	Mar. 12-13.	66 m. S.S.E. of Birjand, Kirman. Nabadan. 69 m. S. of Juwain, Afghanistan. Sistan.	<i>Press reports.</i> Severe shocks felt in Nabadan and Sistan.	I
164	Iraq and Persia.	1928	Aug. 22.	Khurasan. Sahzawar, Nishapur, and Shirvan.	10 persons killed. <i>Press reports.</i>	III
165	"	1929	May 2.	Khurasan.	Twelve distinct shocks were felt within twenty-four hours at widely separated points in the province of Khurasan, running from Bandargaz to Kalat on the frontier between Persia and Russian Turkistan. The towns of Shirvan, Bujmard, and Jajarm were severely damaged, and it is clear from reports received from Moscow that much damage was done across the	—

166	Persia.	1929	July 16,	Masjid Sulaiman, 31 m. E. of Shushtar.	7 distinct shocks in 24 hours, first at 10.47 a.m.; minor tremors felt later. Minor damage to plant and property. Movement S.E.-N.W. Village of Andarkah damaged and nine lives lost. Not yet reported in International Summary.	frontier in the district of Askhabad, telegraphic reports from Moscow stating that 1,000 persons were killed. The earthquake shocks penetrated far into the interior of Persia and it was stated in the <i>Daily Telegraph</i> of 6th May, 1929, that a cleft three yards wide was opened between the towns of Khaki and Bagham, to the east of the Tehran-Isfahan road, the cleft extending to a distance of 18 miles. The towns of Kuchan and Rubat also suffered severely, huge fissures in the ground being opened up, one being, according to a report in the <i>Times</i> of 9th May, 24 miles long and 9 feet wide. The total casualties were subsequently given in an official report from a Government Inspector at Kuchan as 3,253 persons killed, 1,121 injured, 88 villages destroyed, and 6,542 cattle killed.
167	"	1930	May 9.	Salmas.	2,000 killed. Shocks continued intermittently up till 29th May. Severe at Tabriz, Khoi, Urmia.	
168	Iraq and Persia	1930	August 5-6	Shatt al 'Arab	Slight shocks.	
169	Persia.	1930	October.	Damaram.	Severe shocks; villages destroyed.	

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DOURA-EROPPOS

Based on "Fouilles de Doura-Eropos (1922-3) par Franz Cumont,
Paris, 1926"

By J. M. UNVALA

THE present article is an analysis of the monumental work of the Belgian archaeologist and savant, M. Franz Cumont, which embodies the results of excavations made by him on the site of the ancient Macedonian colony of Doura-Eropos. As it was impossible to give a mere resumé of this work without leaving out some of the important points and erudite suggestions which are scattered in the text and valuable foot-notes, I thought it best to give as clear and as complete an idea as possible of this once important and flourishing Macedonian colony situated in the heart of the Syrian desert. Further, speaking from the purely Iranian standpoint, the excavations at Doura-Eropos have furnished new documents pertaining to the Parthian civilization, which had penetrated into Parapotamia with its Parthian conquest, and which had left its traces not only in the costume of priest and soldiers, but also in fine arts—in sculptures and paintings, in ceramics and jewellery, as can be amply proved by the results of the excavations of 1928 and 1929. A vivid description of the city of Doura-Eropos, its inhabitants and their religion and civic life, etc., is given by M. Rostovtzeff in *Bulletin of the Associates in Fine Arts at Yale University*, February, 1930, vol. iv, No. 1, pp. 75-85.

INTRODUCTION

The discovery of the ruins of the ancient Macedonian colony of Doura-Eropos, founded by Nicanor at the end of the fourth century B.C. in the midst of the Syrian desert near the modern Salihyeh on the right bank of the Euphrates, was entirely due to a happy accident, which disclosed to the Englishman Captain Murphey the painted frescos of the temple of the Palmyrene gods in March, 1921. The eminent archaeologist, the late Miss Gertrude Bell, suspected at once the importance of this discovery. Mr. Breasted was therefore specially sent to study them, but owing to the unsettled circumstances of Syria in 1921 he could bring back with him nothing but excellent photographs of these frescos taken in May, 1921. He made a report on this subject to the Académie des Inscriptions of Paris. In the meanwhile Syria had come under the French mandate, and General Gouraud, the High

Commissioner for this mandatory country, granted his effective protection to the Mission of M. Franz Cumont, who was sent by the Academy in 1922 to make excavations on this ancient site, by placing at his disposal a party of Spahis. Colonel Eugène Renard had in the meantime studied the frescos and written his very useful report.

NAME

The Semitic name of this fortified place in the heart of the Syrian desert was Doura, derived from Assyrian *dour*, *douru* "fortress", given by the Assyrians to this strategical place, which commanded from remote antiquity the irrigable region, stretching itself on two sides of the Euphrates south of the mouth of the Khabour. It formed the kingdom of Hana as early as the close of the fourth millennium, which became powerful enough to subjugate Babylon in 2800 B.C. After the fall of the Achæmenian empire Syria fell into the hands of the Macedonians. Alexander the Great followed a policy of reconciliation and fusion of the Greeks and the Persians, but his successor, Seleucos Nicator (312-280), to whose lot Syria fell, seems to have changed this policy and lent himself entirely on the Hellenic element and on the privileged aristocracy. He founded many Greek colonies, which served as a continued line of support along the Euphrates, indispensable for guarding the passage of the river, for asserting his royal authority among the predatory nomads of the desert, and for keeping up the communication with the Mediterranean and the Oriental strategoses of his empire. One of these colonies was, according to Isidor of Kharax, founded by his general Nicanor at Doura, which received its Greek name Europos after the little town of Macedonia, the birth-place of Seleucos Nicator. Other towns of the same name were founded by him in Media and Cyrrhestique on the Euphrates higher up Doura. This Europos in Parapotamia was founded probably with the same plan of colonization in view.

FORTRESS

The fortress of Doura-Eropos is mentioned by ancient authors like Polybius, Isidore of Kharax, Lucian, Ptolemæus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Zosimus the Cosmographer of Ravenna. It is also mentioned in the Acts of the Syrian Martyr Mar Mu'ain, who lived in the time of Shapur II as follows: *men madabrâ da dourâ* "from the fortress of Doura"; *madīnā haḏā zarābṭā meḵariā dourā* "the ruined city called Doura". A short description of the position of this ancient fortress of Doura was given in 1872 by the Austrian

engineer, Czernik. Thereupon MM. Sarre and Herzfeld drew up hasty plans of this site when they crossed the Euphrates region several times between 1898 and 1912.

Everything in the method of construction employed at Doura confirms the view that this fortification is the work of engineers of the army of the Seleucides. Doura-Eropos offers thus the type of the fortifications better preserved than elsewhere in Syria with which the Greek engineers furnished the colonies founded on the whole regions of the vast empire of the Seleucides. By a happy chance a sketch of the fortress drawn by a soldier permits us to restore even the upper part of the walls and the crenelled towers which the time has destroyed. This is sufficient to indicate the importance of the data, which the old fortress of Nicanor furnishes us for the history of the military architecture of the epoch of the Diadochi.

The excavations of 1928 and 1929 conducted by M. Maurice Pillet have brought to light the ruins of the citadel, which M. Rostovtzeff describes as follows: "Overhanging the Euphrates stands the skeleton of the oblong rectangular citadel, flanked by two high and straight towers, which protected the two gates of entrance. The plateau of the majestic citadel was occupied by a large and fine palace probably of the military governor of the city." (Rostovtzeff, *Bulletin*, pp. 78-9.)

INHABITANTS

After the foundation of the Greek colony of Doura-Eropos there must have been an influx of Semitic elements into it, notably from the adjoining desert-capital of Palmyra. This and the local Bedouin elements, which became henceforth sedentary, voluntarily mixed themselves up in course of time with the original Macedonian elements. They were deeply impregnated with the Hellenic culture of the colony of Nicanor.

Doura-Eropos was a small town, but a considerable fortress. As its inhabitants were incapable of guarding it alone, its foreign garrison formed a notable part of the population. An inscription and a graffito proves that it was guarded in the Roman period by a cohort of mounted Palmyrene archers, five hundred or a thousand men strong, but it seems that the Palmyrenians were occupying it long before its annexation by the Roman empire.

COSTUME

Moreover, we know that the organization of the Palmyrene army was imitated from that of the Persians. This is officially proved by

the Iranian title *argapetes*¹ given to its commandant, and the use of the *clibanarii* wearing an armour barded with iron. Again, on the Palmyrene bas-reliefs the heroified dead are represented in banquet-scenes in the Persian festival costume, which they wore during their life-time. It shows nothing more than a necessary change in the warlike costume adopted to suit domestic life. The big fresco-painting of the sacrifice of the Roman tribune provides us with interesting details of the sacrificial costume of the inhabitants of Doura. The officiating personages and the assistants are all men, with the exception of a little girl. They wear a long white robe with sleeves and reaching to the ankles; it is held by a girdle round the waist; their feet are bare; they wear on the head a tall, stiff, conical white cap. Their features are purely Semitic and accentuated by a slightly pointed beard, typical of the modern Bedouins. The costume of the girl is also white; she wears earrings, bracelets, and necklaces undoubtedly of precious stones.

LANGUAGE

The Greek language became not only the language of the chancery of Doura-Europos, but also of that of its epigraphy. It supplanted entirely the Aramaic language, which must have remained restricted only to the sphere of a spoken language of a certain section of its inhabitants. Greek continued to be in use from the very foundation of the city up to its final abandon by its inhabitants in the time of Aurelian in about A.D. 272.

ONOMASTICS

Before the discovery of Doura-Europos the number of Greek inscriptions found in the "Hellenic Far East" was very restricted. The excavations have delivered 134 inscriptions dating from 6 B.C. up to the epoch of the Severi. In the onomastics of Doura the Semitic theophore names are translated into Greek or rather are substituted

¹ MidP. *arkpat*, Gr. *Ἀργαπέτης* (*G. Ir. Ph.* i, 257), *Ἀργαβίδης* (for which *Ἀραβίδης* in Theophylactus, iii, 8) means originally the military governor of a fortress. Ardašir, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, was appointed *Argabedh* of Dārābgerd by Gōkīhr, King of Fārs (*Nöldeke, Tabari*, p. 5). On his accession to the throne *Argabedh* became the highest military title, and as such was reserved only for members of the royal family. The family of *Artabides* had, according to Theophylactus (iii, 8), as one of its privileges that of crowning the king (*Christensen, L'Empire des Sassanides*, Copenhagen, 1907, p. 27). This year's excavations have brought to light a very interesting inscription concerning the *argapetes* of Doura. It will be published in the coming number of the *Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris. (Cumont, *Oral information*.)

by the Greek theophore names, accompanied by the formula *ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος*, which is found also on Parthian coins (cf. Warwick Wroth, *Catalogue of Greek Coins of the British Museum—Parthia*, p. 66, No. 63, cf. pl. xlv), and on the Greek parchments of the Parthian period from Avroman (Ellis H. Minns, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xxxv, 1915, pp. 28, 29, where *τῆς ἐπικαλούμενης*). Among these Oriental names many are interesting, several are new, but the majority are found in Palmyrene and Nabatean inscriptions.

Then with the coming of the Parthian Arsacides to power Doura came under the Parthian influence, under which it worked for nearly five centuries. It became a connecting link between big cities of the Parthian empire in their commercial relations with one another. Thus many Iranian elements were introduced into the onomastics of Doura, which, however, are very restricted, as the Parthians were represented mostly by artisans, merchants, and functionaries.

It is interesting to note that before the middle of the second century there is a complete absence of Latin names in the inscriptions of Doura,¹ which are abundant in this period in those of the provinces of Syria. This is a decisive proof that Doura remained for a long time free from the sphere of the Roman influence, which did not extend beyond the desert of Syria after the commencement of the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

PARCHMENTS

The current use of the Greek language in Doura-Eropos is further proved by the discovery of nine Greek parchments. Parchments Nos. I-IV are the pieces pertaining to the archives of the city, where copies, or rather résumés, of private contracts signed by the respective parties were kept. These archives were called in Doura *χρηματιστήριον*. It was obligatory on the contracting parties to have their contracts legally registered (*ἀναγραφῆναι*) by an official who bore the title probably of *χρεοφύλαξ* as in the cities of the Greek Orient, if they wanted to attach a legal validity to them, as we learn

¹ The series of inscriptions discovered in 1928 at Doura is very interesting. It gives us an idea of the military organization of the city during the period of the Roman occupation. At the head of the garrison there was a tribune. The detachment of guards posted at the Palmyrene gate had probably the duty of keeping a close watch on the road which led from Palmyra to Doura, and also over its traffic. Were not these guards perhaps also customs-officers of Doura? The detachment was commanded by a *beneficiarius* and a *stator* of the tribune—functions which are already known in the Roman provinces. The *stator* was perhaps a non-commissioned officer of the police (Rostovtzeff, *Comptes-Rendus*, 1928, p. 230).

from the papyrus of Egypt and from a series of inscriptions. Parchment No. I is the oldest of the whole lot and is dated 195 B.C. or a little later. It is, moreover, the oldest parchment that has been yet discovered. This date throws a serious doubt on the legend reported by the antiquarian Varro, which makes Eumenes II (195-158 B.C.) of Pergamum the discoverer of parchments, as the existence of parchments in 195 B.C. presupposes a somewhat long period of development of its technique.¹ The form of letters of this oldest parchment (No. I) is entirely Ptolemaic, and in many points of details parallels can be found particularly in the parchments dated between about 170-160 B.C. This shows that the style of writing taught in schools of the different centres of the Hellenic world must have been identical. The second parchment is interesting, as it is a remnant of a *diptic*. The use of diptics of parchments whose collections formed a sort of a register led little by little to the formation of a codex. Another interesting parchment is No. IX. It is properly speaking the hide of a shield, on which a list of stages made by a Roman legionary is written. It can be dated third century B.C.

ORGANIZATION OF THE FAMILY

Very scanty information can be deduced from the inscriptions and parchments discovered in Doura about the organization of the family in this colony. The aristocracy of Doura was divided into *genes* (γένος, *yéves*) or families, which were indicated in the inscriptions by τῶν, i.e. so-and-so of the family of so-and-so. It is equivalent of *benis* of so-and-so, descendants of a common ancestor, which are frequently mentioned in Semitic inscriptions of Palmyra. The head of the family was a *genearches* (γενεάρχης): this term corresponds to *pater familias*. These *genes* practised with preference endogamy, as can be amply proved by inscriptions of the first century, which

¹ From time immemorial δαφύποι have been the natural writing material. This is supported by a leather-roll dating from the twelfth Egyptian dynasty as early as 2000-1800 B.C. pertaining to the British Museum. Again, we learn from Herodotus (v, 58) that the archives of the Achaemenian sovereigns were written on prepared skins. We hear of their use also in Ionia and among the Jews. According to a tradition preserved in the Pahlavi *Artâk Vîrâz Nâmak*, i, 5 (edition of Jamasp Asa, Bombay, 1902, p. 1) the sacred scriptures of the Zoroastrians were written in golden ink upon prepared cow-skins. The discovery of three parchments in the village of Avroman in Persian Kurdistan made in 1900 is worth mentioning, although they are of a relatively later date than those discovered at Doura-Eropos. The two Greek documents are dated according to Mr. Minns about 94 B.C. and 20 B.C. (*JHS.*, vol. xxiv, pp. 41, 42), whereas the third Pahlavi document is dated 300 of the Arsacide era corresponding to A.D. 53-4.

explicitly state that women married their consanguine brothers (*ὁμοπατρίας αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῆς καὶ γυναικός* Inscriptions Nos. 65, 68; cf. also the parchments from Avroman, Minns, *JHS.* xxxv, pp. 28, 29, and Strassmaier, *ZASS.* viii, p. 112) and that uncles had their own nieces for wives. This endogamy, which is a contradiction of the whole constitution of the *γένος*, based on the parentage through male offsprings, is a survival of the matriarchate. This custom of consanguinous marriages which the inhabitants of Doura-Eropos had adopted most probably under the Parthian influence (cf. Unvala, *Observations on the Religion of the Parthians*, Bombay, 1925, pp. 33, 34) was thoroughly modified with the coming of the Romans and with the conferring on the inhabitants of Doura the citizenship of the Roman Empire under Caracalla.

CALENDAR

The inhabitants of Doura followed, as we can see from their inscriptions, the luni-solar calendar of the Seleucides, commencing with 312 B.C. The names of the eight out of the twelve months of the year occurring in the inscriptions are Macedonian. It seems that the beginning of the year was fixed on the 1st October at the end of the second century as in the whole of Syria; still this was perhaps not the case before the arrival of the Romans.

HOUSES

The plan of the town of Doura, as well as those of the houses is characteristic of the Greek houses of the fourth century B.C. The town was built in the form of a chess-board. A broad street, the main street of the city, the continuation of the great caravan-road of the desert divided the city into two wards (Rostovtzeff, *Bulletin*, p. 78). The celebrated gate of the city was the Palmyrene gate. It was probably the only gate which led to Palmyra across the caravan-road. It was an important monument, a majestic passage with three gates, of which two were vaulted. It was flanked by two square towers. The whole surface of the walls encasing these three gates was covered with about a dozen Greek and Palmyrene inscriptions, some engraved, others painted. None of these inscriptions mention Roman officers, and must therefore be of a later date than the second half of the second century A.D. There are no traces of other gates; if they existed at all they must have been situated to that part of the city-wall which was lying towards the Euphrates (Rostovtzeff, *Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, Paris, 1928, p. 226). The

walls of the houses had the *soubassement de blocage*. The houses were provided with deep cellars, which were used for habitation in summer, as it is still the case in Persia. There was a central court. The lintels of the doors were of soft stone, decorated with fleurons and surmounted by a capital imitating acanthus leaves. The houses had one storey; their roofs were always in the form of a terrace.

POVERTY OF THE FINDS

After the taking of Palmyra in A.D. 272 by Aurelian the glorious existence of the desert-city ceased completely. The fall of Doura dates also from this event. "Was it a host of enemies who invaded the city, burnt down the houses and the temples, robbed and pillaged the town, or was it that the masters of the day decided not to use the city any more, to leave it, to evacuate it? Who knows? The fact is that at about A.D. 250 life stopped in Doura; men, women, and children left the city, never to return". (Rostovtzeff, *Bulletin*, p. 85.) It was deliberately and systematically abandoned by its inhabitants, who migrated to the adjoining towns, taking with them all that they could. Thereupon it was pillaged several times by nomads. It is, therefore, that hardly anything of intrinsic value, like jewellery, was discovered in the excavations of 1922-3, with the exception of several bronze coins, some deformed pieces of metal, several pieces of woollen fabric, leather-objects, basket-work, and glass-ware. The coins were struck in Syria, Phœnicia, and Mesopotamia, and as not a single coin with the mint-mark of Doura has been found, it is highly probable that Doura had not got its own coinage. But the excavations near the Palmyrene gate executed in 1929 brought to light by a stroke of good fortune a broken clay pot containing besides a small treasure of about one thousand Parthian silver coins,¹ a set of unique massive silver jewels adorned with coloured stones, in which cornaline predominated: a peculiar pendant, bracelets, earrings, etc. (Rostovtzeff, *Bulletin*, p. 83.) As regards ceramics, all vases found at Doura were imported. Here we find the ancient Oriental glazed ware side by side with dishes of red *sigillata terra*, spread in the whole of the Roman East. The former resembles the well-known Græco-Parthian ceramics found at Susa and Carthage.

¹ These coins are at present in Yale University. Their close examination has shown that they are Roman coins, approximately contemporaneous with the downfall of Doura (M. Cumont, *Oral information*).

NECROPOLIS

The importance and wealth of Doura is still evident from its vast necropolis, situated to the west of the city. The dead were buried richly decorated with their personal ornaments; their faces were covered with a gold mask. The tombs are exactly like those of Palmyra and Zenobia, its colony. They are of two types, funeral towers and rupestral vaults. The funeral towers, whose stories served as sepulchres, are just like those in the valley of the tombs of Palmyra. Rupestral tombs are disseminated in a large number on the necropolis.

CULTS

The inhabitants of Doura indulged in two important cults, which existed among them most probably simultaneously. They were the cult of the great indigenous divinity *Nanaia* or *Artemis-Nanaia*, and that of the great Palmyrene triade *Yahribol*, *Aglibol* and *Bel-Shamin*. To all these divinities temples were erected, of which that of Artemis-Nanaia was the most important of the little town. It was built on a Babylonian plan which has left its traces in many other temples of Western Asia. The latter has as its essential character the existence of a central court, which has on its four sides constructions destined either for the celebration of the cult or as houses for priests and hierodules. Sometimes small secondary courts are placed between these irregular constructions. Facing the entrance of the court, there is generally a double hall, the pronaos and the naos, with the socle which supported the statue of the divinity. Before the entrance of the hall, outside the peribole, there is a monumental altar. It is not possible to affirm that this arrangement was actually found at Doura, but it appears quite clear that the models from which the architects of Doura were inspired should not be sought in the West, but rather in the valley of the Euphrates. A portative stone-altar with Palmyrene inscriptions was discovered in 1929 near the Palmyrene gate. It had two coatings of plaster, each bearing inscriptions of two posterior dates. The last coating had engraved figures pertaining undoubtedly to the cults which were prevalent in Doura: the cult of the *vexillum* and of the Roman emperor: the altar; the cult of the sun and the moon: the eagle and the pyramid; perhaps the cult of the Euphrates: the cantharus and the bird (Rostovtzeff, *Comptes-Rendus*, p. 236).

Nanaia is mentioned in a short inscription found in her sanctuary, and the theophore names *Bidraiaia*, *Mhkatraiaia*, and perhaps

Baββovaia are the signs of the veneration in which she was held. Moreover, the assimilation of Nanaia with the Hellenic Artemis is frequent. The goddess worshipped in the temple of Elymais in Susiana is called *Nanaia* in Bk. II of Maccabees, Artemis in Josephus, and an inscription of the Roman epoque discovered in Peiræus mentions a vow in the name of *Ἀρτέμιδι Ναναί*.

Her cult goes back to remote antiquity. It is the cult of the mother-goddess Ishtar of the East. She was worshipped not only in Mesopotamia, but also in Iran. Her cult was widely spread and was very powerful. The discoveries made at Doura-Eropos correspond to the complex nature of this goddess. She was the great goddess of the whole earth, who was assimilated simultaneously with Artemis and Ishtar as divinity of the fecund nature; she was also a warlike goddess and was, therefore, assimilated with Athena, and as such she was the daughter of Bel-Zeus. She was also identified with Nike, the goddess of victory, as we can judge from two statues of this goddess found in her temple; finally, through the influence of Babylonian astrology which gave to the Semitic deities siderial character, she was identified with *Τύχη*, and had, therefore, a marble statue of Fortuna (*Τύχη*) holding a horn of abundance dedicated to her at Doura. Thus like Atargatis who was the *Τύχη Παλμύρων* and *Τύχη Γεράσων*, she was the *Τύχη* of Doura. All these facts go to prove that Artemis, worshipped in the Macedonian city of Doura-Eropos was a divinity much less Greek than Semitic. It is significative that at the bottom of a metal patera employed in her temple she is represented in a thoroughly oriental appearance. As the *Τύχη* of Doura Artemis-Nanaia had her special shrine or temple, situated in the central part of the monumental gate. It formed perhaps with the two rooms in one of its square towers in the last days of Doura a real sanctuary, roofed, adorned with paintings and altars, a sanctuary of which the walls were literally covered by scores of inscriptions in which men (no women were among them) recommended their names to the memory of the great goddess of the city. (Rostovtzeff, *Bulletin*, p. 82.)

Hadad is mentioned side by side with Nanaia in an inscription of the temple, and is also represented in theophore names, e.g. *Ἀδαδμάθης*, *Ἀδ(αδ)μάλιχος*, in the onomastics of the city. This shows the prestige which he enjoyed there. Further, we know that the cult of this god in the valley of the Euphrates goes back to the origin of history. He was worshipped in the third century B.C. in Assur in Mesopotamia. He was considered in Syria as the consort of Atargatis,

and as such he had his seat beside her in the temple. It is possible that he formed a couple with Artemis-Nanaïa at Doura and the inscription mentioned above would support this statement. Nabu, consort of the Babylonian Nana, and Bel also occur in theophore names of Doura. But we have no proofs to show that they were objects of the cult in Doura. The latter occupies probably the place of honour among the gods represented on the walls of the temple of the Palmyrene gods.

Many indigenous divinities could have thus received the homage of the inhabitants of Doura-Eropos simultaneously with Artemis-Nanaïa, but it was she who always remained the queen of the sanctuary. It is to her that the dedications were consecrated, and numerous inscriptions, showing the places which the faithful ones had to occupy, show that women also were admitted to the liturgical acts, which were performed in the hall provided with raised seats à *gradins*. The majority of them were married, but girls were also admitted, who came there with their mothers and sisters. Still the clergy were always male, and even men were admitted to the temple and could deposit their offerings in the sanctuary. They were spectators of the festivals celebrated in the sacred odeon.

We have no proofs to show whether the cult of this goddess of fecundity preserved in Doura the impudic character, which it had in Babylon. On the contrary the undoubted presence of two halls provided with *gradins* for the faithful ones to sit on authorizes us to draw important conclusions. The rectangular one is similar to a construction in the temple of Si' (Seeia) to which an inscription gives the name of "theatre". The other semi-circular one reminds us by its disposition of the usual plan of a Greek odeon, because it was covered. Analogous edifices served in the celebration of certain festivals at Gerason and in the temple of the Syrian gods at Delos, about whose nature we are forced to form conjectures. Still it seems that we must not think of the actual performance of real liturgical dramas, reminding the legends of the mythology, but of the performance of dances and the recital of songs accompanied by instrumental music. We can imagine from what Oriental and classical writers say of such festivals among the Syrians, that rapid evolutions of a choir of women, holding crotals and tambourines, sacred songs with the accompaniment of the flute and the harp—these were the rejoicings in which the devotees of Artemis participated in the theatres of her sanctuary of Doura.

We know equally little about the administration of the temple

of Artemis. The analogy with what had happened elsewhere in the Orient would lead us to suppose that this administration was autonomous and independent of that of the city. It is probable that the gazophylax mentioned in the document No. 50 was not a municipal cashier, but the guardian of the sacred treasures.

Side by side with this cult of Artemis-Nanaïa the cult of the Palmyrene gods flourished in Doura, as we can judge from the sanctuary dedicated to them by the Palmyrene archers probably from the very beginning of their stay in this desert-city, where their cult was practised till its complete abandon. Among the Palmyrene gods the three chief deities, Yahribol the god of the Sun, Aglibol the god of the Moon, and Bel Shamin or Bel identified with Zeus, who formed the Palmyrene triade, enjoyed a special veneration and cult in Doura. They are represented in military costume in the big fresco discovered in their sanctuary depicting the scene of the sacrifice offered by the Roman tribune, and thus they are considered as the war-gods of the detachment of the Palmyrene archers. Bel Shamin is called in the Latin inscription *Cœlus æternus*, which appellation corresponds to מֶלֶךְ עֶלְיָא "lord of eternity" of the Palmyrenians. This Cœlus is represented by an eagle, bird of the supreme god, sitting on a starry globe on a stela discovered in a mithræum of Heddernheim in Germany. The Palmyrene goddess Atargatis also enjoyed a special cult in Doura, as is proved by her temple discovered this year near the temple of Artemis-Nanaïa, a little to the left of the halls provided with *gradins* described above (see p. 143) (Cumont, *Oral information*).

MAGIC

The twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet traced in black found on the walls of the sanctuary of the Palmyrene gods were probably intended to serve a magical purpose. The letters are considered to be the symbols of the elements of the world and of the stars of the heaven. They are designated by the name of στοιχεῖα and have a sacred character. They are found frequently employed in magic on phylacteries and in astrology as substitutes of the twelve signs of the zodiac. Similar alphabets were discovered in certain temples of Jupiter Dolichenus. Still it is difficult to determine the precise reason for tracing them on the sanctuary of Doura.

Similarly a sketch intended to avert the influence of the evil eye was also discovered near a painted mural sketch on the south wall of the sanctuary. It is the work certainly of a soldier of the *cohors*

Palmyrenorum. Below a thick eyebrow there is a big round eye, in whose pupil the points of a poignard and of a harpoon are thrust. The latter is attached to a string unrolling itself from a reel. A bird of prey flies above it on its left, while on each side a serpent is ready to sting it, and a third one whose head is surmounted with a crest hastens towards it. A similar but more complicated sketch was found in Palmyra in a big tomb decorated with paintings. The letters of the Greek alphabet and the sketch averting the nefarious influence of the evil eye prove that the inhabitants of Doura were given to superstitious and magic practices like many other peoples of antiquity.

ART

The excavations at Doura-Eropos have delivered a veritable treasure of art—sculptures in marble and plaster, exquisite clay-figurines, fragments of mosaic, and above all very valuable fresco-paintings, which were found nicely preserved, and which are the unique ones of their kind. Most of these works of art appertain to the Græco-Parthian period, and show that composite character, in which the Oriental—Parthian—element is predominant. Still the statue of Aphrodite discovered in the temple of Artemis in Doura, which is generally known as the Aphrodite of Salihiyeh, is a modified copy of the work of Phidias, perhaps executed by a Greek artist.

Many fragments of sculptures in plaster were found in the temple of Artemis. They are similar to the sculptures appertaining to the same date and discovered in other Oriental towns. They were sometimes coloured like those of Ctesiphon. M. Dieulafoy had already found in a house of the Parthian period two fragments of painted statues and five fragments of a decorated band (Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse*, tome v, pp. 31 *seq.*, fig. 29). A small fragment of a sculpture in plaster, rather a portrait in relief representing a young woman with features of a pronounced Greek type, has been discovered by M. de Mecquenem at Susa, as well as numerous fragments of decorations in plaster, pertaining to the Parthian and Sassanian epochs. The recent German Archaeological Mission at Ctesiphon directed by Dr. Reuter found last year a number of decorations in plaster, some of them coloured, in the ruins of a church situated on the other side of the Tigris on the site of ancient Seleucia. This church was built in the third century of the Christian era, and appertained therefore to the Sassanian period. Still these finds are important, as they show

the use of plaster as a sculptural material, preferred to stone in less presumptuous buildings on account of its malleability and cheapness. Even to-day it has not ceased to be employed in royal buildings in Persia and in other Oriental countries.

The cornice of the temple of Artemis in moulded plaster is probably the work of a Persian artist, as we can judge from his name *Ὀρθονόβαζος Γόρου*. It is divided in two registers; in the upper one we have two peacocks face to face surrounded by flowers, cymbals and vases; the latter ornaments are employed only in order to fill up the gap, as the art of this period has a horror of the empty space. As regards the motif of the peacocks drinking from the crater, which we find in the upper register, it has a religious signification in the figurative language of paganism. They were the sacred birds, kept in the temple of Syria, and they are found represented on the tombs of this country. They had perhaps the same signification as in the West, where they were consecrated to Juno and became for the empress the symbol of apotheosis, like the eagle for the emperor. They became the emblem of immortality on funeral monuments, as a few centuries later in Christianity. It seems that the motif of the peacocks face to face was introduced from Syria into Persia, if the contrary is not the case.¹

Besides these big pieces of sculptures in plaster, several idols of Nike moulded in plaster were found in the temple of Artemis. We have seen that this oriental goddess was identified with Nike. She wears the same peculiar headdress, which is attributed to the Oriental deity, on a patera of plumb. This vessel was found in the temple of the goddess with fragments of plaster, and was probably used in her cult.

These plasters stand probably in connection with the shop of a merchant of plaster-work, discovered by M. Ingholdt in 1924 in

¹ It seems rather certain that the peacock-motive is of Persian origin. A vase of Tepe Ali Abad near Tepe Moussain in Susiana of style No. 1 bis has apparently a decoration of two rows of peacock's feathers (G. Contenau, *Manuel*, p. 332, fig. 242). This proves that the peacock was not unknown to the early Elamites. At any rate, we know that the peacock was introduced from India into the West in historic times. Before entering Syria, it must have had to pass through Persia, where especially in north-western Iran, in Media in particular, it must have been considered a very remarkable bird. Thus it is that we have a wide diffusion of the Sassanian and post-Sassanian peacock-motive. They are found from Vladicaucas to Birka in Sweden. Further, it is called *Μηδικὸς ὄρνις* (Suidas) "the Median bird". Moreover, the peacock plays also an important part in the Zravanite theology of north-western Iran and subsequently of the whole of Central Asia. (Junker, *Mittelpers. Fraßtiere* "Pfau", *Wörter und Sachen*, Festband xii, Heft 1, Heidelberg, 1920, p. 135).

Palmyra. As we can judge from the name of the artist of the cornice and from the other signature on the stela of Homs 'Αμασούρας 'Εγαμάζου, which names seem to be Persian, there was probably a school of Persian sculptors at Palmyra, from whence artists were sent to Doura to work for its aristocracy.

The unique votive chariot of Doura is in terra cotta. It is probably of the Parthian epoch, and is connected with a very ancient tradition. Such chariots are found in excavations of ancient sites of Mesopotamia in layers pertaining to the earliest Sumerian period, about 3000 B.C. (G. Contenau, *Manuel de l'Archéologie Orientale*, tome i, Paris, 1926, p. 471, fig. 353). A similar votive chariot was also found at Maikop in the Kouban (cf. Rostovtzeff, *L'âge du cuivre dans le Caucase Septentrional*. *Revue Archéologique*, juillet-Décembre, 1920, p. 13). A little metal chariot of the temple of Haldi, the great national god of the land of the Urartus was found on the famous Tepah Toprak-Kaleh near Van in 1890. It is described by Rev. Father V. Scheil in *Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie*, tome xxxvi, 1914, p. 179-80.

JEWELLERY

The patera of plumb mentioned above imitates a precious work of Persian jewellery, whose influence was much spread in the art of the Middle Ages. The phial is embossed in designs showing the imitation of a plate of precious metal studded with gems of variegated colours. The bottom of the patera has a female bust richly decorated with gems, which reminds us of Lucianus, *De dea Syria*, where he describes the statue of Atargatis at Hieropolis. This statue, wholly sparkling with gems, had on its head a phosphorescent stone, which illuminated the temple during the night, but whose brilliance was diminished in the daylight. The laurel crown reminds us of the warlike character of Artemis-Nanaïa. The coiffure is found on other productions of the Parthian period, notably on the coins of Osroës. A text says that a confederation of artisans worked in Palmyra in gold and silver. But the jewellery of the women of Doura was not necessarily made in Palmyra. It must have been fabricated equally sumptuously in Seleucia and other great cities of the Parthian empire. This art of setting jewels was created by those jewellers, who had created the art of fabricating precious vessels, which became the Græco-Parthian art adopted in the Orient. The discovery of the massive silver jewellery of the Parthian period—bracelets, earrings,

and a pendant inlaid with coloured stones in which cornaline predominated—mentioned above (p. 141) remains unique up to date.

PAINTING

As in the mosaic, in the paintings of Doura the influence of the school of Palmyra is easily noticeable. The date of the earliest paintings can be fixed at the second half of the first century A.D., about A.D. 75, i.e. in the time of the Severi. The architecture which frames in the most ancient frescos different scenes has its inspiration in the decoration of those sarcophagi, representing the funeral herôon, in which sculptural standing figures take the place of columns. Such sarcophagi with columns are found in Greece as early as the sixth century B.C.; they were imported into Syria very early, as is proved by the famous sarcophagus of the weeping women found at Sidon, and the so-called sarcophagus of Sidamara.

The painting representing a sacrifice offered to the Palmyrene gods by the tribune of the Roman legion residing in Doura is dated A.D. 230. It is very interesting, as it illustrates the Roman ensign of the tribune. The subject representing this painting are progressively superposed in bands, and all objects are placed on the same plan. We find this principle of composition first applied to the Egyptian art. It is inherited later on by Assyria. Still in the Hellenic period it approaches the Iranian-Parthian art. The Græco-Syrian painting is connected on the one hand with the ancient Oriental art and on the other with the Byzantine art of the middle ages.

In the sanctuary of Artemis-Nanaïa, dedicated to her as the *Τύχη*—Fortune of Doura “ stood a little monument unique in its kind. It is one of the two wings of a door, which belonged to a little shrine, the precursor of mediæval and renaissance shrines and triptyches of the same kind. In the shrine stood probably a statuette or picture of the great goddess of the sanctuary. The goddess of the shrine, when its door stood open, was crowned by *Νικη*—Victories, winged goddesses standing on globes and holding in their hands a crown and a palm-branch, each a sign of victory. The picture is a curious specimen of the Græco-Iranian art of the Parthians, with its slender and delicate figures with a profusion of crude and vulgar colours, with the typical frontality of the head. If Miss North is right in her bold reconstruction of the original colours of the picture, the Parthian painters were especially fond of Tyrian purple tints, of a lively green, and of a bright white”. (Rostovtzeff, *Bulletin*, pp. 82-3.)

Besides the sketch intended to avert the influence of the evil eye—mentioned above (pp. 144–5), the excavations of 1929 have brought to light three graffito sketches made by a sharp instrument on the plaster of the walls of Parthian houses. They represent a Parthian officer in his embroidered dress on horseback, a Parthian horseman shooting an arrow, and a Parthian foot-soldier with his heavy spear and long sword, typical helmet and leathern armour, standing on the cut-off head of a slain enemy. All these sketches are remarkable for the frontality of the personages (Rostovtzeff, *Bulletin*, pp. 80–1, figs. 5, 6, 7). The coiffure of the cavalry officer and the horseman is typical of the late Parthian period. It is documented on one of a series of bas-reliefs on an isolated rock near Tengeh-i-Saoulekh in the Bakhtiari mountains (Rawlinson, *The Sixth Oriental Monarchy*, London, 1873, p. 393) and on the coins of Chosroës (A.D. 106–29) and Vologeses V (A.D. 209–about 222), whereas it is well known on Sassanian coins (Gardner, *The Parthian Coinage*, London, 1877, p. 19). The interesting sketch discovered by M. de Mecquenem on one of the window-seals of the palace of Artaxerxes I at Persepolis which pertains to the early Sassanian period—about the first half of the third century A.D. (Allotte de la Fuyé, *Graffitis relevés en 1928 dans les ruines de Persépolis*, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. xxv, 1929, p. 168) shows the predilection of the Iranian artists for indicating in sharp incised outlines a portrait and not seldom a complicated subject. It is probable that the effect of the sketch of Doura was enhanced by colours.

THE IDEA OF MAN AND KNOWLEDGE IN THE CONCEPTION OF PERSIAN MYSTICS¹

Translated from the Russian of V. Zhukovski

By L. BOGDANOV

THE perplexing enigma of the cosmos and the creation has been from time immemorial a source of fascination for the human mind, and all the peoples of the globe, both those who have passed away and those still in existence, have striven to solve this riddle, either forming themselves into special groups for this purpose, or by mere individual effort. Of these solutions some were distinguished by a greater viability, a greater strength, and a greater ascendancy, and are still exercising their sway; whilst others were short-lived and transient, were accepted by few people and, having soon disappeared, constitute now merely dead and cold fragments of human thought. Some of these solutions appealed more to the intellect, others were more felt by the heart.

To the number of such numerous attempts and endeavours to unravel this thrilling mystery belongs Sufism, the teaching of Eastern Muslim "sages", if we take the name *ṣūfī* to be the Greek *σοφός*, or "Those who wear woollen garments" if we derive this word from the Arabic *ṣawf* "wool"—a teaching as old as the Islamic religion itself. These sages, who in their lofty and poetical conception of the world, which aims at discovering the mystery of nature, have blended together philosophy and revelation, have built up the doctrine of unity in plurality and plurality in unity—*vaḥdat dar kaṣrat va kaṣrat dar vaḥdat*. They tell us that, before the beginning of time, there existed the Absolute Essence—*zāt-i muṭlaq*—the One Eternal All-perfect Truth (God, the Creator). This further, for Its own purposes, individualized Itself into the Supreme Spirit—*rūh-i a'zam* or Universal Intellect—*'aql-i kull*—which limited Itself into the Universal Soul—*nafs-i kull*. Finally, like a sea dividing itself into drops, It manifested Itself by all Its names, qualities, and activities in all the visible and imaginable forms and ideas (*species*) thus producing the manifest

¹ The author's sources in the compilation of the present sketch were primarily: Anṣārī's pseudo-*Manāzil-u-s-sā'irīn* and Abū-Bakr Rāzī's *Mirqādu-l-'ibād minā-l-mabūdā'illā-l-ma'ād*; to a lesser extent, Jullābī's *Kashfu-l-mahjūb*; Ghazālī's *Kimīyā-i Sa'ādāt*; Qushayrī's *Risālat*, and Muḥammad Lāhijī's commentary on Shabīstari's *Qulshan-i rūz*.

material world—*'ālam-i shahādat*—and the hidden spiritual world—*'ālam-i ghayb*.

Man represents the last drop of this self-manifesting sea, the last particle of this unity resolved into plurality, of the absolute transmuted into ideas. He is the dividing point between the light of manifestation and the darkness of non-existence, the boundary line of existence between the unavoidably-necessary and the merely-possible. Man, as the most perfect manifestation of the Supreme Spirit, in which are united all Its names and qualities, aspires by his very nature, even during his earthly life, towards the Absolute. Having once established himself on the path of meditation, i.e. of mental progress, he is able to transcend form and pass over to the sense concealed therein, and thus to remove plurality and to reach Unity. Unity, however, is the starting point from where began the individualization of the Absolute, and man can emerge into this Unity and disappear in it. In other words, the Truth by manifesting Itself descended into man—this is the descent of the Absolute into the idea, of the Unity into plurality, of the Whole into the part, of the Sea into the drop. And man, by self-annihilation, ascends towards the Truth—this is the ascent of the idea towards the Absolute, of the plurality towards Unity, of the part into the Whole, of the drop into the Sea.

Such, practically, is the philosophical aspect of the doctrine of the Sufis stripped from the teguments of positive religion. A greater or lesser admixture of the latter makes this doctrine a mysticism more orthodox as far as the religion of Muḥammad is concerned and more heretical with regard to its essence, to its original source. Of all the countries of the East which have accepted the Qur'ān the most susceptible to this doctrine proved to be and remains up to our days Persia, as is clearly proved by her literature. Whole galaxies of writers, chiefly poets, in their highly artistic productions not only developed to perfection and inculcated this doctrine in their own country, but have spread it far beyond the frontiers—to the East across the Oxus into Bukhara and Samarqand, to the West across the Tigris and the Euphrates into Asia Minor, and farther beyond the Bosphorus into Europe, that is to say Turkey. A certain, though not so obvious and direct, influence was exercised in this also by certain other countries adjacent to Persia.

Europe has long been acquainted with specimens of such allegorical mystic songs; the mystic man being represented as an atom

temporarily torn off from divinity, from the creative principle, grieving and sorrowing in separation, represented as a lover yearning for his beloved, and seeking to be reunited with her—all this is current and well-known imagery. One cannot but regret that up to quite recent times the specimens of that literature, which became known in Europe, belonged to a comparatively late period (XIII c.) and that whatever few attempts at general or particular studies of Persian Sufism, tracing its connections with the philosophical views and the theosophies of other peoples were made, they were all based on such late specimens. It would seem to have been more expedient, even for the above-mentioned attempts, to have put in the foreground rather the oldest literary monuments which go as far back as the eleventh, nay even the tenth century of our era.

I shall not speak here of the component factors and of the ways in which Sufism originated in Persia, in how far, owing to the geographical situation of that country, it became the meeting ground of ideas Western and Eastern, i.e. of the doctrines of the sages of the neoplatonic school of Alexandria and of Indian pantheism. I shall not speak of the reasons, why Sufism found followers and developed more especially in Persia, in how far that development was furthered either by the koranic teaching imposed on Persia by force, and foreign to the free Aryan spirit of its population, or by the absence of a wider social life stifled by that teaching. I shall not speak either of the practical meaning of Sufism, or of its influence on man, on the life of the community, on the formation of numerous sects. All these obtrusive and complicated questions have perforce to be left unanswered until the time when the study of Sufism has been placed on a strictly scientific historical basis. A correct appreciation and comprehension of Sufism must be based not on mere poetical allegories and isolated verses culled, often without any serious discrimination, from authors of different epochs, but on works expounding in a certain system the views of the Sufis stripped of symbols and allegories, their manner of thinking, and their own argumentation. Such works exist in Arabic and in Persian and are still waiting to be appreciated, published, and studied.

Finally, I shall not speak of the importance and interest attached to the study of Sufism. This doctrine is important already on account of its having survived amongst a nation for a millennium, preserving the whole time almost the same degree of intensity and brilliancy of colour. And the interest called forth by Sufism is best

shown, in my opinion, by the enthusiasm and passion with which in our days scholars, poets, and even artists of Europe, including Russia, and America, devote themselves to the work of studying, translating, and illustrating the writings of that most wonderful son of Persia, 'Umar Khayyām. I am fully satisfied with this single example, because, in my firm opinion, 'Umar Khayyām in the shape in which he is accessible to the wider circles of readers is not a single person, but several persons, who, for various reasons easily intelligible on deeper investigation, have flowed together under his name. In fact, a whole series of brilliant and original thoughts attributed to Khayyām are well, and with a great degree of probability, attributable to certain of his predecessors and successors.

Leaving aside the above-mentioned complicated and confused questions, which, in the present state of our information, cannot be duly solved and explained, I have decided to discuss in the present sketch the development of one isolated idea which has been and still is prevalent amongst the orthodox Persian Sufis, namely, the idea of man and his destination. For this purpose I have thought it most convenient to review the history of the creation of man, which our sages, remaining in the limits of the Islamic tradition, were bound to recast in a special mould reflecting the most essential features of their doctrine.

Such a vivid and highly poetical mystic history of man on an Islamic background, which has been preserved in the annals of Ṭabarī, was, it seems, originally composed by 'Abdullāh Anṣārī (XI c.), a native of Herat. One century and a half later it was repeated in its entirety without any alterations by Abū-Bakr Rāzī in his work entitled "The Path of mankind from the point of departure to the point of return" (*Mirṣādu-l-'ibād minā-l-mabūd ilā-l-ma'ād*), and is also encountered in part in the *Maṣnavī* of the famous Jalālud-Dīn Rūmī.

In presenting here that story, I shall follow the ways and means of its author, that is to say, I shall, when expounding mystic thoughts, have sometimes recourse to the poetical imagery of the mystic language.

When, after the six days and nights of creation, the time came for the creation of man, the Creator said: "The body of man from moisture and earth I shall prepare Myself." "Hast Thou not created heaven and earth?" exclaimed the angels in astonishment. "This," replied the Creator, "is an exceptional business: I created all by the simple direction 'be', and it was, but this one I am going to

create directly by My own 'selfness', by My Ego, because I shall deposit in him the treasure of divine knowledge." The angel Gabriel, in conformity with orders received, went to take a handful of earth. The earth said: "What art thou doing, Gabriel?"—"I am taking thee," said Gabriel, "into the presence of the Creator so that He may make out of thee a viceregent for Himself."

"I adjure thee," said the earth, "by the majesty of the Truth not to take me into the presence of the Creator, because I am unable to bear being near to Him." On hearing such an adjuration, Gabriel returned into the presence of the Creator and reported to Him the unwillingness of the earth. The angels Michael and Israfil were after this sent on the same errand, but the earth addressed to them the same adjurations. Then the Creator had recourse to the angel Azrael and said to him: "Go thou, and if the earth does not come voluntarily, bring it by force." Azrael went and brought by force a handful of dust collected from the surface of the earth—and, lo! Love was already hurrying to meet it halfway and permeated it.

Anṣārī says:—

"The dust of Adam was not yet sifted,
When Love came and permeated it:
Of that Wine (Love) I had tasted, when I was still
feeding on milk . . .
No, no: Wine and milk were mixed together."

khāk-i Ādam hanūz nā-bikhta būd
'ishq āmada būd dar gīl āvīkhta būd
īn bāda chu shīr-khāra būdam khurdam
nay, nay, may-u shīr bā-ham āmīkhta būd.

Herein was shown the first distinction of man: his dust was summoned into the presence of the Creator by several messengers.

All the angels were filled with astonishment and perplexity. What was this mystery that the contemptible and valueless earth-dust should assume such haughtiness with regard to the call of the Creator, and that the Creator should abide by it with such perseverance and ardour, instead of substituting for it something else? The Creator told them: "Truly I know what you do not know (Qur'ān, II, 28). How could you know what business I have with this handful of dust through eternity? You can well be pardoned; you have not had anything to do with Love; you are dry ascetic hermits and you cannot have any cognizance of Love. Wait a few days; I shall display in

this handful of dust My Almightyness : I shall efface from the mirror of its nature the rust of the darkness of creation, and you shall see in that mirror various forms, and the first form will be such that you all shall bow your heads to the earth before it."

Then the Creator poured out from the cloud of His grace the rain of Love on the dust of Adam, kneaded it with the hand of His Almightyness, and made from dust in the dust the heart. The cherubs and seraphs looked on in amazement, seeing the Creator working during forty days and nights like a potter on the clay of Adam, putting a heart in its every particle and caressing it with the glance of His mercy. But the Creator said to them : "Do not look at the clay, look at the heart !" According to other traditions, the Creator worked 40,000 years on the dust of Adam and placed outside and inside it signs which were meant to reflect, like a mirror, the thousand and one attributes of the Creator. When there came the turn of the heart, He took from Paradise the dust which was to be used for its making, kneaded it with the water of Eternal Life, and dried it in the sunshine of His glance.

When the heart was brought to perfection, it proved to be a pearl in the treasury of mysteries, which the Creator concealed from all looks and guarded by His majesty, saying : "For such a perfect pearl there is no other treasury but Myself and the body of Adam, because it is the pearl of Love in the shell of knowledge, the heart fondled by the sun of the glance of the Creator, in the body, which during so many thousand years had been warmed by the rays of the light of the attributes of the Creator."

During the mysterious manifestation of all such tender displays of His attributes on the body and the heart of Adam, the Creator did not enlighten or initiate into the mystery any one of the nearest angels. They did not know Adam, and every and each of them, when passing by, would say : "What wonderful form is it, which is being modelled ?" Adam, however, was saying under his breath : "If you do not know me, I know you. Let me only awake from this sweet sleep, and I shall call you by your names ; one of the riches concealed in my nature is the knowledge of all names." As much as the angels examined Adam, they did not understand his nature. Finally the scheming Iblis moved around Adam, noticed that Adam's mouth was open, and said : "Wait, I have found here the solution of the riddle ! I shall enter this aperture and shall see what the place is like." On having entered and inspected the nature of Adam,

he found it to be a microcosm and detected in him a manifestation of all that he had noticed in the macrocosm. The head was like the heaven with its seven spheres. As there were seven planets in the seven heavens, so also in the seven spheres of the head he noticed the seven faculties inherent in man, viz. reflection, imagination, memory, doubt, etc. As in the heaven there were angels, so also in the head there were the mental senses of sight, of hearing, of smelling, of taste, and of touch. The body was like unto the earth. Just as on the earth there were trees, herbs, rivers, and mountains, so also on and in the body there were hairs, veins, arteries, and bones. As there were four seasons in the macrocosm, so also in Adam there were four humours, viz. heat, cold, moisture, and dryness, inherent respectively in the black and yellow bile, in the phlegm and in the blood. In the macrocosm there were four winds: the vernal, the estival, the autumnal, and the hibernal, of which the vernal fructifies the trees, brings forth leaves and grasses, the estival produces fruits, the autumnal ripens them, and the hibernal scatters them; so also in Adam, the microcosm, there were four winds: attraction, splitting, retention, and expelling. The first one places the food into the mouth and transmits it to the second one to be digested, makes it reach the third one, which extracts from it whatever is useful, and gives it over to the fourth one to be expelled . . . And many other similarities did Iblis discover in the nature of Adam, and all that he saw he understood. But he was unable to find any way to the inside of the heart, which appeared to him as a splendid palace. "All that I saw," he said, "was insignificant. The difficult thing is here. If any misfortune ever happens to me from man, it can only arise from this place. And if the Creator has some special purpose with this form and means to place something in it, it will be into this place." In despair, Iblis retreated from the heart, and coming out, said to the angels: "The form examined by me is hollow. It will be possessed of passions like the animals, and it will be easy to capture it. But I found in it a palace without gates, to which there is no entrance, and I do not know what it is." Being not satisfied with these explanations given by Iblis, the angels went to find the Creator and said: "O Lord! Thou solvest difficulties and Thou givest knowledge. It is a long time that Thou hast been working on that handful of dust. Thou hast created in it a whole second world and hast hidden in it many treasures. But Thou hast not told us anything and hast not initiated into that mystery anyone of us. Do tell us, what is to come

out of that handful of dust?" The answer was: "I am creating a substitute for Myself on earth, but I have not completed him yet. Whatever you see now is merely a place for him, a palace and a throne. When I have completed him, I shall elevate him to the throne, and you all shall bow to him to the earth!" The angels said: "The riddle that was puzzling us has not been solved. The Creator orders us to bow before His creature and calls it His substitute. We never knew that there was anybody besides Him worthy of worship; we considered Him to be the One, who has none equal or similar to Him, and we did not think that there could be anybody worthy of taking His place. Let us go and inspect once more that mysterious temple!" Having inspected it, they said: "Still we do not find here anything beyond water and dust. No beauty of viceregency can be seen in it nor is there anything to justify our worshipping him on our knees." Then a voice reached them which said:—

"The Beloved cannot be seen by another's eyes:

My Darling must be seen through my eyes."

ma'shūqa ba-chasm-i dīgarān natuvān dīd

jānān-i marā ba-chashm-i man bāyad dīd.

The angels continued: "Outwardly one does not find anything particular in this creature. Maybe, its rights are founded on its qualities—let us investigate them."

The angels found Adam to be constituted of the four elements, viz. earth, wind, water, and fire. Investigating their qualities, they found that earth is quiescence, wind is movement, and that the former is the opposite of the latter; water and fire were also found to be opposites; the former has a downward, the latter an upward tendency. Further investigation showed that the nature of earth is dry (hard), of wind soft, of water cold, and of fire hot; and that, the natures of these component parts being opposed to each other, nothing except corruption could result therefrom. Returning into the presence of the Creator, the angels said: "Thou art entrusting with the representation of Thyself one from whom there will arise corruption and bloodshed." Thus, the angels inflicted reproach on what was in the thought of the Creator the vessel of Love, and this was the first reproach which arose in the world.

The special distinctions of man at the creation of his outward sheath were as follows: the creation of him alone was distributed over forty days and nights, whereas the creation of all the worlds took only six days and nights. The directness of his creation and

the placing in him of a mystery unsolved by the angels—all this was pointing to the exclusiveness of man's destinies. But matter, as represented by the body of man, was nothing as compared with the boundlessness of the Spirit which it was still lacking. And now the Creator, again by direct action, proceeded to the fusion of body and spirit. He breathed into the matter the spirit by His own breath, and that insufflation (*nafkha*) has a deep meaning and is of great importance. The Spirit from the highest celestial spheres was being sent down to the lowest degrees of the material world. On that boundless expanse it was capable of falling in with and making friends with some outside beings, to forget thus the Creator and to lose that affection which was granted to It. Now, that insufflation by the Creator of His own breath was meant to prevent its attaching itself to anybody or anything and to preserve in It the sweetness of the communion with the Creator. Furthermore, as has been said, the Spirit had to descend through an innumerable multitude of spiritual and corporeal worlds, in each of which there were concealed treasures unknown to anybody. The breath of the Creator was to serve here as a guide and interpreter of the meanings of all the treasures, all the blessings, and all the evils of that path in order to facilitate for the Spirit the upward journey back to the Creator. Finally, that breath accompanied the spirit of man in order that he, who was sent down for authority and domination in the world, should appear in that world endowed with marks of a special distinction and honour on the part of the Creator, the more so as it had already been announced to the angels that they would have to worship him on their knees. And in fact, when the Spirit, which had been for so many thousand years fondled in the most precious recesses of divinity and watched over in the world of immediateness by the eye of the Creator, reached, together with the Creator's own breath, through myriads of worlds with their treasures, the realm of man and blended itself with his form—all the worlds adored him on their knees, except Iblis. For his pride and arrogance with regard to the greatest of creatures and for his wilful penetration into this temple of Love, he was overtaken by the wrath of the Creator and was unable to make his obeisance to Adam.

The Spirit on entering the body found it to be a dark and narrow prison erected on four mutually opposite pillars, for which no prolonged existence could be expected. It was surrounded by crowds and multitudes of vermin, beasts, and wild animals. The blows and bites

they were inflicting on the body produced painful feelings in the Spirit. Inside of the prison passions became active, and lo! the pure Spirit, which was during so many thousand years brought up in proximity to the Creator in unlimited kindness and tenderness, experienced, in the face of such strange and savage displays, a feeling of loneliness. He became aware of the value of his former intimate association with the Creator, of which he had been unaware until that moment. He recognized the bliss of the union, in which he had been immersed without knowing its delights and without recognizing its essence. The fire of separation broke out in him and the pain of isolation entered his head. He tried to return, but the breath which had brought him down, was no more there. He felt broken-hearted, and then he heard a voice saying: "We are looking for such a state from thee!" Adam emitted a deep sigh, and the voice said: "It was for such sighs that We sent thee down!" Adam gave a start, movement appeared in his limbs, he opened his eyes and perceived the wide world, saw the dazzling sun, and exclaimed: "Praise be to God!" and heard the answer: "May thy Lord have compassion upon thee." These words reminded him of the world of the Spirit and its delights, and he sought vainly to break the corporeal fetters. Nothing in the world had any interest for Adam, the fire of his passion for the Creator did not abate, the unwontedness of his state did not diminish, and he did not make friends with anything. And he heard the voice of the Creator, saying: "O Adam! enter Paradise, eat, sleep, and make friends with whomsoever thou desirest." But Paradise did not soothe the feelings of Adam. Then the Creator produced Eve from the very soul of Adam, so that he should be able to associate with one like himself. Looking at the beauty of Eve, he saw in it a ray of the beauty of the Creator, and he tasted of that human beauty, and became possessed by lust, that lowest animal quality, which constitutes the greatest obstacle between man and the Creator. Other animal passions added themselves to it, such as excessive eating and excessive sleep, and even as Adam's passions increased, his communion with the Creator decreased. He finally gave himself up to his passions to such an extent as to allow Iblis to seduce him. The Creator became disgusted and said: "O Adam! We have not created thee for indulging in passions and animal enjoyments. We left thee for half a day in Paradise, and thou hast forgotten Us to the extent of giving thyself up to another! If We leave thee for a whole day, thou wilt forget Us altogether and wilt

substitute total estrangement for the former close communion with Us! Leave Paradise, and thou Eve, separate thyself from him! Thou, crown of distinction, quit thou his head! Thou, vestment of honour, fall away from his body!"

Having passed several days in a state of depression, Adam returned to his former suffering and was filled with love for the Creator, having been taught that love in pre-eternity. "O Lord!" he said, "I needed that depression in order to know the value of Thy mercy and the meaning of Thy sovereignty, and I recognize that all is perishable, Thou art eternal; all are infirm, Thou art almighty; all are woebegone, Thou art the Comforter!" A voice was heard, saying:—

"Return and be more than thou wert,

And if thou wert not until now, be it now.

bāz āy ki zānchī būdī afzūn bāshī

var to ba-kunūn na-būdī aknūn bāshī.

What do these various actions mean? We brought Adam up for representing Ourselves and, by trials, We brought his love to perfection!"¹

In the very first words of this story it is quite clearly established that the purpose of the creation of man, of the fusion of the Spirit with the body, is knowledge. The whole mystery of the creation in general lies in knowledge. According to tradition, the prophet David asked the Creator: "Why didst Thou create the creatures?" And the Truth suggested to him: "I was a hidden treasure and I chose to be known, and I created the creatures in order to be known" (*kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan fa-ahbabtu 'an u'rafa fa khalaqtu-l-khalqa likay u'rafa*).

What is then this knowledge (*ma'rifat*)? There is intellectual or argumentative knowledge (*ma'rifat-i 'aqlī* or *ma'rifat-i istidlālī*), which is common to all men of a certain standard of intellect; there is a common agreement of opinion with regard to the existence of the Creative Principle, and the existing disagreement concerns Its attributes, but not Its essence. In knowing by the intellect, perception by the outward senses and the inward powers is necessary. Through the perception of the material world by means of the former and through exercising the intellect with the help of the latter, the intellect comes to the conclusion that what has been created is due to a Creator. Contemplating gradually the different categories of creation, the

¹ *Mirpādu-l-'ibād*, pp. 37-54 (Tehran ed., 1314 A.H.).—The Translator.

intellect distinguishes the uniqueness, the almightiness, and the beauty of the creation, and draws the conclusion that such a miraculous display must be due to an Almighty, All-knowing, All-seeing Eternal Founder. The clearer the intellect, the more correct is the view, the more reflection is applied, the more numerous become the inferences from the diversity of the creation as to the existence of a Creator, the more clear become also the proofs of His Unity.

But the Spirit has been sent into the body not for this kind of knowledge. This kind of knowledge requires proofs and argumentations, of which there exist a great diversity; even the heathen defend their beliefs by arguments. The acceptance of one argument instead of another is based on preference, and were even all these arguments true, they would only result in the inference of the existence of the Creator by means of argumentation. Yet, the position of the Spirit with regard to the knowledge of the Truth before its fusion with the body was entirely different; the Spirit was in immediate contact with the Truth and knew the Truth by direct perception, without any argumentation. After its fusion with the body this direct contact had, so to say, disappeared.

When the Spirit was being sent from the world of mystery and proximity to the Truth to be attached to the world of forms, it was allowed to pass through all the spiritual and material worlds. From each world whatever constituted the best part of that world was added unto the Spirit. At the same time the eyes of the Spirit were directed to witness the good and the evil of each world, because it was being sent into life in order to attract all that is useful and to repel all that is noxious. Thus, when the Spirit entered the body after his journey through all the multiform worlds, he was, so to say, wrapped in thousands of bright and dark spiritual sheets. His every glance on every object in every world, although meant to become a factor in his perfection, constituted, at that given moment, a veil. The sum total of such veils deprived him of the capacity of contemplating the beauty of the Creator, which is Unity, and of feeling the bliss of immediate proximity to Him. On his descent into the nethermost planes of matter, when the Spirit began putting to use the tools and instruments of his corporeal form, every moment of time separated him more and more from the world of mystery and wrapped him up in a new veil, so that the Spirit might well have lost eventually all consciousness of that world of mystery. Thus, one person does not believe at all that at one time he was living

in another world, in another person there remains some trace of the former communion with the Creator; another again remembers all the stages of his passage through the spiritual and material worlds . . .

Despite the fact that the fusion of the Spirit with the body erected, so to say, a kind of barrier between him and the Truth, that fusion was necessary. When living in the spiritual world and enjoying the proximity of the Truth, the Spirit possessed only such knowledge as was in conformity with the nature of that world. Of a similar kind were also his revelations and contemplations. The perfection of these states and the fulness of bliss had to be reached by the Spirit through his fusion with the body, because it was that fusion that gave him a heart, a soul, and those powers and feelings which he needed in order to attain knowledge. During his stay in the world of mystery he possessed but that spiritual light, through which he perceived the entirety of that world only, but he was devoid of the power to comprehend the entirety and the particularities of the two worlds. Development and perfection were attained by the Spirit only in this world, where everything was meant for his education. Thus the Spirit reached true knowledge, i.e. the knowledge of the essence and of all the attributes of the Creator. "O man! I created everything for thee, and I created thee for me" (*yā-bnu Ādama khalaqtu-l-ashyā'a kullahā li-ajlika wa khalaqtuka li-ajlī*).

Argumentative knowledge cannot constitute the true destination of man, because it is not the Light Itself, but Its reflection. In explaining this point the *ṣūfī* mystics take their stand on v. 35 of the XXIV chapter of the Qur'ān, which runs: "God (the Truth) is the light of heaven and earth. The similitude of his light is as a niche in a wall, wherein a lamp is placed, and the lamp enclosed in a case of glass; the glass appears as if it were a shining star. It is lighted with the oil of a blessed tree, an olive neither of the east nor of the west; it wanteth little but that the oil thereof would give light, although no fire touched it. This is light added unto light . . ." The Spirit, owing to its natural subtlety, is incapable of perceiving the full manifestation of divine attributes. And the extraordinary wisdom displayed in the creation of Adam is manifested in this, that the heart which was created for him was made stout, but transparent like a crystal of unusual purity. The heart was placed in a niche, that is in the compact body, and in that crystal the lamp of mystery was set up, in which there was put the wick of manifestation (of that mystery). The lamp was filled with the oil of the blessed olive-tree

of the Spirit (with the divine breath), which cannot be found either in the East, that is in the spiritual world, nor in the West, that is in the material world. That oil was extremely transparent and luminous, although no fire had touched it. From that oil the whole of the crystal of the heart became illumined, as if it were a shining star. A reflection of the light of the crystal spread over the atmosphere within, symbolized by the niche, and filled it with light. The brilliancy of the crystal is the intellect: the atmosphere, which is the recipient of its reflection, represents the hidden powers and the innate qualities of man, and the rays breaking through the niche of the material body are the five senses. For a perfect manifestation of the divine light which was "a hidden treasure" precisely that kind of lamp was needed. Such a lamp is given to everybody, but it is not in everybody that it shines with divine light. Those who rely for the knowledge of the Truth on their intellect, think that their lamp is illumined by the true light, without suspecting that the light which they find in themselves is a mere reflection of the light of the spiritual oil, and that the fire of the divine light is absent in their lamp, which is not lighted.

In terms of the above exposition, to attain knowledge one needs the Light Itself, the Truth Itself. What then are the paths by which It is reached? How to remove the barrier which has arisen between It and the Spirit in man? How to remove the veils in which the Spirit is wrapped?

Maḥmūd Shabistārī (fourteenth century), the author of the "Rose-garden of mysteries" compares the Truth with the almond-nut, which being covered by a thin skin, is, in addition, surrounded by a shell:—

sharī'at pūst maghz āmad haqīqat
miyān-i īn u ān bāshad farīqat.

Just as an almond, to attain full ripeness, requires both the thin skin and the shell, so for the manifestation of the Truth there are needed the *sharī'at* and the *farīqat*, the "law" and the "path", which are the rules set up for the guidance of all the corporeal and spiritual manifestations in man in accordance with the duality of his nature. The "law" educates the body and the soul, the "path" purifies the heart and enlightens the spirit. As in order to get the pure almond-kernel, one has first to break the shell and then take off the skin, so also in order to attain the Truth, one has first to submit to the "law" and only then to follow the "path".

The "law" which comprises prayer, fasting, etc., is meant to act

primarily on the five senses, because, when man obeys exclusively the five senses, he descends to the level of the animal, which is attached only to this world. He becomes even worse than these, because the animal, endowed only with the five senses, is not expected to know the other world, and it, therefore, cannot feel any longing for it. To man, however, who has been endowed with spiritual powers as well, such a consciousness has been given and is apt to provoke in him suffering. But a total suppression of all animal needs and inclinations, based on the senses, would naturally cause complete cessation of life and of the development of his organism, which latter is both necessary and useful for him. The "law" is given to man in order that he should not, in his enjoyments and inclinations, surrender himself unconditionally to his animal nature. Every and each of the rules of that "law" speaks to man reminding him, in one way or another, of his original place of abode, of his having come here from another world, and directs him to that other world; thus, prayer diverts him from sensual inclinations, from conversations with men, and directs him towards the bliss of conversing with the Creator; fasting reminds him of his former angelic state, when he did not need any food, and so forth.

Together with the body, the soul (*nafs*) also has to be educated in the "law". The soul, otherwise called the animal spirit (*rūh-i-hayvānī*) is the source of negative qualities and lower feelings, and owes its origin to the fusion of the Spirit with the body. It fills all the atoms and parts of the body as oil interpenetrates a nut, but is concentrated in the heart, as has been said: "The most hostile of thy enemies is thy soul, which lies between thy two sides" (*a'dā 'aduw-i-ka nafsuka-llatī bayna janbayka*). At the same time, it is also in the heart that the Spirit resides with its highest spiritual qualities. The above-mentioned animal spirit of man differs from its counterpart in animals only by being eternal and remaining indestructible after its separation from the corporeal sheath, whereas that of the animals, as being constituted of the four elements, is subject to decay, and disappears entirely after death. In that animal spirit two essential qualities are inherent, from which arise all the lower feelings, viz. desire (*havā*) and wrath (*ghaḥab*). These two qualities are necessary for the soul in order that it should be able to attract by means of the former all that is useful and to repel by means of the latter all that is noxious, and thus to maintain itself and subsist in this world.

The education of the soul, given a certain direction, consists in keeping these two qualities in a certain equipoise and proportion, so that the one should not overcome the other, because, if the equilibrium is disturbed by desire, then greed, lust, avidity, hope, dastardliness, etc., are bred. And if the equilibrium is disturbed by wrath, then unrestraint, hostility, arrogance, imperiousness, etc., break out. When both of these qualities lose their balance simultaneously and take possession of the soul, then the latter tends towards corruption and becomes the source of every kind of evil. On the other hand, an excessive weakening of these essential qualities produces derangement and breeds other negative qualities, like weakness, pusillanimity, lack of zeal, etc. The above-mentioned qualities of the soul and their continual equilibrium and proportion must be entirely subjected to the demands of the "law" and of fear, and be in their hands like humble tools; then only will the soul yield positive qualities, like the sense of modesty, humility, generosity, submissiveness, patience, gratitude, etc. Then only does the soul rid itself of the evil of dominativeness, humbles itself in submission to the pure Spirit, and helps the latter to ascend through the "stations" of the lower world into the highest realms of the spiritual spheres, as says Anṣārī:—

"When the animal qualities leave thy soul,
The bird of thy spirit will return to (its) nest,
The vulture of thy soul will rush into the heights,
Will perch on the hand of the Sovereign and become a falcon."

khūy-i sabū'ī zi nafsāt ar bāz shavad
murgh-i rūḥāt ba-ashyān bāz shavad
pas kargas-i nafs rū sūy-i-'ulv nihād
bar dast-i malik nishānad u bāz shavad.

The tendency towards the higher and super-animal world turns then into pure love, and passion and wrath become zeal and higher aspirations. Then the soul lovingly rushes towards the Creator: "Were it not for desire, nobody would tread the path (of aspiration) towards God" (*law la-l-hawā mā salaka aḥadun tarīqan ilā-llāhi*), and in its zeal does not pay any attention to anything but Him. These two qualities, happily directed and developed, become thus for the Spirit a powerful instrument for reunion with the Creator: such an instrument was unavailable for the Spirit during its sojourn in the realm of the spirits—like the angels, undisturbed by desire and wrath,

it was satisfied with its state and was dispassionately and impassibly contemplating the light of the lamp of the Truth.

Such is the nature of the soul and such is its destination, and it becomes clear, why the Sufis say in this instance: "Whosoever knoweth his own soul, knoweth his Lord" (*man 'arafa nafsahu faqad 'arafa rabbahu*).

When the man who aspires towards the Truth, or, as the Sufis would put it, "the traveller" (*sālik*) has humbled under the "law" his body and curbed his soul, then he enters the "path" of the purification of the heart.

The heart in the body of man, in the "microcosm", is the same as the empyrean in the "macrocosm", namely the dividing line between the sensible and the super-sensible. In it is concentrated the quality of spirituality, and it is the recipient and the distributor of the outpourings of the Spirit. With all the members of the body it is connected by delicate veins through which the outpouring of the Spirit reaches all the members of the body. When that outpouring into the heart ceases, the vitality of the whole organism also departs. And the heart is aware of its receiving such an outpouring, because the Spirit flows into the heart with its own peculiar power that gives to the heart life, intellect, and knowledge.

The heart possesses capacity and readiness for accepting purification and submitting to education, owing to which it reaches a certain degree of perfection, and, after first being merely a depository of the quality of spirituality, it may become a place of the manifestation of all the qualities and of the very substance of the Truth, of the Deity.

Purity of heart consists in the integrity and precision of its five abstract senses, through the medium of which it takes cognizance of the world of mystery (the intellect acting as mental sense of touch, by which it derives profit from all that can be known by the intellect). A further condition of the purity of heart is that all the various states, which the heart, as the centre-point of all the higher feelings, may experience, should strictly and exactly correspond to their innate meaning. The heart is the source of deep faith, of the enlightenment of the intellect, of contemplation, of love for the Creator, which excludes all earthly love, of wisdom, etc. The education of the heart consists in directing it by certain means towards the Divine Truth. This implies that man should renounce the world, withdraw from men and whatever is created, abandon his natural inborn habits and

terrestrial joys, and, having reached the "outward separation" (*tajrīd*), turn with all his being to the Creator, without demanding from the Truth anything except the Truth, in order to attain to the degree of "inner separation" (*tafrīd*) from all love and desire, except for the Truth Itself. In such a state the outward senses cease their activity; the darkness and the veils, in which the heart was wrapped under their influence, disappear; a heart liberated from all things terrestrial, aware only of the Truth and yearning for It in passionate, lofty love, is the heart, which has reached perfection and complete purity; the barrier has disappeared, and the Spirit flows together with the Truth, which now finds Its full manifestation in man. Says Anṣārī:—

"If thou givest away all that thou hast,
If thou dissolvest participation in thy own being,
Thou mayest be able to get free from thyself and rush
And find shelter in a ray of His light."

*gar harchi turā hast hama dar bāzi
az hasti-yi khud judā kunī anbāzi
bāshad ki zi khud bāz rahī dar tāzi
dar partav-i nūr-i ū panāhi sāzi.*

In such a state not one of the qualities of man, not one of his members can dispose of its own nature; he is entirely in the power of the Truth, as has been said: "I became for him ear and eye, and tongue and hand. By Me he hears, by Me he sees, by Me he speaks, by Me he touches" (*kuntu lahu sam'an wa baṣaran wa lisānan wa yadan fa-bi yasma'u wa bi yubṣiru wa bi yanṭiqu wa bi yabtishu*).

Three degrees are distinguished in this manifestation of the Truth. At first the Truth manifests Itself in the "manifestation in actions" (*tajallī-i af'āl*), when all actions are seen by man as disappearing in the actions of the Truth and when nothing except the Truth is perceived as acting. Then comes the "manifestation of qualities" (*tajallī-i ṣifāt*), when man notices all qualities as disappearing in the qualities of the Truth, does not perceive any quality but the Truth, and recognizes himself and everything as being a manifestation of the qualities of the Truth. Finally, the "manifestation of the substance" (*tajallī-i ḡāt*), when man finds all substances disappearing in the One Substance, when he does not distinguish any other existence except the Truth. This state is the complete disappearance (*fanā*) of man in the Truth: "which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor

hath it entered into the heart of man" (*mā lā 'aynun ra'at wa lā uẓnun samī'at wa lā khaṭara 'alā qalbi basharīn*).

Such union with the Truth (*taḥīd*) is not a union of a body with a body, nor of the accident with the substance, nor of the knowledge with the known, nor of the mind with its conception. Such a union is necessarily preceded by mutual attraction. The Sufi Abū-l-Ḥasan of Kharaqān used to say that the path to the Truth is a double one—one from man to the Truth, and the other from the Truth to man.¹ Or, as has been said in a tradition: "Whoever approached Me by one span, him I approached by a cubit, and whoever approached Me by a cubit, him I approached by a fathom. And whoever came to Me slowly, to him I came with a fast gait" (*man taqarraba ilayya shibrān taqarrabtu ilayhi ẓirā'an wa man taqarraba uilayya ẓirā'an taqarrabtu ilayhi bā'an wa man atānī bi-mash'in ataytuh haricalatan*).

The above-mentioned disappearance in the Truth, the union of the human spirit with the Deity, the transformation of a seemingly heterogeneous duality into a homogeneous unity, being a phenomenon which cannot be adequately proved by tangible evidence, is explained by the example of two drops of oil. One of them is imprisoned in the mire at the bottom of the sea. Without combining itself with the sea-water, it little by little endeavours to free itself from the mire. Once freed, it speedily, without paying any heed to anything, ascends to the surface of the sea, leaves under itself the whole mass of water, and, having met the other drop, indivisibly melts together with it. On the other hand, if it meets a spark of fire, it ceases to exist independently, giving up its whole being to the being of the fire. Should, however, the sea with all its mass of water be brought into contact with fire, the latter cannot kindle it, and water, on its part, cannot mix with fire. Thus, the human soul, being a drop of the sea of the world, will melt into it, but the spirit, like oil, will rise to its surface, and meeting a spark of the fire of the manifestation of the Truth, will merge all its being into it, will consider as real existence the non-existence of accidental being.

It is hardly necessary to add that this is not a mere revelation, nor a vision, neither a contemplation, nor a consciousness, because all these necessarily involve duality, whereas here we have to do with

¹ Cf. also *Kashf-i-mahjūb*, Nicholson's translation, 163; Samarqand edition, 206.—The Translator.

the fullest state of unity. The above described state excludes all idea of divisibility; knowledge, the knower and the known, seeing, the seer, and the seen, love, the lover, and the beloved, become an indivisible whole. Says Anṣārī:

“ Love came and permeated like blood my skin and veins,
It made me empty (of myself) and filled me with the Friend:
All the particles of my being were taken by the Friend,
Of myself in me there remains only the name, and all the rest is
He.”

*‘ishq āmad u shud chī khūnam andar rag u pūst
tā kard marā tihī u pur kard zi dūst
ajzā-i vujūdām hama dūst girift
nāmūst zi man bar man u bāqī hama ūst.*

The initial moment of that peaceful bliss, of that complete quietude (*sukūnat*) is difficult to seize and to define, because the Truth, as Anṣārī puts it, “descends unawares into a wary heart” (*tajallī-i haqq nāgāh āyad amnā bar dīl-i āgāh āyad*). It is this quietude that is steadfastly sought for by every “traveller” on the path to the Truth, who is free from any thought of reward or return, because after this state of quietude he attains to direct knowledge (*maʿrifat-i shuhūdī*); all obscurity is removed from him, and the perplexing enigma of the “World and the Creation” is solved. “I do not look” says the knower (*ʿārif*), “at anything, but that I see in it God” (*mā nazartu fī shayyīn illā wa raʾaytu-lāha fīhi*). Being enlightened, he teaches that from eternity there was, is, and will be only one Substance, manifested under the species of plurality by its attributes, on account of the plurality of these attributes; that the cessation of that manifestation does not entail the disappearance of the Substance Itself. He is persuaded that the innumerable hidden and visible worlds, that the whole totality of the pluralities and diversities perceived by him repose in one Being, like the waves of fantastic shapes and various sizes, which break asunder and are scattered into water-dust on the surface of the ocean; that the innumerable plurality and Unity, the whole and the part, the Absolute (“the Untied”) and the individual (“the tied”) are merely different expressions of one and the same Truth.

It is not without interest to compare how this fundamental conception of the *sūfī* teaching is expressed by its three brilliant exponents in early (eleventh and twelfth centuries) Persian poetry.

Says Abū-Sa'id ibn-Abī-l-Khayr of Mahna:

"I said (to the Beautiful One): 'For whom dost thou appear in such beauty?'

She said: 'For Myself, because I am Myself Unity,
I am Love, and the Lover, and the Beloved,
I am the Mirror, and the Beauty, and the Seer'."

*guftam kirā tu badīm zībāyī
guftā khudrā ki man khudam yaktāyī
ham 'ishqam u ham 'āshiq u ham ma'shūqam
ham āyīna u ham jamāl u ham bināyī.*

And again:—

"At the time when these stars and heavens were not,
Nor this water, nor air, nor fire, nor earth,
I was teaching the mysteries of Unity—
And this body, and voice, and intellect were not."

*ān vaqt ki īn anjum u aflāk nabūd
vīn āb u havā u ātash u khāk nabūd
asrār-i yagānagī sabaq mīguftam
vīn qālib u īn navā u idrāk nabūd*

And again:—

"I was never separated from Thee.
This is a proof of the luckiness of my star:
In Thy substance I am unnoticeable, when I am non-existent,
And in Thy light I become visible, when I exist."

*man az tu judā nabūdam tā būdam
īnast dalīl-i tālī'-i mas'ūdam
dar zāt-i tu nā-pa'idam ar ma'dūmam
vaz nūr-i tu gāhiram agar marjūdam.*

Says 'Abdullāh Anṣārī:

"Do not think that we are descended from Adam.
Because at the moment when Adam was not, we were:
Without the burden of love, of heart, and of clay,
The Beloved, and We, and Love were breathing the same breath."

*tā zan nabarī ki mā zi Ādam būdim
kān dam ki nabūd Ādam ān dam būdim
bī zahmat-i 'ayn u shīn u qāf u dīl u gīl
ma'shūq u mā u 'ishq hamdam būdim.*

Says 'Umar Khayyām :

" That Wine, which by Its substance is capable of taking various forms,

Which becomes now an animal and now a plant,

Do not think that It (therefore) turns into non-being, far from it :

It possesseth a substance, though qualities (outward manifestations) may disappear."

*ān bāda ki qābil-i şvarhāst ba-zāt
gāhī hayvān mīshavad u gāh nabāt
tā zan nabarī ki nīst gardad hayhāt
maveşūf ba-zāt ast agar nīst şifāt.*

And again :—

" Thou hast asked me, what are those phantom-like forms ?

If I tell the truth about them, it will be too long.

These forms have come from a sea,

And again they return to the depths of that sea."

*mīpursīdī ki chīst ān naqsh-i majāz
gar bar gūyam haqīqatash hast dirāz
naqshīst padīd āmada az daryāyī
vāngāh shuda ba-qa'r-i ān daryā bāz.*

And again :—

" Sometimes Thou art hidden and dost not show Thy face to anyone.

Sometimes Thou art manifested in forms of being and place.

That splendour Thou showest to Thyself :

Thyself art the essence of Thy contemplation and Thou art the seer."

*gah gashta nihān rū ba-kasī namumāyī
gah dar şvar-i kawān u makān paydāyī
īn jilegarī bā-khīshān binumāyī
khud 'ayn-i 'ayān-i khudī u bīnāyī.*

The conception, in terms of this teaching, of man as a particle of the all-creating Truth, seems especially bold on the lips of orthodox Sufis, when they resort to the use of the terminology of the Qur'ān and of the Muslim symbol of faith. Thus, Maṣū'ir Khallāj exclaimed : " I am the Truth ! " and, having been misunderstood, paid with his life for such a boldness. Almost the same thing has been said by Anṣārī :

" If thou wishest to hear a word from a wary soul
And the innermost mysteries from the King of Kings,
Lose thyself, so as, being unaware of thy own existence,
To hear only the words : ' I, I am God.' "

(Qur'ān, xx, 14.)

khāhī ki sukhun zi jān-i āgāh shīnavī
vasrār-i darūnī zi shāhīnshāh shīnavī
gum gard zi khāsh tā tu az hastī-i khud
bīkhud hama innanī anā-llāh shīnavī.

Bāyazīd of Bistām went even farther and altering somewhat the symbol of faith of Muḥammad, exclaimed : " There is no deity, but myself, therefore worship me. To me be praise, and how great is my dignity ! " (*lā ilāha illā anā fa'budunī wa subḥānī mā a'ẓama sha'nī*).

The same symbol was used for the explanation of the meaning of the mystic knowledge by Abū-Sa'id ibn-Abī-l-Khayr :

" The knower, who is aware of the secret of knowledge,
Is freed from self and has God for his companion.
Deny thyself and affirm the existence of the Truth,
Such is the meaning of the words ' There is no Deity but God '."

'ārīf ki zi sirr-i ma'rīfat āgāhast
bīkhud zi khudast u bā khudā hamrāhast
naf'-i khud u īsbāt-i vujūd-i haq kun
in ma'nī-i lā ilāha illā-llāhast.

There is hardly any need to say that such utterances express the feelings of " the traveller towards the Truth " not at the very moment of quietude, because at that time he is unable to distinguish either separate names or separate qualities, but at the time when he is accomplishing his return journey, when he is again torn away from the Absolute and regains individuality, when there steps in the state of " separation after union " (*farq ba'da-l-jam'*), of " being after non-being " (*baqā ba'da-l-fanā*), when he becomes " a traveller from the Truth, in the Truth, for the Truth ".

Our sages point out to us examples of such men, who, by means of a lengthy self-renouncement and self-annihilation have become immersed in the sea of Unity, have reached the desired quietude and have, so to say, disappeared and vanished therein. The light of their intellect is lost in the Light of the Manifestation of the Truth, but for those who surround them and who have no experience of that exclusive

state of bliss, they seem to be "deprived of their reason" (*maṣlūbu-l-'aql*): they are called "the madmen of the spiritual path" (*vālīhān-i ṭarīqat*). Such a one was, for instance, Luqmān of Sarakhs (eleventh century), who, according to 'Aṭṭār's exposition in the "Conversation of the Birds", used to repeat towards the end of his long life:—

"Now, I do not know who I am—I am not a slave of the Lord (the Truth), so, what am I? My slavery is gone, but no freedom has taken its place. In my heart there is not a drop either of sorrow or of joy. I have become without qualities, but I did not lose them. I have attained knowledge, but I do not possess knowledge. I do not know whether Thou art I, or I am Thou—I have disappeared in Thee and duality has been removed"¹

Such men are no more in need of any deeds; "one does not follow their example, but one does not repudiate them" (*lā yuqtaḍā bihim wa lā yunkaru 'alayhim*).

"Those walking in the Truth," i.e. those who have returned into the world of particularities in order to perfect the imperfect ones and to instruct the ignorant ones (*jāhīl*) are, according to the degree of their natural capacities, of various grades of knowledge, which can be reduced to two chief categories. The one consists of those who, when having passed over from Unity to plurality, are temporarily barred from Unity by that plurality, which state, however, by means of the application of ways and means at their disposal, may be quickly changed back into the lost quietude. These are the Sufis, who are called "sons of the time" (*aṣ-ṣufiyyu ibnu-l-waqt*), because they are in the power of the moment, they are in a state of mutability. These are those knowers, whom the famous Junayd of Baghdād had in view, when, on being asked about the knower, he said: "the colour of the water is the colour of its vessel" (*lawnū-l-mā'i lawnu inā'ihī*). For such men the above-mentioned "law" and "path" still remain necessary for two reasons—both for their own perfection and for the guidance of the ignorant.

The second group of those "who have attained knowledge" are those who, owing to a special perfection achieved by them, remain permanently in direct communion with the Truth, but contemplate Unity in plurality and plurality in Unity in such a way that the one is in no manner obscured by the other. In spite, however, of their

¹ Tehran edition, 1319, p. 269.—The Translator.

proximity to the Truth and the fact that they permanently experience that proximity, they do not leave by a hair's breadth the paths trodden by them, and continue assiduously to devote themselves to pious practices, which in them are obligatory only as far as they may serve as an example for those whom they have in their guidance. Thus, to "those directed" (*murīd*) they cede only the overflow of their own abundance, as has been quite clearly stated by 'Alī in his words addressed to Kumayl ibn-Ziyād: *yatarashshahu 'alayka mā yafḥu minnī*. They can give them only the great wisdom of the means of purifying the heart which they have acquired by their own experience, but they are unable to give them the Truth Itself, because the Truth is beyond words and cannot be grasped by the intellect. That is why "those who have attained knowledge" are for those who are ignorant "directors of the right path" (*murshid*). If we turn now to the words of these spiritual directors, we shall see from them on the one hand, that they are conscious of being unable to formulate all that fills the soul of "the one who has attained", on the other hand, that the only path to knowledge is self-renunciation and internal purity. Such words and thoughts of the oldest spiritual directors (previous to the eleventh century) have been recorded in sufficient numbers in Qushayrī's "Epistle" (*Risālat*) and in Jullābī's "Revelation of what is veiled" (*Kashf-l-mahjūb*). Here are a few specimens of such sayings:—

Abū-Yazīd (of Bistām?) has said: "Men have different states, but the one who has attained knowledge has no states, because his distinguishing marks are effaced, his passion disappears in the passion of another, and his traces disappear in the traces of another."

Al-Vāsiṭī has said: "Whoever has perceived God the Almighty, has been cut off, has become dumb, and has disappeared."¹

Somebody has said: "Whoever has known God, for him life is pure and existence is bright, everything fears him, and in him the fear of creatures disappears, and he joins God."

Al-Ḥusayn ibn-Manṣūr has said: "The distinguishing mark of the one who has attained knowledge is that he is free from this life and the next."

Somebody has said: "Whoever knew God, is overfilled with eternity, and the world in its wideness is narrow for him."

Said ash-Shiblī: "One who has attained knowledge must

¹ *Kashf-l-mahjūb*, Nicholson's translation, p. 277; Samarqand edition, pp. 330-1.—The Translator.

not have any attachment, just as the lover has no complaint, the slave has no claim, the fearful no rest."

Said al-Junayd (of Baghdād): "One who strives after knowledge does not attain it, unless he becomes like the earth which is trampled upon by the pious and the impious, and like the cloud which covers with its shadow everything, and like the rain which waters whatever it likes and whatever it does not like."

Said Abū-Yazīd: "The one who has attained knowledge does not see anything either in dream or in his waking state, except God, and except Him does not meet anybody or look at anything." A similar saying of the same spiritual director has been preserved in another source: "... for many years have I been conversing with God, and men think that I am conversing with them."

Said Zū-n-Nūn al-Miṣrī: "I knew my Lord through my Lord, and were it not for my Lord, I should not have known my Lord."

Somebody has said: "The one who has attained knowledge (*ʿarīf*) is higher than what he says, and the one who knows (*ʿālim*) is lower than what he says."

Muḥammad ibn-Vāsi' said: "Whoever has attained knowledge of his God, his speech is short, and his amazement is long."¹

Such, according to our sages, is the "knower", and such are his ways. He is led on his path to the Truth not by the intellect, which establishes the existence of the Active Principle by the argument of Its action, but by the wary heart, which denies its own existence in anything, except the Truth. The Truth having created the body of man, animated it by the heart, and, having created the heart, animated the latter by Itself. Thus knowledge is the life of the heart in the Truth and revulsion from everything which is not the Truth.

Now it becomes clear, why in the above-quoted story of the primordial man such an exclusive place is allotted to the heart, why the latter is represented as a brilliant sanctuary, to enter which the spirit of darkness and evil was not fated. It becomes clear, why in mystical literature whole works are devoted to the heart, as, for instance, the work by Ghazālī, entitled "The Wonders of the Heart" (*ʿAjāʾibu-l-qalb*) and why the mystic poets of Persia call so loudly and persuasively upon "the ignorant" to worship that innermost temple of man.

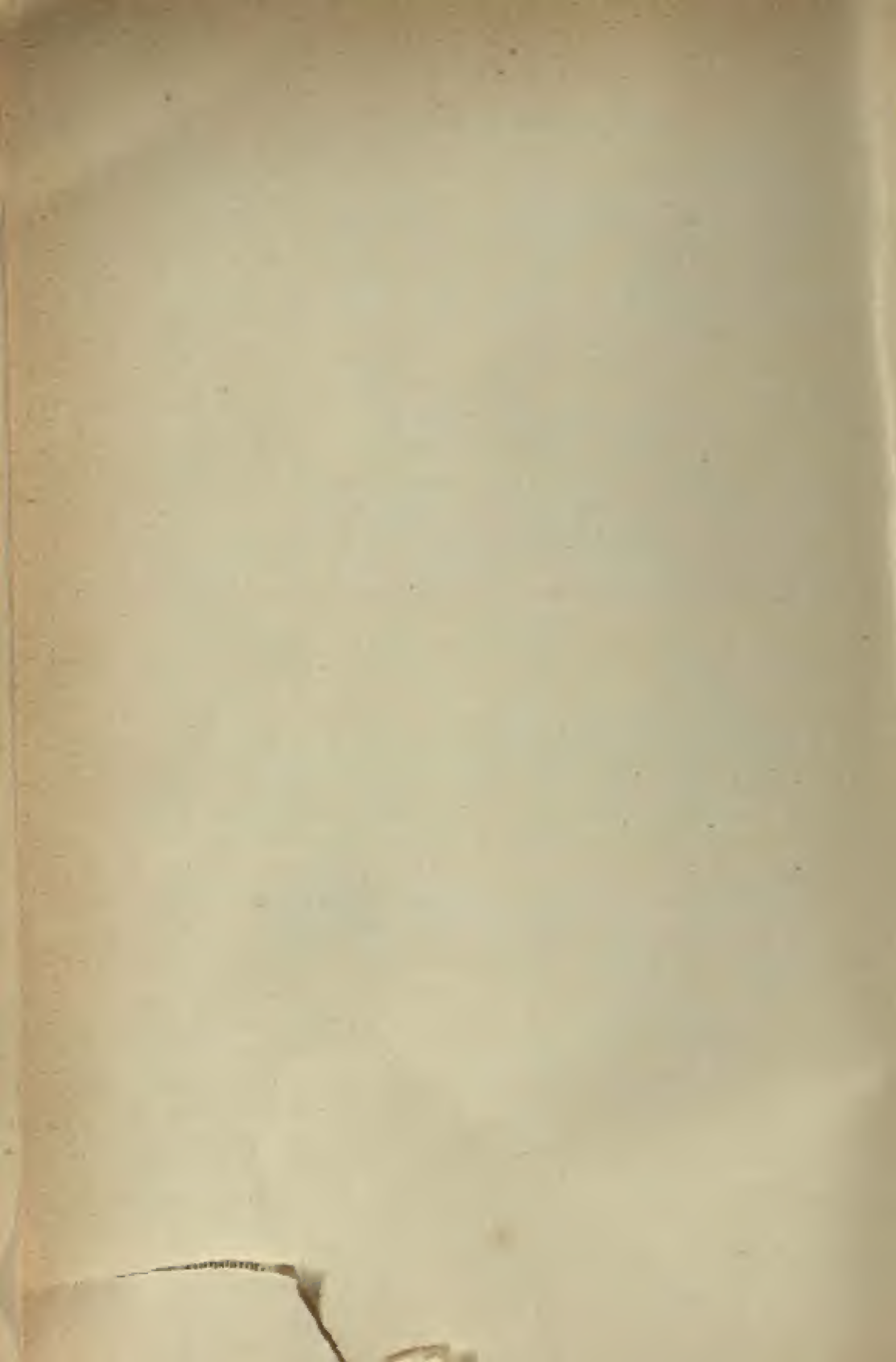
¹ *Kashfu-l-mahjūb*, Nicholson's translation, 276; Samarqand edition, 329.
—The Translator.

Exclaims the Old Man of Herat:—

"On the way to the Truth there are two temples (lit. "two Ka'bas").
One is the outer temple, the other the temple of the heart.
As long as thou canst, make pilgrimage to hearts,
Because one single heart is more than a thousand temples" (lit.
"Ka'bas").

dar rah-i khudā du ka'ba āmad hāšil
yak ka'ba-i šūratast u yak ka'ba-i dīl
tā bituvānī ziyārat-i dīlhā kun
kafzūn zi hazār ka'ba bāšad yak dīl.

To recapitulate: the basic idea of the Persian sages is that "the Truth for the Truth" is the meaning of the whole creation; that the Creator, having reflected Himself in man by His 1001 attributes, having created him by His own action, having united in him the two worlds and distinguished him from all the creatures by an internal spiritual life, made him thus a vessel of purest love and a treasury of knowledge. This latter is a precious, but heavy burden: "We proposed the faith," says the Qur'ān (xxxiii, 72), "unto the heavens and the earth, and the mountains; and they refused to undertake the same, and were afraid thereof; but man undertook it"—because he alone was capable of suppressing vigorously his passions (*kāna ṣalūman*), and his little heart was able to hold the Great Truth, which neither the heavens nor the earth were able to accommodate (*lā yasa'unī arḍi wa lā samā'i- wa wasi'anī qalbu 'abdi*). Therefore, to know one's soul, say the Sufis, to purify one's heart of all earthly darkness and to open it for the reception of the One Eternal Truth in which every lie disappears (*jā'a-l-haqqu wa zahāqa-l-bāṭilu*, Qur'ān, xvii, 83)—that is the destination of man and in that consists his exalted earthly achievement.



NOTES ON DON JUAN OF PERSIA'S ACCOUNT OF
GEORGIA

By W. E. D. ALLEN

IN one of the recently published volumes of the Broadway Travellers Series (*Don Juan of Persia; a Shi'ah Catholic*, 1560-1604, translated and edited with an introduction by G. Le Strange) is an interesting account of Georgia and of some of the events of the Turko-Persian War which endured between the years 1578 and 1587. The Persian account throws much light on the state of Georgia at the end of the sixteenth century, and it serves as a valuable supplement to von Hammer Purgstall's history of the war, based mainly on Turkish sources, and published as books 38 and 40 of his *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman* (in Vol. viii of the French edition).

Neither the historian of Turkey nor the editor of Don Juan appear to have made use of the material from Georgian sources which is available for this period, namely the provincial histories of Kartli, Samtskhé, Kakheti and Imereti collated by Prince Wakhush't of Kartli during the eighteenth century, and published by Brosset in his *Histoire de la Géorgie*, 2ième partie, liere livraison, Spb. 1856.

While it is a somewhat sterile task to attempt to reconcile and elucidate the Turkish, Persian and Georgian accounts of this protracted war, it may be of interest to identify Georgian proper names and place-names in the light of the Georgian sources.

1. p. 139.—“On the north the Georgian border marches with Albania, which is now called Zuiria.” Albania would here seem to be Abkhazia, and the use of the name “Albania” implies a confusion in the author's mind arising from the application of this name by Classic writers to eastern Georgia and ‘Aran (the lower reaches of the Kura, now known as Azerbaijan). Again Zuiria would seem to be Circassia (which is called Zicchia by Venetian and Genoese writers).

2. p. 139.—“The Araxes rises . . . in that part of the mountains which is called Periard.” Don Juan, like Strabo and other writers on the geography of the Caucasus, confuses the sources of the Araxes and the Kura. It is clear from a further reference to the “Periard” mountains (p. 141) that Don Juan has in mind in the later context the Gurian-Meskhian chain, part of which, to the north-west of Akhaltzikhé, are called by Wakhush't, Persati. The mountains to which Don Juan refers as being at the sources of the Araxes are surely

the Dêvé Boyun (in Georgian Devaboina mountains). Mount Aba (or Abus) would be Palantoken Dagh. It is worth noting—in view of the number of Georgians in the Persian army from whom the author must have taken details of his toponomy—that the Karga Bazar mountains, running north of and parallel to the upper Araxes, and at right angles to the Dêvé Boyun, are called by the Georgians Irajlus.

3. pp. 139, 144 *et seq.*—"The city of Eres" and "the Kanak river." The name "Eres" is very puzzling. Mr. le Strange, following literally the text of Don Juan, necessarily places "Eres" below the confluence of the Araxes with the Kura (presumably near the site of the little town of Jevat on modern maps). There is no great historical site in this area, although nearly a hundred miles to the north-west is the village of Barda'a, a place which was famous as the centre of Arab power in the Caucasus in the ninth century, and which in earlier centuries, under the name of Pertav, was the capital of the half-Armenian kingdom of Aghovanq. The text on page 144, when compared with that on page 139, indicates that Don Juan's knowledge of the location of "Eres" was confused. Lala Mustafa Pasha (p. 144) advanced from Tiflis "to the base of the mountains" of Kakheti, where he was met by ambassadors of the king Iskender Leventoghlu (Alexander, son of Levan). After receiving a safe conduct from Alexander, the Turkish army marched for twelve days "through marsh lands and cane-brakes" and at last reached the borders of Shirvan, where they were met by "people from the city of Shaki" who promised obedience of "all the tribes whose abode lay along the banks of the river Kanak". The town of Nukha was the capital of the Khanate of Shaki, and Nukha is therefore presumably "the city of Shaki". The river Alazan was the march between the Mussulmans of the Shirvan province (of which Shaki formed part) and the Georgian principality of Kakheti, and, according to Brosset, who quotes the historians Arakel of Tabriz and Iskandar Munji as authorities, the Alazan was known to the Muslims as the Kanak. (Brosset, *H. de la G.*, 2ième part., 1ière livr., p. 414.) After a foraging party had been destroyed by the Persians, Lala Mustafa, by a forced march, surprised the main Persian army, and surrounded them in a peninsula lying between the rivers Araxes and Kanak". Here it would seem that Don Juan is again confusing the Araxes with the Kura, and that the action took place on the peninsula formed by the junction of the Alazan (Kanak) with the Kura or, a few miles higher, where the Yora—a stream running parallel with the Kura—falls into the Alazan

before the latter joins the Kura. That this was the location of the battle seems to me beyond doubt. Of the Persian commanders, we read that Imam Quli Khan escaped to Ganja less than thirty miles away; Sharaf Khan to Nakhchevan, in a straight direction south-west of Ganja, and Toqmaq to Erivan, south-east-east of Ganja. The natural line of retreat for a Persian army, defeated at a point below the junction of the Araxes and the Kura, would have been Ardabil.

The identity of the Kanak appears to be clear, but that of "Eres" is not so apparent. There is, however, on Wakhush't's map of Kakheti (published by Brosset in *Description Géographique de la Géorgie*, Georgian text with French translation, Spb. 1842), a small place about thirty miles to the east of the Alazan, and the same distance to the north of the Kura. Brosset transliterates the name Aréchi—that is Aresh, with the Georgian termination "i" added. This is no doubt the Aresch mentioned by von Hammer (*Hist.*, French ed., viii, 86), although the German historian appears to me to fail to identify the Kanak. von Hammer (vii, p. 391) quotes the Turkish historian Ali as giving a list of fourteen Sanjaks in the province of Shirvan, of which two were Aresh and Kabala. Kabala, near Shamakhi, was an important town in the early Middle Ages, and was sadly pillaged by Tamerlane. Ali is evidence for the survival of Kabala as an important town at the end of the sixteenth century, although in recent times no trace of it remained, and it has only recently been excavated under the auspices of the Society for the Exploration of Azerbaijan (see their *Izvestiya (Bulletin)* No. 4). It is very probable that Aresh, like Kabala, completely disappeared and ceased to be inhabited during the severe devastation of Shirvan and Kakheti by Shah Abbas I in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. A similar fate overtook a number of important Georgian towns, like Samshwildé in Samkheti and Vardis-tzikhé in Imereti. During the Turko-Persian War Aresh must have been a point of considerable strategic importance, since it lay on the line of a Turkish march from Tiflis to Shamakhi and Derbend, and when held, would guard the Turkish flank towards Ganja and Erivan. At the same time Aresh in Turkish hands would threaten the flank of a Persian advance from Ardabil to Shamakhi.

4. pp. 140-4.—*Don Juan's six princes.* The Georgian Kingdom had collapsed over a hundred years before the events recorded by our author, and the country had been divided into three independent kingdoms and a number of smaller principalities. The kingdoms were

Kartli, capital Tiflis; Kakheti, capital Grémi; and Imereti, capital Kutais. These three kingdoms were ruled by branches of the Bagratian family; in Kakheti and Kartli were established descendants of the last king of all Georgia, Alexander (died 1442). A collateral branch, descended from a bastard of King Giorgi IV (1212-23), ruled in Imereti.

The most powerful principality and rival of the Bagratid kingdoms was Samtskhé or Meskhia, comprising the region of the upper Kura and the middle Chorokh, with a capital at Akhaltzikhé. Samtskhé was ruled by "atabegs" of the family of Jaqeli, and it was sometimes called Saatabago—i.e. "the atabeg's country."

Between the territory of the atabegs and Imereti was the small principality of Guria, ruled by the family of Wardanidzé with their seat at Ozurgeti. The Wardanidzés were known by the toponymic of Gurieli, and they were dependent on the Imerian kings.

The north-western part of Imereti—Mingreli—was ruled by the Dadianis, whose seat was at Zugdidi and who were also vassals of the kings of Imereti.

Lastly, the Shamkhal of Tarku, who is often referred to by Don Juan and by the Turkish historians quoted by von Hammer, ruled over a large part of North-East Daghestan, his territory extending along the Caspian coast between the Samur and the Sulak. The family was old-established and powerful, dating back to the early Middle Ages. The Shamkhal of Don Juan played an important part in contemporary Persian politics, and his son, in 1594, was sufficiently strong to annihilate an army of 7,000 Russians on the Sulak (see Baddeley *Russian Conquest of the Caucasus*, pp. 8-9).

The Georgian notables referred to by Don Juan, may, I think, be identified as follows, from the Georgian provincial histories and from Brosset's genealogical trees (published in *H. de la G.*, 2ième partie, lière livr.):—

(1) *Samtskhé-Saatabago*.—Dédis-Imédi (Princess Desmit of Don Juan, Dédé Semid of von Hammer), was the widow of Kai-Khusrau II, atabeg of Samtskhé (died 1575) and daughter of Bagrat, Prince of Mukhran, an uncle of Luarsab I of Kartli (died 1558). She was, therefore, a cousin and *not* the widow of Don Juan's Prince Lavarza. Dédis-Imédi had three sons, who all subsequently became atabegs; (1) Quarquaré V, who died in 1582; (2) Manuchar II (Manuchihr) who married Helen, daughter of Simon I of Kartli and died in 1614; and (3) Béka III, who, after poisoning his nephew Manuchar III,

son of Manuchar II, succeeded in 1625, as a Turkish nominee under the name of Safar Pasha (died 1635). Quarquaré is the Alexander of Don Juan and the Gregory of von Hammer (see Brosset, *H. de la G.*, II, i, Add. II, p. 412, note 2).

(2) *Kartli*.—Luarsab I of Kartli, a great-grandson of Alexander, last king of all Georgia, died in 1558. He is Don Juan's Lavarza or Labassap. Luarsab had by Tamara, daughter of King Bagrat III of Imereti, amongst several children (1) Simon I of Kartli (b. 1537), who married Nestan Darejan, a daughter of Levan II of Kakheti, by the daughter of an earlier Shamkhal. Simon became a Mussulman under the name of Mahmud (as was the custom of many Georgian princes, cf. Chardin, Tournefort, etc.); was taken prisoner by the Turks in 1600 and died in 1611; (2) Simon's younger brother David (Dau'd Khan) ruled Kartli in substitution for Simon in 1569. He fled to Constantinople in 1578 and died soon afterwards.

(3) *Kakheti*.—Iskandar Leventoghlu, is Alexander II, son of Levan II (Leo), King of Kakheti, and a descendant of Alexander, last king of all Georgia. Alexander was born in 1527, succeeded in 1574, and died in 1605. His younger brother Iésé (Isa Khan) had married a niece of Shah Tahmasp.

(4) *Imereti*.—"The powerful Georgian prince named Bashachuk" was Giorgi II, King of Imereti (1548-85). Brosset, who criticizes von Hammer's account of the war, indicates that (*H. de la G.*, II, i, p. 411, note 2) the name Bashachuk applied by the Turks to the Imerians meant "Bald Pates" (bash-chuplak), presumably because the Imerians and Mingrelians shaved their heads (cf. Josaphat Barbaro and other travellers).

(5) Don Juan's Prince Gori is doubtless Giorgi II (Gurieli, i.e. Prince of Guria) who died in 1600, having spent four years in exile in Constantinople (1583-7). He had no son Yusuf, but one who succeeded as Mamia II, and who may have been known by the Mussulman name of Yusuf. Another son, Malakia, became Catholicos of Abkhazia.

5. *The Turkish Invasion of Georgia* (pp. 140-3).—After defeating Toqmaq Khan at Childir (Chaldir) between the lake of that name and Kars,¹ Lala Mustafa Pasha in August, 1578, advanced by Kieder

¹ On the same ground where the great battle was fought between the Byzantine Emperor Basil Bulgaroktonos and King Giorgi II of Kartli-Abkhazia in the autumn of 1021. (See Schlumberger, *L'Épopée Byzantine*, ii, chap. xi.)

Gul (Chaldir Gol) to Arkikelek (Akhalkalaki) which had already been occupied by his advance-guard. Here he was joined by Manuchar Jaqeli, and—instead of marching to Akhaltzikhé and following down the Kura through the Borjom defile—the Turkish commander with his Georgian guide passed by Pervana Gul (Lake Toporovan—in Georgian *iba-parvana*, “butterfly lake,”) and descended upon Jurji-Qal’ah (Gori) by the paths through the Trialetian mountains. The reference to the ruins of Triala (i.e. Trialeti—the name of the adjoining mountains) may be to the celebrated town of Samshwîldé in the neighbouring valley of the Ktzia. From Gori, Lala Mustafa had an easy march to Tiflis. In his rear the Jaqelis, who had been engaged during the previous two years in a struggle against the Persians, captured and delivered to the Turks the remaining Meskhian fortresses, which were held for the Shah by Kokola Shaliqashvili, a nephew of the late Shah Tahmasp’s Georgian wife (Brosset II, i, p. 216 *et seq.*).

6. *Other Names*, pp. 138–75.—(1) p. 140. “The Georgian prince Salmas” may be Koiar Amilakhori, who delivered Ardahan to the Turks. (2) “The Lake of Essekia” may well be Lake Gök Chai, as Mr. Le Strange suggests, since the valleys of the Borchalu and the Akstafa at the northern head of the lake, were always two of the main routes of invasion into Georgia. In the region of the former river were the two fortresses of Tomanis (Dbanis) and Lori, which are mentioned so frequently in Don Juan’s pages. The author’s statement that Lake Essekia was on the marches of the Prince of Bashachuk (Imereti) and Prince Gori (Gurieli) is, of course, wide of the mark. (3) p. 142. The Perekorsks are the Perekop Tatars, a name by which contemporary writers frequently referred to the Tatars of the Crimea. (4) p. 153. The Shamkhal of Tarku was not a Christian, but a Mussulman. (5) pp. 174–5. Altun Qal’ah = Akhaltzikhé. It is difficult to understand Don Juan and the Turkish sources quoted by von Hammer employing this form, particularly as later Turkish writers use the form Ahiska. Qal’ah is a literal translation of “tzikhé”. But “akhali” in Georgian means “new”, and “altun” is “gold” in Turkish. The city was wealthy, deriving much profit from the slave-trade, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century the population was estimated at 40,000 (see Lynch, *Armenia: Travels and Studies*, i, p. 68). Probably the Turkish “altun” is an approach to “akhali”. (6) p. 174–5. Kliska, I am unable to identify. It may be Khertvis, a stronghold on the way from Akhalkalaki to

Akhaltzikhé, or possibly a point on the direct way from the latter place to Ardahan.

7. *Georgians at the Persian Court.*—The presence of large numbers of Georgians at the Persian Court and in the Persian service is a phenomenon which dates from Sassanian times. The Georgian and Persian royal houses frequently intermarried, and Georgian princes held important positions such as the governorships of Isfahan and Herat. Don Juan (p. 209) notes that Shah Abbas soon after his accession "took into his service to form his bodyguard 12,000 Georgians, renegades", and Chardin states that "there is scarce a Gentleman in Persia, whose Mother is not a Georgian or a Circassian Woman; to begin with the King who commonly is a Georgian or a Circassian by the Mother's side" (Chardin, Argonaut ed., pp. 183-4). There is not space here to enquire into the complicated question of the Persian Succession, to which reference is made in Chapter iv of Book II of Don Juan. It is worth noting, however, that the Shamkhal was not "a Georgian noble" as described by Don Juan, but the head of the Turcoman and Sunni party (see von Hammer, French ed., vii, pp. 70 *et seq.*), and he was opposed at court by the Georgian relations of Shah Tahmasp's wife, the mother of Shah Khudá-banda, who was a daughter of Othar Shaliqashvili, a powerful noble of Samtzhé. Haydar Mirza was a nominé of the Georgian party, and Isa Khan, his relative, was none other than Iésé, the younger brother of Alexander, and the favourite of the dead Shah Tahmasp (see p. 142). Haydar was murdered at the instance of the Shamkhal, who then raised to the throne Ismail—a youth suspected by his father of Sunni tendencies (cf. also Brosset II, i, p. 34, note 7). Ismail was murdered in 1578, and was succeeded by the blind Shah Khudá-banda, grandson of Othar Shaliqashvili. The influence of the Shaliqashvilis at Qazvin had been strong in the declining years of Shah Tahmasp, and it was the execution of his brother-in-law, Waraza Shaliqashvili, by Dédis-Imédi, which caused Shah Tahmasp to ravage Samtzhé in 1574 (cf. Brosset, *H. de la G.*, II, i, p. 154). Shah Khudá-banda was dominated by his Shaliqashvili mother, and her hostility to the Jaqelis may explain the readiness of Dédis-Imédi and her sons to side with the Turks.

In Kartli king Simon had in 1569 been deposed by Shah Tahmasp in favour of his brother David (Da'ud Khan), a dissipated and futile individual. Simon had been imprisoned at Alamut (Qahqahah) and had been subsequently liberated by Shah Ismail, presumably

because he was considered hostile to the Shaliqashvili faction (1576). After the failure of David to offer effective resistance to the Turks, and with the invasion of Shirvan by Lala Mustafá, the Persian Court decided to profit by the military capacity and courage of Simon. According to the History of Kartli "as Shah Khudá-banda was taking no measures, his mother, who was daughter of Othar Shaliqashvili, wrapped a sword in a woman's veil, and sent it to King Simon, according to the Georgian custom, with the message, 'Take which you will of the two, and go into your country to make war against the Turks.' " Simon was given 9,000 tumans and all the Georgian prisoners, and entering Georgia in the autumn of 1578 he recaptured Lori, Gori, and other places from the Turks. His brother David fled to Stambul, where he died soon afterwards (Brosset II, i, pp. 35-7).

ON W. SCHMIDT'S MUNDA-MON-KHMER COMPARISONS.
(DOES AN "AUSTRIC" FAMILY OF LANGUAGES EXIST?)

By W. F. DE HEVESY

W. SCHMIDT has established, as is well known, a new family of human speech, termed by him the "Austrie" family. It was constituted by joining an "Austronesian" and an "Austroasiatic" group of languages; the latter term was coined by Schmidt when he found that the Mon-Khmer and some other languages of the East are kindred to the Munda languages of India.

Schmidt's treatise on the matter was declared by some scholars to be "masterly", whereas others, so Przyluski, advised reserve.¹ As a matter of fact, the existence of an "Austrie" family of languages—the most widely diffused on earth—is actually uncontested.

That the morphology and the grammar of the Munda and the Mon-Khmer languages are quite different, is admitted by W. Schmidt himself.² Thus he based the relationship upon some similarities in phonetics, on the use of infixes in both languages, and on the results he obtained by comparing words.

We do not intend to deal here either with the errors Schmidt has made concerning the first point, nor with the fact that the part played by the infixes is somewhat different in the Munda and Mon-Khmer groups; at present we shall occupy ourselves only with his word-comparisons.

And even here we shall desist from disclosing the numerous comparisons which have no value, either because he was comparing onomatopœics, or because the compared Santali words are not original, but borrowed ones. W. Schmidt has undertaken to show that many Santali words are nothing else but some prefixed forms of Mon, Khmer, Bahnar, Stieng, Khasi, and Nicobar bases, and for the Santali ones he used Campbell's dictionary³; *our exclusive purpose at the present is to show that with no other means but the same dictionary the contrary of his conclusions can be proved just as well, i.e. that the words Schmidt presumed to be prefixed forms are suffixed ones, having absolutely nothing to do with the Khmer, etc., words he quotes.*

¹ In Meillet's *Les Langues du Monde*.

² A notable one, the placing in Munda of the genitive in front instead of postponing it, like all the other compared languages. W. Schmidt tried to explain by an influence exercised by the surrounding Dravidian and Tibeto-Burman tongues.

³ A. Campbell, *A Santali-English Dictionary*, Pokhuria, 1899.

And it will astonish many, just as it has surprised the writer, that at least in some cases this has not occurred to W. Schmidt himself.

The numbers in brackets quoted before the comparisons are the numbers of Schmidt's word-groups, as they appear in his celebrated work, *Die Mon-Khmer-Völker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens* (Braunschweig, 1906). We shall use the same abbreviations as he does there, and shall write for Khmer Khm, Mon M, Bahnar B, Stieng S, Khasi Kha, and Nicobar N. Where he has altered Campbell's spelling we shall accept Schmidt's transcription.

1. (288) *milap* concord, harmony, agreement, reconciliation, was connected by W. Schmidt with B *lāp* sufficient, suitable.—But Campbell's dictionary could show him also *mil* affection, regard, fondness, harmony, agreement, absence of friction, friendship, *milqu* to mix, to unite, to reconcile, to cause concord, to get, to receive, *milug*, *milwa* desire, affection, fondness, regard, *mili misi* concord, harmony, agreement, to consult, to scheme; thus there is no case for a root *lāp*.¹

2. (256) *gorom* warm, hot was connected with S *ram* hot, tepid, S *mram* tepid, further (on Schmidt's p. 146) with M *gra'* overripe, B *dra* to dry on the fire, in the sun, Kha *śrah* pink, yellow-brown.—The dictionary shows also *garmao*, *gharmao* to become heated, to perspire, to warm to one's work, to exert oneself, to wake up, as a lazy man to work, *garma garmi* to become heated, to perspire through exertion, *gormi*, *garmi* gonorrhœa, or any urethral discharge: all pointing towards a root *gor* instead of a root *ram*.

3. (212) *gomok* together, in a body, *gomkao* to assemble, to gather together, all together, in a body || S *māk* much, ? Khm *mak* to come, to approach.—The Santali words have no connection with *mak*, their root is *gom*, as shown by *gham ghum* all together, in a crowd, with a rush, *gomka gumki* all together, in a body, unanimously, *guma gumi* together, united, *gamke* united or grown together, as two fruits, fingers, etc., *gamka gumki* in company, in knots, in a gang, in a party, in a group, *gomble* to assemble, to make into a bunch, *ghumblai* (*mente*) in a body, in a covey, all together as one.

4. (276) *aloč-paloč* wearied, worn out, exhausted || Kha *loit* to set free, to separate, N *et-lōč* the shed skin of a snake, N *et-lqč-hang*

¹ As was said in the introduction, we shall not examine here if *milap* or any other word quoted by Schmidt is really Santali or borrowed (e.g. Aryan).

to shed the skin.—Campbell's *alapala* to be wearied, to be tired, to be worn out, as with illness, work, etc., *ala*, *ali* tired, wearied, run down mentally and physically, *alap-alap* to be fatigued, to be exhausted, to be worn out, faint, etc., show that we are faced with suffixed forms of a root which has nothing to do with the "shed skin of a snake", the *et-lôé* of Nicobar.

5. (324) *husiar* intelligent, cautious, smart, sly || Khm *sasier* to walk carefully, B *ser* to advance imperceptibly, S *siër* to pass before, Kha *sia* craftily.—*husiar* is a suffixed form of *hus*, *hos* consciousness, sense.

6. (55) *kečak* to break, to break off a piece, a piece; to be finished, to be ended || Khm *čāk* to let off, to leave.—On the next page of the dictionary *kečet* to break, to break into pieces, to smash, to break off, makes a root *keč* evident.

7 (258) *saprum* completely, fully, entirely || M *rū* enough.—*sabar* to finish, to complete, to put the finishing touches on, *sabit* to be perfect, to be complete, perfect, complete, excellent, *supot* good, excellent, *subitg* well, excellent, opportune, convenient, make any connection with a root *rū* more than doubtful.

8. (156) *hədui-hədui* shaggy, bushy, as hair || Khm *kanduy* tail, Kha *snoh-lyndui* hanging down.—See in the dictionary *hodgo* hairy, shaggy. Thus the root is *had*, no connection existing with a root *dui*.

9. (303) *lever-lever* to shake up and down, to move up and down, opposite moving from side to side as a pendulum || B *uör* to stir ("herumschütteln").—A few lines higher the dictionary shows also *lewe-lewe* to shake, to tremble, to be loose, to be afraid, to bend slightly; further, we read *lewak-lewak*, *lawak-lawak* and *lawañ-lawañ* to shake, to hang dangling, to jerk up and down, to spring, to vibrate. Thus the connection with *uör* does not exist.¹

10. (316) *qsiť* to die down, as plants in winter, to be exhausted, to unwind, *peset-peset* unpalatable, insipid, unappetizing, unrelishable, *siť* to be exhausted, finished, nothing remaining (as in "the water is dried up") || Khm *mesiet* valueless, Khm *set* pale colour, Khm *pənsiet* entirely abandoned.—The root of *qsiť* appears also in *osok* to become emaciated, to become lean, and in *usqť* to be exhausted, as soil, insipid, as food, faded, as flower, to lose strength; in *usťqha* exhausted,

¹ No phonetic change of *r* to *k* or *h* is known in Santali. On the other hand *h* as terminal sound becomes often *k*, e.g. *mañ* = *mak* to cut, *cañ* = *cať* why, *noñ* = *noť* a little, etc.

insipid, faded.—*peset* has perhaps the same root as *basi* stale, fusty, *baske* left over the previous meal, fusty, stale, unfinished.—*sit* is connected with a “drying up”, as shown by *sitha* tasteless, weak, pithless, dry, juiceless, exhausted, as soil, *sithoé* to be over dry. Thus only a connection of *sit* with Khm *set* is possible. i.e. the latter may be a loan-word in Khm.

11. (42) *digié* to misgive, to doubt, to bode ill, to suspect; to offend || Khm *daŋgié* to injure (“verletzen”, but the Khm word means “to collide”), B *gōgek* to tickle.—It is regrettable that W. Schmidt has not noticed in the very next line of the dictionary *digdha* doubt, suspicion, uncertainty; further *digak* to be in doubt; doubtful, uncertain; proofs for a root *dig* instead Schmidt's *gié*, *gek*.

12. (56) *lecoḵ* one leg injured, to limp on one foot, *locoḵ-locoḵ* to spring up and down, as anything long and pliant if unsupported, to shake; to vibrate, springy || Khm *khéak* to limp.—For *locoḵ-locoḵ* a second form appears in the dictionary, *locoe-locoe*; for *lecoḵ* we find *lačak-lučuk* not to put the ball of the foot to the ground when walking owing to the presence of a sore, thorn, etc. Thus no connection with a root *čak* exists.

13. (90) *četaḵ* to slap || M *tak* to strike, Khm *taṭok* “battre la crécelle” (to sound a rattle).—The root is undoubtedly the onomatopœic *čet*, *čaṭ*. See *čatač-čutuč*, *čitaṭ-čaṭet* noise produced by slippers hitting the heel when walking (imitative), *čaṭok-čaṭok* sound as of a dog lapping, *ceṭ-ceṭ* sound of cracking or rending.

14. (342) *buhel* to flow, to float away, *hehel* to wear away (as rats eat up a place); to wash or float away, as dirt, dust, froth, etc., on or mixed with, water || Khm *hel* to swim, M *hī* to drift, to swim.—At first sight the connection appears as a very convincing one. But the root of *buhel* is also found in *bohi* flowing, *bohao* to be floated away; to blow as wind; to run, as the king's writ, *baḥi* flowing, running, as opposed to stagnant, *buhī daḵ* running water, etc.—*hehel* (*hehelok*) seems to be the so-called repetitive form of a Santali *heṛ* to wear away, to trim, prune.

15. (339) *bohor-bohor* rippling sound of water || Khm *hūr*, S *hor* to flow, Kha *tüid hur-hur* gurgling (of water).—The root is the same which we saw in the preceding group.

16. (115) *ḍaṭom* to seize with the claws or pincers as crabs, scorpions, etc. || S *tam* to seize, to hold, M *tūm* a trap.—Two lines higher one can read in the dictionary *ḍaṭo* the claws or pincers of crabs. Thus no connection exists with a root *tom*, the root is *ḍaṭ*.

17. (82) *ḍaṭo* the claws or pincers of crabs, etc. || B *bōta* instrument for the removing of the grains from cotton.—See the preceding group.

18. (99) *koṭeṭ* to break by striking with something, as a stone with a hammer; to rupture by beating the seminal ducts instead of castration, *oṭeṭ* to open, to gape, as a ripe pod, or as roasted grain, with or without a noise, to burst, *peṭeṭ* to snip off, to break off, to break off with the fingers, to nip off, as a twig or small branch, *seṭeṭ* to husk dhan the first time || M *tak*, to burst, Khm *tāc*, *tēc* rent, fracture, B *kōtek*, S *tēc* to break, N *tēk-haṇa* to tear (cloth), N *tōk-ṇa* to break (rope, cane), N *et-taṭ-haṇa* to husk, Kha *ptāid* to open, to separate.—

All this also looks at first very striking, but *koṭeṭ* is a suffixed form of an onomatopœic *koṭ* as shown by *kuṭam* to hammer, to drive in or give a blow with a hammer or mallet, to fell as an ox, *koṭok* to tap a piece of burning wood, to knock off the ashes, *koṭap* to rap, to make a rapping or tapping sound, etc.—*oṭeṭ* is a suffixed form of the root *oṭ*, as shown by *oṭak* to remove, to put out of the way, to uncover, to open, as a book, to remove a covering, lid, etc., to turn over.—*peṭeṭ* has a root *peṭ* (probably an onomatopœic also), as shown by *petes* applied to any short clicking or cracking sound, *poṭak* to strip off or remove the outer covering, as the bark of a tree; to break or injure a smooth surface, as a flower, etc.; to rub off, peel off, or remove a portion, as of the skin; to bare, as a field of its crop, grass, etc., *phuṭ* to separate, to break off from, to be unpaired, to become odd, as one of a pair, the other having died, *phaṭ* (*mente*) with a sound as of a tear, split or crack.—*seṭeṭ* is the same as *seteṭ* to pierce, to penetrate. Thus nothing remains of Schmidt's whole group to prove a connection with Khm etc. words.

19. (117) *kuṭam* to hammer, to drive in or give a blow with a hammer or mallet, to fell, as an ox || Khm *tā* to hammer, to forge, S *tām* to knock oneself (really, to butt, as oxen), B *tēm* to hammer, to forge, Kha *tem* to beat. See the preceding group; further *koṭa* to shake, knock or brush, *kuṭasi* a hammer; the Santali word has nothing common with a root *tam*.

20. (31) *ḍakar-ḍakur* (Campbell gives *ḍakar-ḍukur*, *dakar-dukur*)¹ to shake, to jolt, to waddle, *ṭakur* (Schmidt's to hang loosely, but I

¹ Rev. P. O. Bodding, the greatest authority for Santali, informs us that Campbell's dictionary is far from being a safe guide for a separation of the pure dentals and the cacuminals. Further the rendering of the vowels is not always reliable.

could not find the word in Campbell) || B *kōkōr* to be anxious, S *kur* to knead, to jostle.—No connection with B and S; the Santali root is the onomatopœic *ḍak, dak, ḍuk, duk*, as shown by Campbell's *ḍhakar-ḍhokor, dhakar-dhokor* to wobble, to roll or heave when walking, to lift up the whole side with foot, *ḍhakar-ḍhokor* the sound produced by shaking anything as a door, etc., rattling, *dhakué* to have sexual intercourse, to copulate; to shake the loins, *ḍekrɛ* to loosen by shaking, as a post fixed in the ground, *dhak-dhak, dhak dhakoḵ* to palpitate, throb, go pit-a-pat, flutter, etc.

21. (33) *dakal-dakal* to move the body, as Santali girls when dancing; to shake, as when sitting in a fast train; to move, as the adipose tissue on the bodies of some fat women || B *hōkol* strongly heaving waves, N *ṣkal-haṭa* to dart (snake).—A root *kal* cannot come into question; the root is probably the same as shown for the preceding group, an interchange of the terminal *r* and *l* is as common in Santali as in many other languages.

22. (41) *dagaḵ-dagaḵ* by jerks, by switches || Khm *guk* little cuffs, S *ḡok* to give a cuff.—No connection exists with a root *guk, gok*; as shown by *dagar-dagar* by jerks, jerkingly, *dagmagao* to shake, confuse; to be dizzy. (Perhaps the same root as in the two preceding groups.)

23. (269) *sorloḵ* to run into, to pierce, as a thorn or any other sharp pointed object, to enter craftily || N *kaḷok-haṭa* to pierce through the heart, ? M *luk* to run against somebody.—The Santali root is *sor*, as shown by *suruḷ* to insert, to go into or among, to bore his way, *suruḥ* to bore a hole in a rock for blasting, a hole bored in a rock for blasting, *sursa* a disease affecting cattle, perforation of palate.

24. (240) *suruḥ* || Khm *rūḥ*, to excavate, to hollow, S *ruḥ* a cavern, S *čōndruḥ* bore-worm, M *karoḥ* a groove.—The root is *sur* and not *ruḥ*, as shown by the previous group.

25. (311) *gusuḥ-gusuḥ* alone and silent || Kha *sāt-suḥ* deep solitude.—Campbell's parallel form *gusur-gusur* contradicts any such connection.

26. (170) *bunum* a white ant-hill || Khm *bhñā* mountain, hill.—The examples in Campbell, such as *bunum dhopo* an ant-hill (where *dhopo* is a hillock), and *bunum cṅga* the queen white ant (where *cṅga* is mother), prove that *bunum* does not refer to the "mountain" but to the insect.

27. (166) *ḍulḍul* globular, in form like an air-bubble, globular and hollow; swim of fish || B *dōḍul* float in the air ("schweben in der

Luft").—"Swim of fish" has here nothing to do with "float in the air", but with the air bubbles which characterize the former.

28. (145) *hudiñ* small, young || Khm *dén* dwarf, monster ("Missgeburt"), B *deñ*, *södeñ* little finger, little toe, Kha *dain* to cut off ("abschneiden").—The entry *huđu huđuđ*, a very small quantity or piece, points towards *huđ* as the root.

29. (229) *gayum* to finish, all, the whole, stump and rump || B *hōium* to collect, to amass.—But in connection with *gayum* Campbell also quotes *gayup*.

30. (29) *tulkup* short and branchy, as a tree; to bend, as ears of grain, when ripe; short, as hair || B *kūp* to bend the head profoundly, S *kup* to overthrow.—A few lines further *tulpa*, *tulpi*, having short hair; low and short branched, as a tree, bring the proof for a root *tul*.

31. (297) *lerwa* to bend over or down, to sulk || Khm *khue* to alter ("ändern"), Khm *panwe* to turn oneself away from, B *uē* to twist, cross-wise.—Campbell quotes *lerwa*, and at the same time also *lepwaḵ* to incline to one side of the neck, *lirug* to bend over, backwards or downwards, *larea* crooked, applied to trees, *lorkoḵ* to hang down, as the head of a child who can't hold its neck stiff, instances which point towards a root *ler* instead of a root *we*, *uē* as supposed by Schmidt.

32. (39) *digo-dogo* lazy, slothful; a sluggard || B *gū* to wait.—Campbell's *dogdog*, *dogdого* heavy, indisposed to move, as one who has gorged himself with food, *dogdого* a feeling of want of elasticity in the body, languid, inert, as one gorged with food; to lounge about, prove that no connection with a root *gū* exists.

33. (225) *tomol-daḵ* to be wearied, worried, bothered, annoyed || B *mōl* in a bad temper.—*tomol*, *tumul* means marrow and *daḵ* water; *tumul dakentæa* his marrow has become water, he has become enfeebled, wearied.

34. (265) *tele* to gather with the hand and put back into the mortar the rice or other grain which has escaped when being husked, cleaned, or pounded || Khm *prelēh* to collect in handfuls, B *leh*, *pleh* to collect and detach, S *plēh* to collect, N *hālēah-hatq* to search.—Thus *tele* is in some way "to refill". Campbell quotes *thul* to complete, to get ready, entire, complete, undiminished, *thele-thele* ample, more than sufficient, as food, *ṭulṭulao* full to the brim, *ṭolṭolao*, *ṭilṭilao* to be superabundant, to be tense, to be congested, to be more than enough, etc. It is evident that no connection with a root *leh* exists.

35. (238) *laruñ-laruñ*, *laruñ-laruñ* to dangle, to hang loosely, as the tongue of a bell, or the loose coupling of a waggon, to sway back-

wards and forwards, as the tongue of a bell || Khm *añrañ*, *añruñ* to dangle, S *ērañ* in suspense, Kha *ñyarañ* to move hither and thither.—As we see, Schmidt takes the Santali words for prefixed forms of the roots *rañ*, *ruñ*. But it may be inferred from Campbell's *larṇuṇ* to hang loosely, to dangle; to move or bend as a limb, *laru* the tongue of a bell, *lira-loṛo* loosely, as well as from many other instances, that *lar* is the root.

36. (37) *dekhīt* with eyes open, deliberately || Khm *khīt* to fix, to determine.—Compare with *dekhense* let me see, *dekhaok* to be seen, to appear, to come into view.

37. (152) *landup* to fall in, to collapse || M *diip* to get aground, as a ship, Khm *dāb* low, below.—One line higher stands *landur* to fall, to collapse. See further *landhu* to cause to lay flat, as growing grain, grass, etc., to lay low, to break or transgress, as a law.

38. (87) *gataḥ* to stick to, to adhere, as clay to the feet || B *tok* to communicate ("sich mittheilen"), Kha *tah* to besmear, Kha *kytah* to touch.—No connection whatever with *tok*, *tah*; see *geṭke* adhesive, sticky, as wet clay.

39. (40) *tege-tege* to pull, to pull at, to pull out, as a piece of elastic || Khm *gās* to dig up ("aufgraben"), to clear away ("wegräumen"), S *gahi* outwards.—See in the dictionary *taogar* elastic, ? *ḍagor* large.

40. (216) *hamuṭ* to lie down with the arms round, to nestle, as a child in its mother's bosom || N *mut* to lie hidden.—With *hamuṭ* the form *hambuṭ* is also quoted by the dictionary.

41. (345) (*tahas*)-*nahas* to dissipate || Khm *huos* to pass beyond, M *haḥ* to overflow.—As shown by Campbell *tahas-nahas* is a jingle.

42. (77) *gañgal* (*goñgal*) anxiety, trouble, embarrassment, difficulty, strait || Khm *gal*, *gūl* hit ("Stoss"), wound (really shock).—That *gañḡ* is the root appears from *gañḡe* to stagger, faint from hunger, *ghaṇḡati* emaciated (through fever), *ghaṇḡhat*, *ghaṇḡhot* distress, worry, *goñḡe* slim, thin, poor, *goñḡroḥ* thin, slim, poor, etc.

43. (142) *deḡ* the second ploughing of a field which is across the first || Khm *kandéc* chips, splinters, Kha *daīt* to bite, to gnaw, to itch.—We find the same *deḡ* (with the *ḡ* as usually voiced) in Campbell's *doḡa* second growth, second brew. The root is the same as in the Aryan *desar*, *desra* second, another; it has nothing to do with "splinters" or with a "gnawing".

44. (331) *ḍahoḥ* envy, spite, malice || Khm *kūhok* anger, B *hok* easily inclined to anger, N *hḡḡ-ṇḡtō* to scold.—All these connections do not exist, *ḍahoḥ* is a suffixed form of *ḍah* envy, enmity, ill-will.

45. (95) *kaṭiṭ* small, insignificant, young, *čurčutuṭ* stunted, undersized, *butuṭ* short, applied to the ears of rice, oats, wheat, etc., *pedeṭ*, *pedeṭ*, *pidiṭ*-*pidiṭ* small, applied to children, *kaḍeṭ* a small twig, a piece of wood about the thickness of a lead pencil, *ḍuṭ* small, dwarfish, *ḍaṭ*-*ḍuṭ* small, young, *ḍeṭ* small || Khm *tiṭ-tuoṭ* a little ("wenig"), *tiṭ* do., *tiṭ* small ("klein"), M *ḍot* small, Kha *khyndiṭ* small, a little, Kha *khyndiṭ* a little.—

A large group indeed, and Schmidt does not fail to infer many things from it (see p. 100, footnote). But he overlooked in Campbell many words showing *kaṭ* as the root for *kaṭiṭ*, such as *koṭlo*, *kuṭli* dwarfish, *khaṭo baḥho* short and long, small and large, unequal, *khaṭo* to be short, to be in want, to be insufficient, *kaṭar* less than sufficient, *kheḍra* small, dumpy. The root of *čurčutuṭ* appears in *čoroṭho* stunted, puny, blasted, blighted, shrivelled, ? *čuruṭ* to give, or put down in small quantities, *ḡura*, *ḡurga* small, stunted in growth, etc.¹—*butuṭ* has a root *but*, the same as in *butru*, *butur* a child, *buṭra*, *buṭri* short in stature, dumpy, dwarfish, *boṭkoṭ* a low hill, a large mound, etc.—We find the root of *pedeṭ* and *pidiṭ* in *pedḡo* short, dwarfish, *peḍle* short, dwarfish, low, dumpy, and we also find for *pidiṭ*-*pidiṭ* a variant form *pidir*-*pidir*.—*kaḍeṭ* figures in Campbell also in the form of *kaḍgeṭ*, therefore the root cannot be *ḍeṭ*.—Finally the connection *ḍaṭ*, *ḍuṭ*, *ḍeṭ* and M *ḍot*, etc., can be also a fortuitous one; see Magyar *ded*, which has the same meaning, i.e. little, as a child.

46. (328) *mesal* to mix, to adulterate || Khm *rasal* violent ("heftig") movement.—Schmidt has omitted to consider on the same page and in the same column *mesao* to mix, *mesa misi* to mix, to mingle, to confuse, and on another page *misriṭ*, *misriṭ* to be mixed, as two herds of cattle, etc.

47. (219) *tirmiṭ* to twist, to squeeze or rub between a finger and the thumb || Khm *meṭ*, *miṭ* "pincer" (to pinch).—See in the dictionary *tirhol* to rub in the hands, to twist by rubbing in the palms of the hand, to rub the eyes. The root is not *meṭ*, *miṭ*, but *tir*, the same as in *tere* to anoint with oil and turmeric (i.e. to rub).

48. (266) *halak* to be ruined, to be destitute, to be in want of the necessities of life; destruction, ruin, difficulty || Khm *lāk* to abandon, to reject, N *ok-lāk-haṅ* to avoid.—Campbell's *hale dale*, *hale ḡan* to be destitute, to be in want, to be needy, necessitous, pinched,

¹ For an interchange of Santali *č* and *ḡ* see also *čaro-čoro* = *ḡor-ḡoro* dropping of water, *čumkaṭ* = *ḡomkaṭ* to assemble, *čaku-čaku* = *ḡaku-ḡaku* in crowds, etc.

straightened, perplexed, and ? *hulgr* to destroy, to consume, to lay waste, point a root *hal* and not a root *lāk*.

49. (178) *ġapit* to sleep, to close the eyes, *ġūpit* to blink with the eyes, unable to open the eyes to the full, *ĉapit* secret || Khm *pit* to cover, to lay on, Khm *pāpit* to conceal, S *pōt* to lime, to lay on, B *pit* to press on something. The Santali words are not prefixed forms of a root *pit*, they are all suffixed forms, and it suffices again merely to turn over Campbell's pages to find the proofs for it. Thus we see there *ġhap-ġhap* very sleepy, drowsy; *ġilip* to blink as one who has looked on the sun; *ĉapkaō* to crouch, to keep out of sight, *ĉapkaote* secretly, stealthily.

50. (105) *beteñ-beteñ* talkative, to snap at, to reply testily || Khm *kren tain-tain* to blab.—As shown in the dictionary by *baŋa* to blab, to blunder, etc., and *baŋaŋ-baŋaŋ* to snap at, to reply testily, the root is *bef*.

51. (94) *tatañ* (Campbell writes *tetañ*) thirst, to thirst, to be thirsty || M *thañ* thirsty, ? Kha *thañ-an* to hunger.—The root is *tet* and not *tañ*, as shown by *tetoas* to be thirsty.

52. (292) *ġolom* to plaster a wattle wall with clay || B *lōm*, *lūm* to roll up ("rollen"), to pack up, S *lōm*, *lōm* to varnish, to oil, M *slō* to cover over, to overspread, Khm *ġhlū* to clothe ("bekleiden"), to cover over.—See *ġalaŋ* to stick, to adhere, to press against.

53. (234) *ġari* to rain || M *barai* to sprinkle ("besprengen"), to scatter abroad ("ausstreuen"), Khm *brāy* to scatter, to let gush.—Campbell's dictionary, which was used by Schmidt to show all his connections, is crowded with words attesting the root *ġar*:—*ġhar-ġhar*, *ġhar-ġhar* pelting, as rain, *ġhoro-ġhoro* applied to the sound of falling or dripping water, *ġhoro-ġhoro* sound of wind and rain, *ġiri-ġiri*, *ġhiri-ġhiri* to trickle down, *ġoro* to drop, to trickle, to leak, *ġorok*, *ġorop* oozing out of water, as through the embankment of a dam, *ġhar-ġhar* to issue as water from a spring, *ġarna* a spring of water, etc.

54. (267) *mīluk-ġīluk* miserable, woebegone, wretched looking, poor and wasted || Khm *ġhluk*, *ġhlak* suffocated ("erstickt").—As stated in the introduction, we shall abstain from inquiring into the semi-scientific value of Schmidt's connections and quote exclusively Campbell's dictionary; thus we find there for *mīluk*: *mirluñ* sad, dejected, pitiable, miserable looking, and for *ġīluk*: *ġirluñ* depressed, having a sad or downcast look, emaciated, worn out, i.e. the two sources of *mīluk-ġīluk*.

55. (247) *ĉereñ* shrill, discordant, scorching, as the sun's rays ||

Khm *prān*, S *rēn*, B *sōrēn* dry, B *kren* very dry, Kha *sinrain* rotten wood.—See in Campbell *čarač-čarač* scorching, smarting (as the sun), burning, *gharla-gharli* scorching, as the heat of the sun or a fire, fierce.¹

56. (50) *raṅap* thin, slim || B *ṇāp* to sink and fall, Khm *raṇāp* to become still and to be extinguished, Kha *ṇop* to sink under. ("Original meaning of all the forms: 'to become lighter, weaker.'"—Schmidt.)—The Santali root is *raṅ*, the same as in *raḳdūn* tall, high, tall and slim, *raṅkar*, *raṅkur* high, tall.²

57. (61) *bačol* escape, salvation, rest, respite || Khm *čol* to reject ("verwerfen"), to leave in the lurch.—Campbell quotes also *bačon*. See there further *bačlao* to preserve, to save, to escape, to depend on, *baṇcao* to save, to escape.³

58. (146) *gḁut* disobedient, self-willed, obstinate, lazy || B *dōt* to hold fast, to hinder.—See *gadoṛ* disobedient, obstinate, *gandig* lazy, sluggish, slow.

59. (199) *ḁaboṭ* to restrain, to forbid, to keep under; to interdict, *ḁobot* to attach property under a warrant, to sequestrate || B *bāt*, *bāt* to embank, to press together, to hold fast, S *bat* to close up ("einschliessen"), Kha *bat* to hold fast.—The root of *ḁaboṭ* appears in the dictionary in *dob*, *dobon* to prohibit, to lay an embargo on, interdict, *dqbri* to keep under, check, scold, oppress, despise, threaten, *dqbriṭ* to restrain, to put down, to quiet, etc.—Concerning *ḁobot*, we find *ḁabod* to attach, to sequestrate, to restrain, to forbid, to distrain, *ḁabdo* to overpower, to restrain, to set down, to snub, *ḁobḁao*, *ḁobḁhao*, *ḁobdo*, *ḁabuh* to overpower, to overcome, to render powerless; as many instances for a root *ḁoh*.

60. (175) *čelpeṇ* sunk, subsided, hollow, as the bridge of the nose || Khm *pen* flat, flattened, S *pin* to press on something.—The examples brought by Campbell, as *čelpeṇ mū* a hollow nose, *čepe mū* flat-nosed, *čepe* flat, flattened, *čepre*, *čepreč* pug-nosed, flat-nosed, *čepel* flat, low, as a ridge of a rice field, are as many proofs for a root *čelp*, *čep*.⁴

61. (326) *pasar* to open, to unfold, to spread out, to distend, to expand, to increase || M *gasow* to be sloping.—But what about *pasnao*

¹ For the alteration Santali *č* = *ḡ* see footnote of No. 45.

² For the change of *n* (*ng*) to *k* see footnote of No. 9.

³ *baṇč* may be the original root: an elision of the nasals from a group of two consonants in the middle or at the end of a word is very frequent in Santali; see *čondao* = *čodao* to separate, *endre* = *edre* to be angry, *harmand* = *harmad* rascally, etc.

⁴ For the elision of the *l* see *čaple* = *čape* to float, *ḡundli* = *ḡundi* bald, *sikhḡu* = *sikhḡu* to teach, etc.

to spread, to disperse, and *pasante*, *pasanti* to spread, to scatter, to begin, to have in hand? Thus the root is clearly *pas*.

62. (327) *sisirgu* to start, to shiver, to quake with fear, *pasir* to break up and spread, as water falling on a hard surface, to fly off, as sparks, spray, to spatter, etc. || M *kasī* to tremble, Kha *s'ir* dizzy, Khm *čan'ér* to winnow, N *koši-hq̄ng* to sift grain, N *poši-nān* trouble, worry, disturb.—The root of *sisirgu* is *sisi*, see *susu-susu*, *susirgu* to chitter, the sound produced through the teeth when chattering or shivering, *sisi-sisi* to whistle through the teeth. (For the root *pas* in *pasir*, see the preceding group.)

63. (106) *hetet* to annoy, irritate, provoke; means of provoking, etc., *gotet* to touch ("berühren"), *kantet* (*kon̄tet*) to stick in the throat, to choke, *rētet*, *ridet* to crush, to jam, to squeeze || B *pōtīt* to ask urgently, S *tūt* to press, to lace ("schnüren"), Khm *tīt* to touch, to join closely, Khm *pretīt* to lace tightly, M *dūt* to rub into powder.—Not the slightest connection exists between the Santali words and the ones compared with them: it is enough to consult Campbell's dictionary to disclose it. We find there for the root of *hetet*, *het*, as shown by *hut-hut* close, oppressive, and *hantao*, *handkao*¹ to annoy, to bother, further *hudgu dugur* to annoy, trouble.—*gotet* does not appear at all in the dictionary, but I find *godak* to touch one to call his attention.—*kantet* is a suffixed form of *kanta* the throat.—The root of *rētet*, *ridet* will be disclosed by *rēt tepet* chock full, crammed, compact, packed closely, *rētepete* packed closely, crowded, pressed together, compact, *rōdōc* to squeeze out or strain by squeezing, to wring out.

64. (279) *gelen-gelen* long, tall || M *galiñ* to lengthen, M *gliñ*, N *čaliñ* long, B *ōrih-hōlīn* longevity (*ōrih* to live).—See *ghal* long, tall.

65. (298) *čewak* to break or chop, to cut through by chopping || M *kawak* a half, B *uak* space between two columns, S *uak* to keep open.—Campbell's *čewec* to break, to snap shows that the connection does not exist.

66. (89) *sātak-sutuk* sound of nibbling, ripping, dripping or dropping || Khm *tak* sound of trickling drops, N *patūk-su* to fall, to drop, M *gatak-čeh* to tumble.—*sātar-sutur* sound of nibbling, *sātpat* to make a slight noise (imitative) shows the onomatopœic *sāt* as the root.

67. (313) *gusūc*, *ghusūc* to push oneself in between, to force a way in, to make a way for oneself by pushing into or aside || B *čoc* sting of an insect, S *sūic* sting of a scorpion.—See *ghus-ghus* internally, *ghasen*, *gasen* amidst, amongst.

¹ For the elision of the nasal *a* see the footnote to No. 57.

68. (101) *sutué* to search for by feeling with the fingers or by removing or lifting small objects. (As in "He is fishing out the bits of meat".) || Khm *tuoc* to touch, to reach, sticky, Khm *tānuoc* a drop, S *atuéc* to trickle down, S *tuéc-dāk*, a drop, Kha *tūd* to flow, Kha *syntūd* slippery, sticky.—The root is *sut*. See *suthni* a little, a pinch, a grain, *sutrué* small, insignificant, ? *sutik* to inquire, ? *sutrau* to inquire, to inquire into, to investigate.

69. (86) *čotak*, *počak* to detach, to peel off ("ablösen, abstreifen") || B *tāk* to take off, to turn aside, M *khatāk* to tear away, Khm *tāk* husks (of rice).—Once more the connection is non-existent; the root of *čotak* (to peel off, to become detached, to be splintered, to be rubbed off) appears also in *čatič* to scale off, to come off in flakes; to open, as the pods of leguminous plants when ripe and the seeds fall out; (-*ač* and -*ič* being most common Santali suffixes).—*počak* (the same as seen in our No. 18) figures also in the form *počor* and no interchange of a *k* into an *r* occurs in Santali.

70. (110) *lečep-lečep* weak, only able to breathe || Khm *čiep* "avorté (fruits)", Khm *kečip* embryonal fruit.—Schmidt could see in Campbell's dictionary only two lines higher: *lečec-pečec* weak, emaciated, feeble and lean: further, this immediately in the line following, *lečep-lečep*, *lečep-pečep* weak, feeble and emaciated. Then he could read *lečrok* ill-conditioned, *lečwet* ill-conditioned, *ličir-ličir* weak, emaciated and feeble, *lačlaha* lean, emaciated, feeble, poor: as many proofs for a root *leč*, because once more no connection whatever exists with the Khmer words adduced by Schmidt.

Only the lack of space prevents us from continuing our demonstration here. Otherwise many more instances could be given of W. Schmidt's errors.

We do not want to assert that there are no common elements between Santali and Khmer, etc., etc., but they are very few; further, even a part of them relates to terms connected with the manifestations of civilization, thus they are probably loan-words.¹

As a matter of fact, W. Schmidt says in his book that he has "established beyond all doubt the intimate connection of the Munḍa languages with Nicobarese, Khasi and the Mon-Khmer languages",

¹ For instance, Schmidt's No. 1 *ek* a bow, No. 4 *uā* to plait, No. 10 *aru* a saw, No. 47 *gāta* a knot, No. 104 *teā* to weave, etc. (and even some analogous numerals need not be common, but may have been borrowed).

and that this connection is "no longer a hypothesis but a fact which claims the same degree of certainty as the connection of the Indo-Germanic tongues with each other" (page 17).

The proofs for this assertion seem to be lacking.

And since the "Austrie" family was inaugurated by Schmidt in consequence of his supposed discovery of connections with the Mun̄ḍa family, the right of existence for an "Austrie" family must also remain in suspense.

Moreover, if the family could be found to which the Mun̄ḍa languages do belong, the "Austrie" one must cease to exist.

And such is the case, since the Mun̄ḍa languages belong to the Finno-Ugrian family.

But that is for another time.

VIENNA,
July, 1930.

GLEANINGS FROM EARLY URDU POETS

III. MUHAMMAD QULĪ QUTB SHĀH, KING OF GOLKUNḌA, 1580-1611.

By T. GRAHAME BAILEY

THIS remarkable writer, the founder of Ḥaidarābād, and probably the first literary poet in the language, was the fourth king of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty which ruled in Golkunḍa, one of the five states into which the Deccan was divided after the break up of the Bahmanī kingdom. In the last number of the *Bulletin* I gave reasons for believing that he was an earlier writer than Vajhī, who in 1609 wrote the *maṣnavī* known as *Qutb Mushtarī*, in which he related a story having this very monarch for hero. Only five years after Qulī Qutb Shāh's death his works were collected by his nephew and successor. They have never been published, but the beautiful original MS. compiled under the orders of his nephew in 1616 is still in Ḥaidarābād. It consists of 1,800 pages and has perhaps 100,000 lines.

Though he lived so long ago his name is one of the greatest in Urdu. He shows wonderful human interest, for he writes of everyday matters, Hindu and Muḥammadan festivals, the customs of the country, life in his palace, the celebration of his birthday, and of natural objects such as fruit, vegetables, and flowers. The only poets who can be compared with him are Saudā and Nazir, both of whom he excels in description of nature, while in his sympathetic account of Hindu life he is superior to all other Muḥammadan poets.

I have given here translations of three poems. The first is a charming little lyric, in which he tells of his affection for a nut-brown maid; the second was written on the occasion of his birthday. The third is a love poem rather more general than the first, but not nearly so conventional as most Urdu gazals. There is a directness about it which is very attractive. His Daknī poems were written under the name of Ma'ānī.

The words between brackets in the following text are suggested emendations where the text seems to me to be faulty.

NHANĪ SĀ'OLĪ

1. *Nhanī sāvalī par kiyā hū nazar*
Khābar sab gāvākar huā be khābar.
2. *Tirā qadd sarv nīkle jab chand sō*
Dasan [disan] jot munj kū disan jyū qamar.

3. *Pavan setī hat rākhī hai āp kamar*
Sūraj cand naman jhamke vū zar kamar.
4. *Maī us nūr sō lubdīyā hū kyā 'ajab*
Do jag roshnī pāyā kis nē khabar ?
5. *Tū dūrī qarāve munje dūr the*
Vū kyā bājhe mo dil mē hai tū nagar.
6. *Mā'ānī ke bātā the jhātā namak*
Jī cākhe kahe hai namak sō shakar.
(Maḥbūb uz Zamān, 759.)

BARAS GĀTH

1. *Nabī kī du'ā the baras gāth pāyā*
Khushyā kī khabar ke damāme bajāyā
2. *Piyā hū maī Hazrat ke hat āb i kauzar*
Tū shāhā ūpar mujh kalas kar banāyā.
3. *Merā qutb tāra hai tāryā mē nājl [nājil]*
Tū mujh bar falak raṅg kā catr chāyā.
4. *Sūraj candr pī tāl hokar bajē tab*
Maṇḍal ho falak tamāmāyā bajāyā.
5. *Kare Mushtarī raqṣ muj bazm mē nīt*
Baras gāth mē Zuhra kalyān gāyā.
6. *Merā gulistā tāza is te huā hai*
Mujh is bāg the meṇā damdam khilāyā.
7. *Dinde dushmanā kū so yak jā milākar*
So ispanḍ ke mātārā karnā cāhā.
8. *Khudāyā Ma'ānī kī ummed bar lyā*
Kī jyā sāt kī meḥū te jag sab akhāyā [aghāyā]
9. *Khudā kī razā sō baras gāth āyā*
Sahī shukr kar tū baras gāth āyā.
10. *Du'ā e imāmā the mujh rāj qāim*
Khudā zindagānī kū pānī pilāyā.
11. *Gul i Muṣṭafā sete serā gundāyā*
Mujh is gul kā serā hamail banāyā.
(Maḥbūb uz Zamān, p. 752.)

PIYĀ

1. *Piyā bāj pyālā piyā jāe nā*
Piyā bāj yaktal jiyā jāe nā.
2. *Kahe the piyā bin ṣubūrī karā*
Kahyā jāe ammā kiyā jāe nā.

3. *Nahī 'ishq jis voh bayā kūr hai*
Kahī us se mil baisā jāe nā
 4. *Qutāb Shāh na de muj divāne ko pand*
Divāne ko kuc pand diyā jāe nā.

(Urdu, ii, 5, 22.)

THE LITTLE DARK GIRL

From the Divān of Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh,
 King of Golkunḍa 1580-1611

1. Mine eyes have seen a little girl's dark face
 and have become forgetful of all else.
2. Thy cypress form comes out coquettishly
 and lights appear to me like moon rays fair.
3. Swift as the wind her hands surround her waist,
 that golden waist then shines like sun and moon.
4. No wonder that her radiance conquers me,
 the light of earth and heaven : who knows it not ?
5. Thy absence drear affrights me from afar ;
 how can she know her home is in my heart ?
6. Look, salt is dropping from Ma'āni's words,
 but when one tastes, it is not salt, but sweet.

MY BIRTHDAY

Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, King of Golkunḍa

1. Through the prayer of the Prophet I've now reached my birthday
 And beaten the drums sounding forth the good news.
2. I have drunk at the hand of Muḥammad sweet nectar ;
 God therefore has made me the crown over kings.
3. The Pole star, my name star is nobler than all,
 My canopy coloured expands in the sky.
4. The sun and the moon both are clashing like cymbals
 With sky for arena and tambourines' sound.
5. There Jupiter dances to honour my birthday,
 While Venus is chanting a victory song.
6. My garden is thus overflowing with freshness,
 And furnishes fruit every hour of the day.
7. My enemies all in one place God has gathered
 And wishes to burn them like incense in fire.

8. Fulfil, O my God, all my hope's expectation,
As Thou gladdenest the earth with the soft rain of peace.
9. The favour of God has brought me my birthday,
Give true thanks to Him for thy birthday now reached.
10. Through prayers of the priests my kingdom stands firmly,
God gives me to drink of the water of life.
11. And weaving a garland of roses from Persia
Has threaded the garland on me as the cord.

LIFE IN A LOVE

By Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, King of Golkunḍa

1. Without the loved one wine cannot be drunk,
Nor without her one moment life be lived.
2. They said "Show patience absent from your love";
This can be said, but surely not be done.
3. The man who knows not love is merciless,
Never with such a one hold speech or sit.
4. I am distracted, give me no advice,
Never to such as I is counsel given.

NOTES

The royal author's fondness for indigenous words should be observed.

Nhanī Sāolī

1. *nhanī*, U. *nannhī*: *gāvākar*, losing.
3. *naman*, like: *vū*, U. *voh*: *qutb tārā*, a play on his own name.
4. *lubdyā*, connected with *lubdh*; *nē*, U. *nahī*.
5. *tū*, U. *terā*, *terī*.

Barasgāth, in later U. *sālgira*

3. *najl*, an obvious mistake. I suggest *nājil*.
 7. *ispand* seeds were burnt as incense to drive off evil spirits.
 8. *sāt* for *shāntī*.
 9. *sahī*, U. *ṣaḥīḥ*.
 11. *gul i Muṣṭafā*, for *gul i Muḥammadī*, the ordinary Persian rose. *sete* for *sefī*; *serā* for *sīhrā*.
- Piṅā*. p. 203, line 1, *kūr*, Hindi, not Persian,

EARLY URDU CONVERSATION

By T. GRAHAME BAILEY

IT is natural that records of the beginnings of Urdu should be almost entirely confined to literature or quasi literature. Yet there are two classes of books which contain references to conversation; firstly, early lives of holy men (especially in the Deccan and Gujrat), whose followers wrote accounts of their sayings and doings, occasionally quoting actual words; secondly, histories such as those by Firishta and Abu'l Fazl, in which we may find Urdu sentences spoken by emperors or kings. Urdu must often have been employed as the language of conversation in exalted circles even though the official language continued to be Persian.

In works by Maḥmūd Shīrānī, Shams Ullāh Qādrī, and the late 'Abd ul Ḥay Nadvī, a few of these early sayings are given (not always in the same form). Some can be so far verified in printed books, others are taken from MSS. and we cannot be certain of their age. However, in spite of our suspicions they have considerable interest. Exhaustive search would no doubt reveal many more. Regarding the question of date, see my note on the "Date of old Urdu Composition", in *JRAS.*, October, 1930, under "Miscellanea".

Before proceeding to the scraps of talk I give two lines, said to be found in Bābur's *Turkī Dīwān*. It will be seen that a line and a half are Urdu.

mujkā na huā kuj havaṣ mānak o moī
fuqarā ḥālina bas bulgusidur pānī o rutī

"I have no desire for gems or pearls, for (the state of) poor people sufficient are water and bread".

The MS. is in the library of the Navāb of Rāmpūr, and was written in 1529.

c. 1260. Shekh Farid ud Dīn Ganj i Shakar, d. about 1267, used to call a certain friend *bhayyā* "brother" (*Asrār ul Auliyyā*, p. 3). On being asked where intelligence dwelt he replied *bīc sir ke* "in the head" (*Malfūzāt*, p. 40).

c. 1350. Somewhere between 1325 and 1357 Khvāja Naṣīr ud Dīn Cīrāg, d. 1357, said to his *Khalifa*, comparing him with another holy man, *tum ūpar ve tale* "you are above, he is below" (*Firishta*, ii, 399).

c. 1400. A sentence by the famous Khvāja Banda Navāz is reported in *'Ishq Nāma*, the work of a disciple 'Abd Ullāh bin Raḥmān Cishtī: *bhūkō muve sū Khudā kach apartā hai Khudā kū apayne kī isti'dād hor hai* "does one reach God by dying of hunger? It is by other means that one reaches God".

Once a friend said to him: *Khvāja Burhān ud Dīn bālā hai* "Burhān ud Dīn is exalted". He answered: *pūnō kā cānd bālā hai* "the full moon is exalted".

c. 1362. According to the *Tārīkh i Fīrozī*, Fīroz Shāh Tuglaq, 1351–88, after his successful attack on Sindh, said: *barkat Shekh theā ik murā ik nahā* "by the blessing of the Shekh one died one did not".

The successors of Fīroz Shāh Tuglaq ordered the expulsion of most of the slaves brought by him from other parts of India. Many hid themselves, and when caught claimed to be inhabitants of Delhi. Like the Ephraimites of old who were asked to say *sibolet* and said *šibolet*, these men, it is said, were given a test in pronunciation. They were told to say *kharā khayī*, but were not able to say it in the same way as the true city people.

c. 1430. Quṭb 'Ālam, a famous religious leader in Gujrat, who died between 1446 and 1453, had a son called Sirāj ud Dīn. Shāh Bārak Allāh Cishtī gave Sirāj ud Dīn the name of Shāh 'Ālam. On hearing this his father remarked *Cishtīō ne pakāi aur Bukhārīō ne khāi* "the Cishtīs cooked it and the Bukhārīs ate it" (*Tuhfat ul Ikrām*, 47, 8). Quṭb 'Ālam and Shāh 'Ālam were Bukhārīs.

c. 1430. The *Mirāt i Sikandarī* records six sentences. Two are reported of Quṭb 'Ālam, who has just been mentioned. We may put their date as about 1430. Once on his way to early morning prayer he hurt his foot against a solid substance lying on the ground and exclaimed: *lohe yā lakkar yā patthar yā kyā hai* "iron or wood or stone or what is it?" It turned out to be a bit of a meteorite with the qualities of all three. When his son Shāh 'Ālam's fiancée was taken from him by Muḥammad Shāh, king of Gujrat, and her less well-favoured sister substituted, Shāh 'Ālam complained to his father who replied: *beṭā tussā naṣīb dukh vījh* "son your fate is (bound up) in both". Another version makes the last two words *dhuḍ bacca* fancifully translated as "the buffalo and the young one", or "the buffalo and the calf". This prophecy was fulfilled, for when the king died his widow went to live with her sister, Shāh 'Ālam's wife. On the death of this sister she married Shāh 'Ālam.

c. 1450. Another sentence is recorded as spoken by Shāh 'Ālam himself. Sultān Aḥmad Shāh of Gujrāt sought the life of one of the boy princes, Maḥmūd Shāh, whom Shāh 'Ālam was sheltering in his house. The king arrived unexpectedly at the house, but the saint transformed the boy into a venerable man. As the king entered Shāh 'Ālam said to the boy: *paḍh ḍokre* "recite, old man". Aḥmad Shāh, not finding the boy, went away. This Maḥmūd Shāh was king of Gujrāt from 1459 to 1511. Once on being insulted he said: *nīcī berī har kōī jhore* "every one shakes (the fruit off) a low *ber* tree".

c. 1510. To Sikandar Shah, heir apparent, and later king of Gujrāt for two and a half months, is attributed the saying: *pīr muwā murīd jogī huwā* "the saint is dead, the disciple has become a *jogī*".

c. 1535. Finally, when Bahādur Shāh of Gujrāt was betrayed by Rūmī Khā to Humāyū in 1535, his parrot fell into Humāyū's hands. It astonished and no doubt amused him by screaming, upon the announcement of Rūmī Khā's arrival: *phīṭ Rūmī Khā ḥarāmḵhor*, *phīṭ Rūmī Khā ḥarāmḵhor* "a curse on Rūmī Khā, traitor", a sentiment which he had doubtless many times heard expressed in Bahādur Shāh's palace.

Shekh Vajih ud Dīn 'Alavī, 1505-90, was another Gujrāt saint. His disciples collected his sayings into a book named *Baḥr ul Ḥaqāiq*. The following are some of them:—

c. 1570. On hearing that Shekh Faḍl Ullāh had given up teaching, he said: *jab taragqī pakrēge tab āpī dars kahēge* "when he makes more progress he will of his own initiative give lessons".

c. 1570. Another saying was: *is se hor kyā khūb hai is dunyā mē ki dīl Khudā sū mashgūl hove* "what is better in this world than that the heart should be occupied with God?"

c. 1570. Another was: *'arīf use kahvē jo Khudā sū bharyā hove* "we may call him a Knower who is full of God".

c. 1570. Again he said: *agar kisī kū thoṛī bhī ṣafā hove jo ḥarām luqma khāve yā ḥarām fī'l kare to tabīc pāve, dūje bār bhī pāve, tīje bār bhī pāve* "anyone who has even a little purity, if he eats an unlawful morsel or does an unlawful deed, he will immediately find it out, a second time also he will find it out, a third time also he will find it out".

This Vajih ud Dīn had a nephew Shāh Hāshim 'Alavī, whose sayings were collected in *Maḡsūd ul 'Āshiqīn* by a disciple. I quote

three of them. Two are unfortunately in verse, and therefore less conversational.

c. 1600.

dunyā chore shekh kahāe yih hijāb tujh bhūle nāe
dīnī shekhī sū yak maidān paile jhūle dūje shaiṭān

"If anyone leaves the world he is called a *shekh*; this world is a mere covering, do not forget that. Religiousness and *shekh*-hood make up a great plain, the former are false, the latter devils." These lines are capable of many renderings. After considering a number I have chosen the one which expresses what seems to be the most probable meaning.

c. 1600.

Hāshim jī kī sunīe bāt jinne rakkhī bāsī bhāt
uskā jāve hāte hāt

"Listen to what Hāshim says, if anyone keeps stale rice, his wealth will disappear."

bāp ke utnā deve so pūt, bāp nē deve so supūt, bāp kā dīā chīne, so kupūt "who gives as much as his father, he is a son; if the father does not give (and yet he gives) he is a good son; he who seizes what his father gives, is a bad son".

In the same book the following is quoted from Shāh Nizām ud Dīn, a pupil of Vajīh ud Dīn :—

Nizām bandagī kare to kyā hove avel jiskā nē dīl safā
jāma sūnde mē dūb rahā ose khushbū lagāe to kyā nafā

"when a man worships, then what happens, if his heart is not clean? If a garment is steeped in perfume, what is the good of putting scent on it?"

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA. For the first time critically edited by VISHNU S. SUKTHANKAR, Ph.D. . . . and illustrated by SHRIMANT BALASAHEB PANT PRATINIDHI, B.A., Chief of Aundh. Ādiparvan, fasc. 3, 4. Poona : Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1929, 1930.

In a world where "The best laid schemes o' mice an' men Gang aft a-gley" it is consoling to see a well-designed and meritorious enterprise progressing happily with a good prospect of attaining completion. In nautical phrase, Dr. Sukthankar may be said to have brought his ship into blue water, and we hope and believe that in due course after a prosperous voyage he will steer her into harbour. The present fascicules carry the text from I, xxi, 17 to I, xc, 24 ; thus it is advanced far enough to enable us to test the critical principles which the editor has followed, and it is satisfactory to observe that they fully justify themselves in the light of experience. On the basis of a careful collation of many MSS. from various regions Dr. Sukthankar has sought with untiring industry and keen critical skill to reconstruct a text which in the main, if not in details, may reasonably be regarded as the parent of the very diverse recensions into which the great epic has been cast at different times in different parts of India. Speaking in general terms, it may be said that the chief recensions are two, the Northern and the Southern. But after these main divisions had arisen, many further changes were made in the text in both areas. Apparently Dr. Sukthankar is right in concluding that "even after its final fixation in the North our epic was subjected in the South to a systematic diaskenasis, during which the text was altered, amplified and even expurgated on a large scale", while "in all probability the Northern recension likewise contains some flagrant additions and alterations". Hence "only that portion of the text which is documented by both recensions may be considered as wholly certain and authentic ; the rest is doubtful, in varying degrees". This modest estimate of the finality of Dr. Sukthankar's critical reconstruction, however, must not lead us to underestimate the high value of his work : the text which he presents is mainly genuine, and the "doubtful" parts in it are relatively insignificant in quantity and quality.

The researches connected with the work have led to some interesting results, of which perhaps the most notable is the discovery

of a Śārādā MS. on birch-bark (Ś¹) which originally comprised the Ādi, Sabhā, and Aranya, if not more, and still contains the whole of Sabhā with fragments of the other two books; and this is supplemented by a paper MS. belonging to the India Office which has been copied from a Śārādā codex closely allied to Ś¹. We thus obtain valuable evidence regarding the Kashmiri recension of the Epic, in which, we now learn, the Ādi contained only 7,984 ślōkas, as against e.g. 8,479 in the Calcutta edition and 10,889 in the Southern tradition represented by the Kumbakonam edition, a fact which shows up effectively the Southerners' vicious habit of bloating their text with interpolations, to which the present fascicules bear striking testimony. The importance of the Kashmiri recension of the Epic as a whole is emphasised by Professor F. O. Schrader's recent discovery in the British Museum of the only known MS. of the Bhagavad-gītā in the Kashmiri recension, which has several noteworthy features bespeaking for it considerable antiquity. Evidently much light on the criticism of the Epic may be expected from Kashmir.

L. D. BARNETT.

SHREE GOPAL BASU MALLIK LECTURES ON VEDĀNTA PHILOSOPHY.

Delivered (December, 1925) by S. K. BELVALKAR (under the auspices of the University of Calcutta). Part I: Lectures 1-6.

Svo, xv + 240 pp. Poona: Bilvakuñja Publishing House, 1929.

The issue of a new work by Professor Belvalkar is always an event of great importance to his fellow-scholars. His skilful adoption of critical and historical methods current in the Western world, together with his most consummate paṇḍitship, his critical acumen, wide reading, and excellent style, make him the very paragon of an author busying himself with scientific researches on Indian subjects. And it seems to the present writer that perhaps these, his various faculties, have never risen higher nor produced a more attractive result than in the little work to be reviewed here.

The University of Calcutta is now a giant institution with a world-wide fame. There innumerable lectures are given, from there pour forth books and treatises with a torrent-like rapidity. Of all these publications many are good, some even excellent, while other ones might perhaps in the interest of scientific research just as well have been withheld. There is, however, no doubt that the Calcutta University is to be warmly congratulated upon having had the good luck

to publish under its auspices these excellent lectures by Professor Belvalkar.

Of the six lectures so far published, the first is an introductory one. It sets forth with a most praiseworthy terseness and lucidity the general trend of the author's views on philosophy in general and especially on Vedānta; and to a European scholar it is extremely pleasing to find the learned author strongly emphasizing the necessity of establishing a historical outlook on the Vedānta as well as on other philosophical systems. For, admirable as is the Indian philosophy in many of its phases, Hindu research-work has almost totally neglected the historical side of its problems. And when at times we find in Hindu works some attempts at composing a history of the philosophical systems, the outcome of such attempts is often far too fanciful to be seriously taken into consideration. Such objections, however, cannot be raised against the methods of Professor Belvalkar, even if we are not always able wholly to accept his theories.

The following five lectures deal with Vedānta in the Upaniṣads, in the Gītā, in the Brahmasūtras, with Gaudapāda, and with the life and works of the great Śaṅkara. They are all alike pellucid and full of useful information; and the present writer wishes to acknowledge his profound obligation to Professor Belvalkar for having granted him the pleasure of perusing these chapters full of interest and useful materials.

Some theories of Professor Belvalkar's we might, with great respect and diffidence, look upon as less well established. That the "older" Veda was composed outside India—most probably in Iran—has been contended previously by the late Professor Hillebrandt, whose arguments were, as always, well worth consideration; it has also been contended lately by Professor Hertel, though, from different reasons, we are less willing to take his reasons too seriously. But in spite of this there seems to be but little foundation for these assumptions. In reality, nothing seems to militate against the suggestion that even the "older" Veda was composed within the frontiers of the Punjāb. On the other side it is, however, fairly obvious that the Aryans did possess some sort of sacrificial poetry which perhaps went back to Indo-Iranian times. That the older Vedic hymns are a later offspring of such a very ancient poetical tradition should perhaps not be denied.

We also would fain lodge a mild protest against the dates assigned by Professor Belvalkar to the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā. According to our humble opinion, they are decidedly too early. To

pretend that the Gītā is "pre-Buddhist" could, in the strict sense of the word, only mean that it was composed at a time when Gotama the Buddha had not yet begun his preaching. But of such a date we are mournfully ignorant. For, let us at once admit that the dates of the Nirvāṇa, be they 544 B.C. or about 480 B.C., are nothing but constructions of a very airy nature. All we know is that about 250 B.C. Aśoka knew of the existence of certain canonical scriptures which, according to his idea, had been originally preached by the Buddha (cf. *bhagavatā Budhena bhāsīte*, Calcutta-Bairat); he also pretended to know that the Buddha Gotama had been born at Rummindēi. That, however, is about all, for Aśoka gives us no idea of the date at which the last Buddha led his earthly life—at least not in any definite words. Thus to suggest that the Gītā is "pre-Buddhist" would in reality mean that it was composed at a wholly uncertain date as far as the Buddha himself is concerned; taking it again to mean earlier than the Buddhist canon we might perhaps arrive at a date about 300 B.C. But even that, according to our humble opinion, would be rather early. As, however, we have allowed ourselves a few reflections upon this problem in a paper on the Gītā in the *Indian Antiquary* we shall abstain from further discussing it here.

It is scarcely possible to point out, amongst all the excellent suggestions of Professor Belvalkar, anything that is of greater interest and value than several other things. But we may perhaps be allowed to quote from p. 74 *sq.*, that "Yoga must all along have been theistic", and that "we should rather say that Sāṃkhya is the theistic Yoga rendered atheistic". These utterances, which are in distinct contradiction to the opinions of some leading European authorities, seem to us to contain the full and undeniable truth concerning the origin and interrelations of Sāṃkhya and Yoga.

We take leave of Professor Belvalkar with the assurance that with the utmost eagerness we are waiting for the continuation of his excellent and fascinating lectures.

J. C.

FRAGMENTS OF THE COMMENTARIES OF SKANDASVAMIN AND MAHĒŚVARA ON THE NIRUKTA. Edited for the first time from the original palm leaf and paper manuscripts, written in Malayālam and Devanāgarī characters, with an Introduction and Critical Notes. By LAKSHMAN SARUP. 15 + 129 pp. Published by the University of the Panjab, n.d. (1928).

Professor Sarup's introduction, translation, and text of the Nirukta are well known to and much appreciated by all Sanskrit scholars. He has again laid them under an obligation by publishing from four manuscripts the fragments of the Nirukta commentaries of Maheśvara and Skandasvāmin, together with a collection of those quotations from Skandasvāmin preserved by Devarāja in his commentary on the Nighaṇṭu. The text seems fairly good and reliable, and the printing appears to be both clear and faultless; only the cover does little honour to the efforts of the printer.

The interrelation between Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara seems to be a somewhat obscure one, as the manuscripts attribute parts of the commentary to one and parts to the other of these authors. Professor Sarup, however, concludes that a joint authorship is in this case scarcely possible as the two supposed collaborators cannot well have been contemporaries. His solution of the problem is the following: Skandasvāmin, who is the older author, wrote a *Niruktabhāṣya* while Maheśvara, at a later date, composed a supercommentary on this work which the Professor prefers to style a *Niruktabhāṣyafikā*. For this suggestion he adduces proofs by a comparison of one of the fragments preserved by Devarāja with a passage in the present text.

This may be so or may not. But we cannot avoid being slightly astonished that a conscientious scholar like Professor Sarup should apparently have overseen that since 1874 the existence of a *Niruktafikā* by Skandasvāmin has been known. Such a work was registered by Kielhorn as No. 39 on p. 8 of his *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts existing in the Central Provinces*. And we have just now got to know that such a manuscript exists among those bequeathed in 1908 by the widow of Professor Kielhorn to the Goettingen Library.¹ The simplest thing seems to be to compare this manuscript with those made use of by Professor Sarup; that possibly will solve the riddle.

In his work *Untersuchungen zur Genesis der altindischen etymologischen Litteratur* (Lund, 1928), the late Dr. Hannes Sköld has also dealt with Skandasvāmin and given a collection of the fragments from Devarāja. This mainly tallies with that of Professor Sarup, though in some passages Dr. Sköld seems to have slightly misunderstood the text. Dr. Sköld availed himself of Kielhorn's notice just as little as Professor Sarup has.

J. C.

¹ Cf. Professor R. Fick in *Goett. Nachrichten*, 1930, p. 68.

FOREIGN BIOGRAPHIES OF SHIVAJI. Extracts and Documents relating to Maratha History. Vol. II. By SURENDRA NATH SEN. Ivii, 492 pp. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., *s.d.*

Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, a lecturer in History in the Calcutta University, has already made himself well known to students of Indian history by his various works dealing with Shivāji, with the civil and military policy of the Marāṭhās, etc. He has also published an important and valuable preliminary report on the Historical Records preserved at Goa, a topic concerning which we would eagerly desire some more information. Now he has again presented us with a bulky volume dealing with Shivāji and containing a collection of foreign documents—Portuguese, Dutch, English, and French—dealing with that notable person's life and actions.

Shivāji was the great national hero during that upheaval against Mogul rule which took place in the later half of the seventeenth century, and which led to the short-lived but rather fateful hegemony of the Marāṭhās. It is curious, and in a way symptomatic, that, during these last years, Shivāji should have been revived by native historical research in India. His strong, though not altogether sympathetic, personality again stands forth in literature as the leading hero of the Hindus in their defence of time-honoured national institutions against a system of political and cultural innovations of foreign origin. From a certain point of view this is only natural. But, like nearly all historical reconstructions, Shivāji in his restored shape is not altogether a success.

The introduction of this interesting though rather voluminous work brings us the wanted information concerning the authors of the biographies included here. In a strict sense only one of them could be styled a biography, viz. that written by the Portuguese Cosme da Guarda in 1695, only fifteen years after the death of Shivāji himself, though not published until 1730. The French documents consist of extracts from the works of the Abbé Carré and of the famous François Martin, and, next to the Portuguese biography, undoubtedly present most of value and interest. Less exciting, though, of course, not lacking in historical importance, are the extracts from the well-known Valentine and from Dutch Records. Nor do the various accounts of the English embassies to Shivāji (from unpublished papers in the India Office) inspire us with much enthusiasm, except perhaps as being valuable sources for detailed historical research. However, Dr. Surendra Nath Sen has undoubtedly laid his fellow-students

under a deep obligation by having collected and brought out, in an easily accessible form, these different works dealing with Shivaji.

European contemporaries seem to have looked upon Shivaji with a mixture of admiration and awe. For the latter feeling no special reasons need to be adduced. The former one was, not quite unnaturally, inspired by his military genius, his rapid successes over adversaries who had at their command forces far more numerable than his own, perhaps also by the predilection he at times seems to have shown to European merchants and Capuchine fathers whom he is reported to have looked upon as being "good men". Admiration, however, sometimes appears to have gone to somewhat unexpected lengths. Of this we shall single out only one instance: the Abbé Carré at the beginning of his narrative makes the following statement (p. 187): "In his courage, the rapidity of his conquests and his great qualities he does not ill resemble that great king of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus." Now, it may well be suggested that a countryman of that great king, and one whose ancestors have fought with some success under his command will be a somewhat partial witness in the case. But apart from that it seems scarcely possible to the present writer that anyone would nowadays try seriously to uphold this parallel drawn up by the good Abbé. Gustavus Adolphus, be it said without entering upon any details, was perceptibly the greatest personality in the whole history of the seventeenth century. Shivaji, again, may have been a hero and a genius of sorts; however, the dastardly murder of Afzal Khan, the sacks of Surat, the reckless plundering of the Carnatic, and the innumerable miseries brought upon wholly innocent people do not fit into the picture of a truly great man.

Space will not admit us to enter upon the many interesting details occurring in a work like this. To mention only one example: on pp. 130 ff. the Portuguese writer tells a grotesque story about Aurungzeb's dealings with what was supposed to be the head of Shivaji. This in a way reminds us of another horrible story concerning Aurungzeb and the head of his decapitated brother Dārā Shikōh. Both stories fortunately seem to be alike without foundation.

J. C.

THE PĀṆḌYAN KINGDOM. From the Earliest Times to the Sixteenth Century. By K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI. iv, 277 pp. London: Luzac & Co., 1929. 8s. 6d. or 6 Rs.

The bewildering state of Indian chronology and history in general is too well known a topic to be dwelt upon here. And the older history of the Dravidian kingdoms in the south of the peninsula, the Choḷas, the Keralas, and the Pāṇdyas, seems to suffer from the same lack of concise dates and truly historical documents as does that of Northern India during the same period.

To unravel the mysteries of even part of that history at the present moment appears scarcely possible. Much has undoubtedly been achieved in the very vast field of epigraphic research, but infinitely much more seems to be wanted. Dynastic chronologies, regnal years of princes, of whom we possess only the very scantiest knowledge, have been reconstructed, but, alas, the painful work of reconstruction has often collapsed through the discovery of some new and unexpected evidence. In the face of such circumstances, it wants a certain amount of courage to try to reconstruct in its entirety the history even of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has given proof of such courage, and has produced a work which undoubtedly reflects credit upon its author. Though the author himself is well aware of the very uncertain foundations upon which rest many of his conclusions, he has not hesitated to present them in a thoughtful and cautious form. And the present writer would fain give it as his humble opinion that he has shown an understanding of historical criticism and a sound appreciation of the value of available sources which are altogether laudable.

To present any detailed criticism of Mr. Nilakanta Sastri's work is far beyond the scope of the present author. Details certainly lay themselves open to doubt, but of those we shall venture, in a short review like this, only to mention one or two. Thus, e.g., it seems doubtful whether anything can be got out of the *tukkijim* mentioned in the *Book of Kings*, as prominent authorities are inclined to doubt that the word does really mean "peacocks". However, even if it were admitted that such were the case, it would prove very little concerning commercial interfare between South India and the Kingdom of Solomon c. 1000 B.C. For peacocks, which according to the Jātaka were sent to Babylon at a much later time, may well have been fetched at more northern ports such as Broach, etc.

The problem of the age of the Śāṅgam is undoubtedly intimately bound up with the chronology of the Southern kingdoms. But so far

nothing definite seems to have resulted from the endless discussions of this problem; nor does one feel strongly convinced by the argumentation of the learned author on this special point.

The chapters dealing with administrative, social, and religious conditions of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom during various ages present much of uncommon interest. To the present writer it would, however, appear that Mr. Nilakanta Sastri dwells far too cursorily upon the religious intolerance and the spirit of persecution that seem often to have prevailed in the southern realms. That there was a grim persecution of the Jains within the very Pāṇḍyan kingdom during the seventeenth century A.D. can scarcely be doubted, even if the horrible story of the impalement of 8,000 monks be somewhat exaggerated. The unremitting hate of Śaivism towards the Jains seems to have found useful instruments even within the dynasty of the Pāṇḍyas. These events the learned author seems to have passed over (pp. 67, 97) altogether too superficially.

These, on the whole, are unsubstantial objections; and we feel pleased to give all due credit to the courageous and generally successful undertaking of Mr. Nilakanta Sastri.

J. C.

HINDU EXOGAMY. By S. V. KARANDIKAR. xv, 308 pp. Bombay : Taraporevala, 1929.

The author of this work has set himself a difficult and partly perhaps insoluble task in trying to establish not only the facts connected with but also the origins underlying Hindu exogamy. It cannot be denied that the reader is on many vital points left in the dark; but it could perhaps scarcely be otherwise. Nor can it well be denied that the book would for the most part have made a more favourable impression if the author had possessed a greater faculty of concentration and had not at times lost himself in too many unnecessary and tiresome phrases. Notwithstanding this, we are quite willing to admit that Mr. Karandikar has succeeded fairly well, and that his book may be considered to contain quite a respectable amount of useful information.

The introductory chapter (pp. 1-21) deals with "Exogamy in Vedic Times", and could, according to our modest opinion, well have been cut down to a couple of pages, as ninety per cent of its contents are neither new nor of any definite value. The following four chapters

(pp. 22-99) deal with the complicated questions of *gotra* and *pravara* and of their mutual interrelations. Though it cannot be maintained that the author has succeeded in definitely establishing, or still less in solving all the difficult problems presented by these words, we are still indebted to him for the valuable materials with which he has furnished us here. The uncertainty, however, altogether remains a great one; and it is quite typical that not even the grammatical and etymological conditions of the word *gotra* have so far been firmly established—topics upon which Mr. Karandikar has not even entered. The polemics against Mr. Vaidya and other authors seem a bit barren—but then polemics often are.

The following chapters (vi-xi) deal with sept and *saxinda* exogamy and with exogamy within non-Brahminical communities. We also here find quite a number of valuable remarks, and the author is generally well read as well in the Sanskrit sources as in the modern handbooks of anthropology. Chapter xi gives a long list of exogamous divisions, grouped together according to the method inaugurated by Risley, which may be of no small use. The materials are entirely drawn from the well-known works of Risley, Crooke, Thurston, Russell, and Enthoven. The concluding chapter—a rather short one—deals with the "Exogamy of the Hindus in the Light of Eugenics".

Although the book by Mr. Karandikar can scarcely be called a remarkable or very original one, it is mainly a sound piece of work, and as such deserves a certain amount of praise.

J. C.

GEDICHTE AUS DER INDISCHEN LIEBESMYSTIK DES MITTELALTERS
(Krishna und Rādhā) herausgegeben von HERMANN GOETZ
und ROSE ILSE-MUNK. xxv + 177 pp., 12 pl. Im Verlag der Asia
Major, Leipzig, 1925.

The joint authors of this little book begin their preface by telling us that "auf vielfache Anregung hin haben die Verfasser sich entschlossen, die vorliegenden Gedichte, die sie zuerst zu ihrer eigenen Erholung zu sammeln und übersetzen begonnen hatten, der Öffentlichkeit in diesem Bande zugänglich zu machen". To the present writer it remains somewhat of a puzzle why they should have ceded to these manifold exhortations; however, the obvious answer may be this, that innumerable books have been printed that are still less apt to entice the

interest of readers or bestow upon them information of any description. Anyhow, we feel fairly safe in contending that the introduction might well have been left out without derogating from the general value of the book.

The plates presented at the end of the work are good ; and as one of the authors is a well-known authority upon pictures of these periods we may feel assured that the selection is a happy and representative one.

J. C.

THE SPLENDOUR THAT WAS 'IND. A Survey of Indian Culture and Civilization (from the earliest times to the death of Emperor Aurangzeb). By K. T. SHAH. xxxv, 236 pp., with 11 illustrations in colour, 329 half-tone illustrations and 5 maps. Bombay : D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co., 1930. Rs. 30.

This work, by its somewhat mysterious title, will evoke the high expectations of all prospective readers ; and that the more as the subtitle promises to furnish us with " a Survey of Indian Culture and Civilization " from the very dawn of history up to 1707. Everyone who has even the slightest appreciation of what such an undertaking means will admire the courage and apparently immense learning of an author who has ventured out upon this boundless ocean. With his expectations still more raised by a preliminary glance at the numerous and often excellent pictures he will eagerly sit down to study this marvellous work. How far the more casual reader will pursue his studies entirely depends upon his personal taste and previous acquaintance with its topics. The reviewer, however, whose mournful plight it is to peruse with due attention its more than 250 pages will close it with a gesture of disillusion, despairingly telling himself that the brevity of life ought to be a warning against entering upon such undertakings.

Professor K. T. Shah, a professor of Economics at Bombay, and the author of several works upon Indian finance, currency, etc., tells us in the preface that this stupendous book has developed out of a series of lectures on the " Outlines of Indian Civilization " delivered during 1928-9 at St. Xavier's College. Provided that the contents of these lectures were mainly the same as those of the book itself—and such must, of course, have been the case—there can be no answer to the question why such a series should have been delivered in *India*—

except perhaps the obvious one that it could under no circumstances have been delivered in Europe. There is not in the whole work any single trace of the author's own researches, of his own speculations upon, or solutions of, the vast and weighty problems with which he is dealing. But worse even than that : it also contains an ill-assorted jumble of mistakes pure and simple, which ought less than ever to occur in a work like this, and of assertions for which there exists no other foundation than the Professor's own unacquaintance with the subjects with which he is dealing. That such a work should be published in more than 250 sumptuous quarto pages with a wealth of illustrations and at a price of nearly fifty shillings, is not only stupendous, it is also a depressing indication of the misuses to which the name of scientific research is at times subjected.

To give some reason for this rather grave judgment we shall be content to quote a few examples from the first half of the book. These are in no way exhaustive ; they are rather occasional gleanings from a well-nigh inexhaustible field. When we abstain from quoting further examples from Chapters VII-X it is not that they are not found even there ; but not claiming any personal authority whatsoever upon the topics dealt with in that part of the work, we find it more fitting to abstain from passing detailed judgment upon it.

First of all the somewhat extensive bibliography is, like those given in many Hindu books, valueless as it simply consists of an enumeration, at various places not even a correct one, of names and titles without any further bibliographical data. Most of the works are well known and can be easily identified by the scholar ; but that affords no plausible excuse for this inexcusable habit. To go into some details we ask ourselves in vain what the late Mr. Vincent Smith has got to do with the *Cambridge History of India* (p. xviii), why a world-famed scholar should be styled " A. M. Stein " (ibid.). Or, to keep to the same page, why initials should generally be given but found lacking in cases such as Elliott, Tod, Manucci, or Pope ; or, finally, why a most famous scholar of the previous generation should again be introduced as " Max-Müller, F." A headline like this one : " LANMAN *Jatakmalā* " (*sic*) is worse than senseless. Nor is it from any point of view intelligible in which order the various works have been entered into this " bibliography ". To give as authors of the *Abhidhamma*-, *Vinaya*-, and *Sutta-Pitaka* respectively Kashyapa, Upali, and Ananda¹ is sheer nonsense, and the same objection applies to " Vyas "¹

¹ The spellings are those of Professor Shah.

as an author of the *Mahābhārata* (p. xxi). The *Saundarananda* is constantly styled *Sundarananda*. On the same page (xxi) Bhāravi is presented as the author of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, while later on (p. 80) it is ascribed to Bhartṛhari. On p. xxii Somadeva (just as well as Kṣemendra) is mentioned as author of the *Bṛhatkathā*, while at the bottom of the page the *Kathāsaritsūgarā* is introduced as an anonymous work in prose. A few lines above this entry figures that of the *Ghata-Karpana*, which on p. 83 is emendated into *Gata-Karpana*. This may be sufficient to give a slight foretaste of Professor Shah's acquaintance with Sanskrit literature as well as of his bibliographical accuracy.

Passing on to the text itself, we shall only make a cursory note of platitudes like those concerning the "instinctive race-snobbery" of the Aryans (p. 20)¹ or the "sensitive soul" of Akbar (p. 53). If Professor Shah had sufficiently studied the work of the late Mr. Vincent Smith, of which he with every right cherishes a high opinion, he would probably have found out the real nature of that sensitiveness. Chapter IV, "Makers of History and Builders of Empire," is partly quite amusing; it is only a pity that a great part of it consists simply of the lofty constructions of its author. The standard example is furnished by the paragraph dealing with Candragupta. That Nūr Jahān was the "guardian angel" of Jahāngīr (p. 70) may well be; but we should still like to intercede on behalf of the angels whose name has seldom been more sorely misused than here.

Let us, however, continue our progress. On p. 76 we learn that the *Yajur-Veda* is nothing but a redaction of "the great Rig-Veda", and on the same page that a "considerable portion" of the *Atharva-Veda* is written in prose—all, of course, depends upon what is the use of the word "considerable". The little paragraph on the Indian alphabets on p. 77 must be read in extenso to be duly appreciated, and need not be quoted here, and the same is the case when we come to the description of the later *Kāvya*s (pp. 80-1). What is meant by the expression that "the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* of Bhartṛhari appear (*sic*) to be tricks in comparison" may well be left open; let us instead listen to the following characterization of Māgha's poem: "But his

¹ That the "denizens of the Deccan" are not the monkeys of Vālmīki is sufficiently clear. By the way, what "amplest evidence" is there that the Dravidians had at a very early time reached a high degree of civilization. If Professor Shah refers me to Mohenjo-Daro I shall first of all be obliged to him to prove that its inhabitants were mainly identical with what he calls the "denizens of the Deccan".

*Sishupaula-Vadha*¹ is a museum of metrical *tour de force*, in which at least two stanzas (xix, 33 and 34) are so arranged that the succeeding, read backwards, spells exactly the same as the preceding read in the ordinary way." *Punctum finisque*. As a full description of one of the greatest amongst Indian poets, delivered in front of an Indian audience, this is inimitable. After this we are less astonished to hear, on p. 82, about "the Mandasor inscription, with its reproduction of the *Ritusamhara* verses".

That Kālidāsa was "a rather wild young man" (p. 82) and "a wild, unruly youth" (p. 84) may well be true; but this is a suggestion of Professor Shah, not of the tradition which represents him, during his early years, as a dull and insipid youngster. We should like to believe with the learned author that the Upanishads are "pre-eminently clear" (p. 97), were it not that existent facts prohibit us from doing it.

The enumeration of the Jain canonical scriptures (p. 99) which are said to consist of "32 sutras" ending with "1 *Avshak Sutra*" is simply grotesque. The suggestion that the Buddha was born "at Shravathi, or Kapilavastu" gives rather a wide latitude to the place of his birth—unless, of course, S. and K. are meant to be identical. The poor "wandering mendicant Vacchaghatta" has got his name rather misspelt. The dates of Rāmānuja's earthly life are somewhat uncertain; but it can be ascertained with safety that they were not 1175–1250 A.C. (p. 103); nor does the present *Kāmasūtra* seem to date from pre-Christian times (p. 107). *Natadiyar* (p. 89 sq.) and *Ramaka-Siddhanta* (p. 109) may be misprints, though they are both repeated twice. The paragraph dealing with "Universities in India" (p. 110 sq.) seems to be rather confused and ill-founded; and we admit that this is the very first time we ever heard about the universities of Rājagṛha and Kapilvastu (*sic*).

This, in comparison with the whole material, is not much; for, a really detailed criticism would mean the same as rewriting the main parts of the book. But it may be sufficient to prove that here, if anywhere, there is no reason for leniency.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

¹ *Sic*. The "paula" looks as if it were a survival from the age of the *Asiatick Researches*.

CASTE IN INDIA. By ÉMILE SENART. Translated by Sir E. DENISON ROSS. London : Methuen, 1930.

The translation of M. Senart's famous essay on caste must have been peculiarly difficult. A verbatim translation would have been worse than useless—it would have been both unreadable and incomprehensible. But Sir Denison Ross's pages read easily and clearly. His version is faithful to the intention if not always to the *ipsissima verba* of his author. Indeed, we think his translation easier to read and understand than the original. From all points of view therefore he is to be congratulated on the completion of what must have been a difficult piece of work, the publication of which is a matter of importance, for while no doubt most Englishmen interested enough in India or in sociology to read M. Senart's pages can do so in the original, that is far from being the case with Indians, who generally find it burden enough to acquire one Western language. It is an excellent thing that M. Senart's work should be placed within the reach of every educated Indian.

It is needless to remind readers of this journal of M. Senart's views and conclusions. But the organization of Hindu society has so close and obvious a bearing on Indian political organization that the appearance of *Caste in India* in an English dress at the present time appears peculiarly appropriate. It were greatly to be desired that all Indians and Englishmen concerned with the political future of the country should study and meditate on the political implications of the social facts discussed and stated in this classical but still authoritative work.

H. D.

THE AGRARIAN SYSTEM OF MOSLEM INDIA. By W. H. MORELAND. Cambridge : Heffer, 1929.

This is the most important study of Indo-Muslim administration that has appeared for years. It is founded on a close and critical study of the Persian authorities, and such a critical study was much needed, for we have been over-apt to interpret Persian revenue terms as if they had borne always and everywhere the same connotation as that with which we are familiar in modern times or that which our early revenue administrators found when they took over the revenue administration. This was far from being the case. The more remote provinces were apt to develop a revenue terminology of their own. "Two centuries ago the agrarian language of Calcutta

differed materially from that of Delhi." In the fourteenth century *dincan* meant a department; in the sixteenth a minister. Perhaps one of the most valuable features of Mr. Moreland's present work is his careful analysis and definition of the revenue language of Muslim India—a piece of work which has been hitherto scorned by the Persian scholar and which has been beyond the power of the ordinary administrator.

For the early period of Muslim rule materials have proved insufficient to piece out a continuous history of the land revenue administration, but Mr. Moreland has frequently been able to throw a flood of light on passages that have perplexed or misled previous writers. An excellent example is the statement of Barani that Ala-ud-din Khilji drew up "rules and regulations for grinding down the Hindus". This has usually been interpreted as an attack upon the whole Hindu population. Mr. Moreland, however, places a far more probable interpretation upon the passage. He suggests that the sultan's measures were directed against the Hindu chiefs and headmen of parganas and villages, and that this was inspired not by the Muslim hatred of the infidel but by the necessity of breaking the power of local leaders always ready to break into rebellion.

The period of the empire provides much more material and offers more occasion for Mr. Moreland's acute comment. As an illustration of his method we would cite his careful comparison of the statements of the *Ain* and of the *Akbarnama*, employing the one to check, illustrate, or supplement the other, and collating the conclusions thus reached with the opinions of unofficial witnesses. The result is an admirably clear and lucid statement of the revenue system under the great emperor. The same merits attach to the later chapters describing the decay of the system, and especially the rise of the intermediaries between the government and the ryot—zamindars, taluqdars, etc.—whose existence and claims gave so much perplexity to our early administrators.

H. D.

MUGHAL RULE IN INDIA. By the late S. M. EDWARDES and H. L. O. GARRETT. Milford, 1930.

This volume provides a good and very useful survey of our predecessors in India. It seems to be based on the numerous translations which now exist of original Persian sources, together with the principal

European sources ; and while no doubt criticism might be applied here and there, the broad outline is substantially true and just. The volume opens with a historical narrative of the reigns of the Mughals from Babur to Aurangzib, contributed by Mr. Garrett. It is well done, especially the reign of Aurangzib, but demands no special comment. The later chapters, the work of the late Mr. Edwardes, deal with such topics as administration, economic, and social features, and the causes of Mughal decay. These may be warmly and confidently recommended to all who are interested in the origin of our own administrative system and who wish to acquaint themselves with the foundations on which we had to build.

H. D.

HISTOIRE DE L'EXTREME-ORIENT. By RENÉ GROUSSET. 2 vols.
Paris : Geuthner, 1929.

The present volumes suggest that M. Grousset has recognized the fact that his former work, *Histoire de l'Asie*, with its attempt to compress into three volumes the whole history of the eastern world, sought to achieve the impossible. The pages devoted to the near-eastern empires and to the modern period were brief, sketchy, and in many ways inadequate. In his later work the field is more restricted both in historical time and in geographical area. The modern period is dropped ; the near east disappears. The two volumes now published are concerned with only two of the great Asiatic civilizations—the Indian and the Chinese—and their interaction in Indo-China. Japan is reserved for a separate volume, and no attempt is made to estimate the influence of western culture with the modern growth of communications. The subject matter is thus much more manageable than it was in the *Histoire de l'Asie*. This has permitted M. Grousset to display with great effect the surprisingly wide range of his knowledge. He is strongest—as might have been expected from the *conservateur-adjoint* of the Musée Guimet—in art and archaeology ; and the reader will find, apart from some excellent maps, well-chosen illustrations from the sculpture and paintings of both Chinese and Indian schools. On the other hand his treatment of literature is cursory and not free from error. However the student will think that M. Grousset's admirable bibliographies more than compensate for his infrequent lapses. The references and lists of works are astonishingly complete, and include periodical articles as well as books. Probably the best, certainly the

most interesting of his chapters, is that which deals with the history of the Mongols; we note with interest that extensive use is made of M. Pelliot's researches, and the reader will find it an excellent and up-to-date introduction to the subject.

H. D.

ASIA: AN ECONOMIC AND REGIONAL GEOGRAPHY. By L. DUDLEY STAMP. Methuen, 1929. 27s. 6d.

Until now no satisfactory geography of Asia has been available for students. It is true that there were Keane's two volumes in Stanford's geographical series, published some thirty years ago; but the most cursory comparison of Dr. Stamp's work with Keane's will show how greatly geographical knowledge has increased in the last generation and how greatly our conceptions of geography have been modified. Dr. Stamp provides a far more precise and detailed account of the physical structure of the continent than was till now in existence, and he provides an admirably clear account of the manner in which it came into existence and the causes shaping its outlines and contours. The volume will therefore be equally useful to all students of the east, who have long needed such a guide to the material theatre of the subjects of their study. It is illustrated moreover with admirable diagrams and sketch-maps, such as that of the great mountain wall of India and its passes on p. 171. At first sight the reader may think that India has been treated over-generously. It receives some 200 pages or nearly three times as much as is devoted to China. Considered absolutely, there is probably a considerable disproportion here. But when we recollect how much more is known about India than about China, how much material has been collected by the Indian topographical and geological surveys which are lacking in the case of China, and how much more statistical information is available regarding such matters as the population, the climate, and the cultivation of India, the explanation and indeed the justification of the disproportion become at once apparent. To the student of history the volume will make a special appeal, although it makes not the smallest pretence to be an historical geography. Dr. Stamp limits himself to the present day. But after all the material setting in which the drama of Indian history has been played has changed little enough within historical lines. Coast-lines have varied, rivers have swayed from their courses, and the climate of certain provinces has changed; but the broad outlines, the

general character of regions, and the relations of one region to another remain much as they were. And although Dr. Stamp has not attempted an historical geography of Asia, we are sure that when that comes to be written, his present volume will be found to have been laid under heavy contribution.

H. D.

L'EMPIRE ÉGYPTIEN SOUS MOHAMED-ALI ET LA QUESTION D'ORIENT
(1811-49). By M. SABRY. Paris: Geuthner, 1930.

The author's industry in compiling this large volume has been very great. He uses a large array of documentary material drawn from very diverse sources, and which he often quotes at considerable and commendable length. The most interesting are certainly the letters exchanged between the great pasha and his son Ibrahim, and the extracts drawn from the correspondence of the Austrian Foreign Office, which will be new to all. The volume, therefore, throws much new light upon Muhammad Ali's political career. But the light at times is fitful and uncertain. The volume seems to have been composed under strong prepossessions. It exhibits, for instance, a determined inclination to exalt the talents and character of Ibrahim over those of his father. Muhammad Ali is blamed and strongly blamed for not having suffered Ibrahim to advance on Constantinople after the victory of Konia and again after the victory of Nasib, as if military force could have settled the question in face of the opposition of Russia, France, and Great Britain. Again, the author gives the queerest travesty of English policy at this period. His thesis is that Great Britain feared and therefore stifled Egyptian greatness. He seems to ignore the European considerations which really dominated the policy of Lord Palmerston. He compares the British attitude with that of Rome towards Carthage, without pausing to consider whether the pasha's navy could have carried Ibrahim up the English Channel. To prove his point he at times abuses both his documents and common sense. He speaks of the British "provoking" an incident at Mokha in 1819, and of their having been prevented from occupying Yemen in 1820. We do not know of a scrap of valid evidence in support of either statement. He ascribes to the British consul, Missett, a desire to see Muhammad Ali perish in the wastes of Arabia, whereas what Missett actually says is that, should the pasha so perish, his loss will be irreparable. He declares that Palmerston in 1839 feared that the

union of the Turkish and Egyptian fleets would make the pasha over-powerful in the Red Sea. How they were going to get there does not appear. Another unfortunate inclination is that of ascribing to Muhammad Ali's contemporaries the views and ideas of the present generation. Popular election, we learn with surprise, was the origin of the pasha's power; we suspect rather that it lay in his shrewd tact, his vigour, his remorseless use of force, and the divisions of his enemies. On the same lines is the assertion that the pasha's hopes of reviving national life were shared by his entourage and every enlightened Egyptian. All the evidence goes to show that every one of Muhammad Ali's reforms was resisted underhand by his entourage, and excited distaste among the people at large. While, then, the present volume contains many new, interesting, and important facts, it can only be used with extreme caution, and cannot be recommended save to those whose knowledge enables them to discount a good many of the author's opinions and statements.

H. D.

REPORT ON JAPAN TO THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY. By Sir STAMFORD RAFFLES, 1812-16. Edited by M. Paske-Smith. Kobe: Thompson & Co., Ltd., 1929.

This volume contains a number of papers relating to the attempts made by Raffles, when Lieutenant-Governor of Java, to transfer into English hands the Dutch trade to Japan, which had been brought to a close by Minto's conquest of Java. A number of the letters included seem hardly to deserve publication, and the attempt itself proved a complete failure. This was largely due to the staunchness of the Dutch factors in Japan, who persuaded the English that they would at once be put to death, were they known for what they were, in revenge for the conduct of H. M. S. *Phaeton*, in 1808, in forcing her way into Nagasaki harbour. Trade was therefore carried on under the Dutch flag, and so, when Java was restored to the Dutch, English trade remained as impossible as ever. But though a failure, the attempt shows how enterprising and alert a leader Raffles was, eager to lose no opportunity of strengthening the power and credit of his country. In fact, the same spirit presided over the expeditions to Japan as planned and executed the occupation of Singapore.

H. DODWELL.

THE HITTITE EMPIRE. By JOHN GARSTANG. Svo. xviii + 364 pp.
Maps and illustrations. London: Constable, 1929. 25s.

The empire of the Anatolian Hittites (the Khattic Empire, in Professor Garstang's phrase), as the only historical instance of an extensive imperial organization centred on Asia Minor, had a political and cultural history that differs widely from that of other Oriental empires, and the special merit of this book is that it provides a survey, as complete as the present state of research will allow, of its most fundamental aspects. Ethnologists and philologists, anxious to know whether the Hittites were Aryans or Caucasians, and annalists who seek for dynastic tables and dates, will be disappointed. Professor Garstang's first chapter alone contains a sketch of Hittite history (and of the later history of Anatolia as well), which is both sufficient and admirable as historical prolegomena to the main objects of his enquiry. A geographical exposition of the Hittite world follows, becoming more and more detailed as it approaches Boğaz Köy, the City of Khatti, and the remainder of the book is devoted to a survey of all known Hittite monuments and traces from the Ionian coast to Jerusalem, each being not only described in detail but given its appropriate setting in relation either to Hittite religious beliefs and practices or to Khattic political and cultural influences. Out of this at first sight unpromising material, Professor Garstang has succeeded in giving his readers not only an understanding of, but even a sense of familiarity with the ways of the Hittites, and though much of the reasoning is admittedly tentative, his conclusions are likely to command fairly general assent.

Nor is the student of Eastern history likely to forget that Ankara is only 90 miles from Boğaz Köy, that once again the experiment of a pan-Anatolian state is being tried, and that the geographical factors of 3,000 years ago are the geographical factors of to-day. Professor Garstang's exposition acquires in consequence a modern application which, however accidental and foreign to its purpose, certainly adds to its value and interest.

H. A. R. GIBB.

LE ROYAUME D'ARDA ET SON ÉVANGÉLISATION AU XVII^e SIÈCLE.
 PAR HENRI LABOURET, Professeur à l'École des Langues Orientales
 et PAUL RIVET, Professeur au Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle.
 (*Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie*, vii.) 10½ × 6¾,
 pp. 62, 20 plates. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 191 Rue Saint-
 Jacques (5e), 1929.

The Library of San Isidro at Madrid contains a curious little work entitled *Doctrina Christiana y Explicacion de sus Misterios en nuestro idioma Español y en Lengua Arda* (1658). By a not unnatural confusion, since a tribe called Arda was known to exist in the basin of the Amazon, this has, for fifty years (since it was discovered by Ludewig in 1858), been classified as a text in an American language. It was, however, found impossible to connect it with any known American speech, and Professor Rivet, after closer examination, suspected an African origin and consulted the late Maurice Delafosse, who speedily identified the language as Ge or Popo, spoken in the kingdom of Arda (also known as Ardra or Allada), on the Slave Coast, between Lagos and Whidah. The Catechism, printed in parallel columns, Spanish and "Arda", is reproduced in facsimile. The whole text is also reprinted, with a French translation, and lists of words are given, with their equivalents in modern Ge. This is prefaced by several interesting essays, dealing with the past history of the territory, as gathered from Dapper, Bosman and other authorities, including the records of the Capuchin mission sent out from Spain in 1658, with which the work in question originated.

The kingdom of "Arda" disappears from history in 1724, when it was conquered by Agaja Trudo, Paramount Chief of Dahome. Previous to that date it seems to have been of considerable importance; its Chief ("Alkemy, roy de la Guinée", described as "un des plus puissants Monarques de l'Afrique") sent an ambassador (called Dom Matheo Lopes) to Louis XIV, in 1670, "pour l'établissement du commerce avec les François, et une protection toute particulière pour les vaisseaux du Roy." Portraits of the "Alkemy" and Dom Matheo (an interesting type of West Coast native), reproduced from contemporary engravings, are included among the plates illustrating the volume; also recent photographs of a small temple near Porto Novo and a "chapel" within it, containing various "fetish" objects; a curious engraving of 1730, representing "the coronation of the King of Juda" (Whidah); and two maps—that of Norris (from the French edition of 1790) and the French official one of 1922. It seems

to be clear that the "Arda" of the Spanish, "Ardra" of the Portuguese, and "Ardres" of the older French writers is identical with the modern Allada, 37 kilometres from the coast, as the crow flies. Norris, in 1772, reached Great Arda from Whidah in one day's march, representing about 40 kilometres. "Petit Ardres" would appear to be the modern Godomy.

In all the volumes of this series, the print and general get-up leave nothing to be desired, and—a point not always sufficiently considered by publishers—they open so easily that they are a pleasure to handle.

A. WERNER.

THE PERSIAN RELIGION ACCORDING TO THE CHIEF GREEK TEXTS.
By EMILE BENVENISTE. University of Paris: Ratanbai Katrak Lectures. 119 pp. Paris, Librairie Orientaliste: Paul Geuthner, 1929.

The author of this interesting little book is a young scholar who has already won considerable distinction within the field of Iranian studies. The book reproduces the four lectures which M. Benveniste gave at the Sorbonne in 1926, having been appointed the first lecturer under the auspices of the Ratanbai Katrak Foundation. His French manuscript has afterwards been rendered into English by the Misses Summers and Berry. And though there are some minor slips which must be obvious even to a non-Englishman, and the proof-reading is not quite above criticism, still the text is not only well understandable, but makes also easy and agreeable reading.

The Greek texts that have been used here are those of Herodotus, of Strabo, and of Plutarch, whose sources were Theopompus and perhaps Eudemus. These texts have no doubt been well-known for a rather long time¹; but this is the first time that they have been methodically studied and commented upon by a scholar alike well at home in the classical lore and in the various branches of Iranian scholarship. What M. Benveniste has here presented us with is of high value and interest; the chief interest, though, attaches to the highly fascinating chapter on Theopompus and Plutarch with its most important researches on the ideas and history of Zervanism.

It is a fact of some importance, though it has perhaps so far

¹ In this connection the mention of Rapp on p. 12 must perhaps be slightly modified, as already earlier authors have undoubtedly known and made use of these texts.

attracted only scanty interest, that there is a marked difference between the Greek tales concerning Iran and those concerning India. The Indian stories begin with the lost ones of Scylax and Hecataeus and continue with those of Herodotus, Ctesias, Megasthenes and many others. Some of them are at least partly of value; and Megasthenes has since antiquity been looked upon as a paragon of truthfulness, just as Ctesias, from the beginning, became marked down as an inveterate liar. But it is not so much a question of truth or untruth, it is far more a question of the utter impossibility to a Greek of understanding the Hindus. If the present writer be not entirely mistaken, the great Bīrūnī says somewhere that the Hindus are innate perverts who will do everything in the opposite way to other sensible beings. To the Greeks they must have appeared still more so; and sheer curiosity—at times mixed with a good lot of contempt of the "barbarians"—can inspire no trustworthy descriptions of far-away lands and their inhabitants.

Not so with the Persians. Xerxes, who invaded the holy soil of Greece, and was driven away by the Olympians he had offended, was a barbarian; but his doings, though not pardonable, were understandable from a human point of view. Tissafarnēs, who in cold blood murdered the Greek generals after Kunaxa, was a barbarian too; but his deeds were those of a miscreant, not those of a madman. And in the same way the religious creeds and theological systems of the Iranians though full of superstitions and rather childish myths, attracted the interest and understanding of the Greeks in quite another way than those of the Hindus. Materials too were far more abundant; for since the sixth century B.C. the Greeks of Asia Minor had been in intimate contact with the Persians. And thus it comes that Greek relations of the different phases of Iranian religion are of considerable value.

The difficulties rest with the interpretation. Much of what the Greeks tell us of Iranian religion cannot be immediately confronted with existent Iranian sources. The scholar trying to illuminate the often obscure statements of a writer like Plutarch has to gather his materials for comparison from different and far-fetched texts, the Pahlavi ones, Syriac and Arabian authors, and last but not least the literature of and concerning the Manicheans. This is what M. Benveniste has done to an ample degree, and there can be no doubt that he has succeeded well in throwing light on the obscurities of the Zervanite religion. For this every scholar interested in the

fascinating problems of Iranian religious development must be thoroughly grateful to him.

Zervān in certain Central Asian documents is identified with Brahmā, the *pitāmaha* of the Indian pantheon. Now this Zervān is again identified with the Father of Greatness, called by the Greek Manicheans τὸν τετραπρόσωπον πατέρα τοῦ μεγέθους.¹ As Brahmā is the τετραπρόσωπος πατήρ par préférence it would be interesting to know more about the history of these identifications.

Most interesting is the way in which M. Benveniste—partly supporting himself on materials collected by other scholars—proves the high age of the Zervān-religion. "Without undue boldness, therefore," says he, on p. 78, "we may date Zervanism, as a system, from the Achemenid period." The present writer, who can lay claim to no authority on this point, would make bold enough to go much further and suggest that Zervanism does really grow out of Indo-Iranian religious ideas. Zervān is mainly a male deity, but there is no doubt that he is also an androgynous being. We have thus within the Iranian world an old god who is male and female alike, an exact counterpart of the well-known *Tuisto*² of our so-called Teuton forefathers. Such deities, of whom there are quite a number within the primitive religious world, are apt to split up into a male and a female person, and the survival of one or the other may be a case of the purest hazard. Now in India we find the goddess *Aditi*, a deity of various and uncertain interpretations.³ But there is no doubt that in some way or other she⁴ represents the boundlessness, the eternity, be it of time or space, and in this she is apparently a female counterpart of Zervān. Further on she is the mother of the *Ādityas* who must in some way or other be connected with the *Amāša Spāntas*, and she is constantly associated with *Varuṇa* and *Mitra*, who are obviously closely related to *Miθra* and to the great god called by the ancient Iranians *Ahura Mazda*.

Zervān, however, did not only procreate *Ohrmazd* but also his twin-brother and foe, the Arch-devil *Ahriman*. And for this idea no parallel seems possible in the case of *Aditi*. Still let us take into

¹ Cf. Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichæans*, p. 18 sq., with a reference to Cumont.

² Tacitus, *Germania*, ch. ii.

³ Cf. Neisser, *Zum Wörterbuch des Rigveda*, i, 20 sq., whose conclusions are not acceptable to me, and Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, 2nd ed., ii, 95 sq. Cf. also Loumann, *ZII*, vi, 1 sq.

⁴ In one passage *Aditi* seems to be a male being (*RV.* iv, 39, 3, cp. Oldenberg, *RV.-Noten* i, 300). Everything is, however, very uncertain here.

consideration that the unknown seventh Āditya was sometimes said to be Indra, an idea which appears to me far less impossible than it did once appear to L. von Schroeder.¹ If such were the case, Aditi would have procreated Varuṇa, the great *asura*, as well as Indra, the head and protagonist of the *deva*-clan, just as in Iran Zervān gave birth to the great *Ahura* as well as to the foremost of the *daēva*'s. For what case the *asura*'s went down in India while in Iran they kept the upper hand remains obscure and does not especially interest us here; nor why the lots of the *deva*'s and *daēva*'s became totally different. What seems to me somewhat plausible, is that Aditi and Zervān form an old pair of gods who have at one time sprung from an original androgynous deity of whom Zervān—and perhaps even Aditi, cf. RV. iv, 39, 3—has preserved some traces, and that Zervanism thus has its root in Indo-Iranian soil.

These, so far, are vague and hazy speculations. Maybe that at some time other and more far-sighted scholars will either corroborate them or present in another form the lineage of Zervān and Aditi.

After this we may permit ourselves to indulge in a few minor remarks.

That Pythagoras (p. 10) should have been inspired by Zoroaster is perhaps possible—just as possible, I should say, as the theory of an Indian influence on this mysterious philosopher.² So far it seems impossible to form an idea of whether Pythagoras borrowed some of his ideas from the East or not; and the reason for this is perhaps that the pre-history of Pythagorean ideas in Greece itself still seems pretty obscure. Anyhow, the suggestion that Zoroaster might have influenced Pythagoras would form still another argument against the queer "historical" researches of Professor Hertel, which M. Benveniste (p. 45, n. 2) has rightly rejected.

On p. 60 the learned author seems to reject the suggested connection between *atharvan*:- *āθravan*-, *aθa^urun*- "priest, fire-priest" and *ātar*- "fire". The present writer formerly was of the same opinion³, as were before him very prominent authorities like Bartholomae, Justi, and Zubatý. He now feels less sure of the correctness of such an opinion;

¹ Cf. *Indogerm. Forsch.* xxxi, 178 sq.; *Ar. Religion*, i, 408 sq.

² Cf. e.g. the well-known work of von Schroeder, *Pythagoras und die Indier* (1884), which sums up the previous discussion on this topic (cf. Garbe, *Sāṃkhya-Phil.*, 1st ed., p. 90 sq.), as well as an article in *VOJ.*, xv, 187 sq. The article by Professor Keith, *JRAS.* 1909, 569 sq., is as usual purely negative.

³ Cf. *Monde Or.*, xiii, 44 sq.

however, this intricate question cannot, for apparent reasons, be discussed here. On *atharvan-* and *ātar-*, cf. also MM. Autran, *Sumérien et Indoeuropéen*, p. 126; Meillet, *Slave Commun*, p. 76; Rozwadowski, *Roczn. Oriental.*, i, 109 sq.; Jokl, *VOJ.* xxxiv, 37 sq.

On p. 62 the "sumptuous cloak of otter skin" should certainly be of "beaver" skin, cf. Bartholomæ, *Air. Wb.* 925.

On the different forms in which *Vərəθrayna* is said to have appeared (p. 65) the present author has once said something in his *Kleine Beitr.* 2, *indoiran. Mythologie* (1911), p. 25 sq. It still seems probable that these "avatāras" are based on ideas common to Iranians and Indians.

On p. 99 something is mentioned concerning the etymology of the name *Tištrya-* and related forms. M. Benveniste is quite right in branding the attempt of Herr Götze¹ as unsuccessful, as there is certainly no possibility of uniting the different names of the star, which, according to Plutarch *πρὸ πάντων ὅσον φύλακα καὶ προόπτην ἐγκατέστησε ὁ Ὠρομάξης*. The whole problem would be well worth a renewed and more thorough research, and cannot be dealt with here. Only this should be said: (1) the Greek *Σείριος* probably has got nothing to do with the Iranian words; (2) *tištrya*, is in some way or other connected with *tišya*-², though the detailed relations so far escape us; (3) **ūra-*, *ūri-*, must be wholly separated from *tištrya*; whether they are really interchangeable with *tišya-*, *tišyri-*, must so far be left undecided.

With these scattered and not very important remarks, we take leave of the interesting little work of M. Benveniste, which forms a valuable contribution to our rather scanty knowledge of the ancient Iranian religions. We allow ourselves to congratulate him upon this happy and useful achievement.

J. C.

THE HEROINES OF ANCIENT PERSIA. Stories retold from the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausi. With 14 illustrations. By BAPSY PAVRY. xii, 111 pp. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1930. 15s.

Miss Bapsy Pavry, the daughter of Dasturji Saheb Cursetji Erachji Pavry, the famous high priest of Bombay, and sister of a well-known

¹ *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.*, lii, 146 sq.

² The Soghdian *tiš-(farn)* is not quite clear, but probably identical with *tišya-* (which, of course, cannot be derived from **tišya-*).

Zoroastrian scholar, has undertaken to collect into a little volume of pleasant appearance the romantic life-stories of the heroines of Ancient Persia as told in the giant epic of *Firdausī*. Such an undertaking may certainly not be lacking in interest and may also fill a gap in existent literature, even if its future readers will perhaps be comparatively few.

Miss Pavry has fulfilled her work with enthusiasm, and not without skill. We are here able to pick up in abridgement the somewhat fanciful biographies of the noble dames of Old Irān disposed chronologically according to the not always very scientific chronology of the poet of Tūs. Most of these stories also are accompanied by fine illustrations drawn from Persian manuscripts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. One might almost wish that some of them could have been given in colour to show the admirable tints applied with extraordinary skill by the Persian and Mogul miniaturists. Most of the prints, however, are very clear and convey a good idea of the undoubtedly beautiful originals.

To bring the materials given here to fit into actual history will mostly present insuperable difficulties. And, after all, it will only be the heroines of Sāsānian times such as Shirīn and others who can lay claim to an ascertained historical existence. That e.g. the "good" queen Humāi should have anything to do with the formidable and awe-inspiring Parysatis—a suggestion of the late Dr. West, taken up p. 53, note 3—is altogether beyond our capacity of imagination. This human monster reigned over her weak husband, Darius II, and for a considerable time also over her none too valiant son, Artaxerxes II; and it seems extremely curious that the Dārī who is supposed to correspond to Darius II is held up by *Firdausī* as a paragon of valour and chivalry. This if anything shows the complete breakdown of real Achaemenian tradition in the Persia of later periods.

We take some slight exception to the constant quoting of Vullers-Landauer as *Firdusi*; this, however, does not materially detract from the value of Miss Pavry's little work, the chief merit of which does not consist in presenting new results of scientific research, but in offering easy and pleasant reading.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERSIA. By SIR ARNOLD T. WILSON. Svo.
x + 253 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930. 20s.

It is sadly characteristic of the poverty of our instruments in nearly all branches of Eastern study that M. Schwab's *Bibliographie de la Perse*, admittedly imperfect to begin with, and long out of date, has had to wait forty-five years for a successor. Sir Arnold Wilson and his assistants are all the more deserving of our gratitude for this, the first instalment of a much fuller and more catholic bibliography, and it is to be hoped that they will not disappoint the expectations which they have aroused for a second volume of analytical indices. Any criticisms which may be passed upon the material from the technical bibliographical standpoint have been anticipated in an introductory note; apart from these details the achievement invites little but praise. Every reader will doubtless note a few omissions in his special field—I have noted, e.g. Zambaur's *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie* (Hannover, 1927), the important studies of Wellhausen and Lammens touching on Persian history and religion in the first and second centuries of Islam, and the relevant chapters in the *Cambridge Mediaeval History* (all too few, but worth a reference)—and occasional inaccuracies in the dates of books and articles carry a suggestion of hasty revision. The O.U.P. has bestowed on the publication of the book its usual care and craftsmanship, though at a cost which is more than a little disconcerting to the ordinary student.

H. A. R. GIBB.

THE DIPNAR OF THE COPTIC CHURCH. From the Vatican Codex Copt. Borgia 53 (2). Edited by DE LACY O'LEARY, D.D. pp. vii + 67. Luzac. 15s.

I reviewed the first two parts of this publication, covering the first eight months of the Coptic year, in the *Bulletin*, vol. iv (1926), p. 406, and vol. v (1928), p. 172. The present and final instalment covers the months Pachon, Paoni, Epep, and Mesore, and the intercalary days (Nasi = *Epagomenae*). Students of Coptic hagiology and language have every reason to be grateful to Dr. O'Leary for the completion of this valuable work: the hymns are founded on the Arabic of the *Synaxarium*, and not derived from older Coptic sources, but they contain occasional fresh material. Dr. O'Leary points out, for instance, that at Pachon 25 the well-known Colluthus is entirely omitted, and his place taken by Hiroudē, who does not appear at all

in the *Synazarium* as it has come down to us. (Hiroudē will, however, be found in the Ethiopic *Synazarium* of the same date—Genbōt 25: he was a native of Sebaste who suffered under the Governor Lucianus in the Diocletianic persecution, and “whoso shall give alms to the poor on the day of thy commemoration shall not have one barren animal among his flocks, and sons shall not be wanting in his house”.) An alphabetical list of saints commemorated in the *Difnar* fitly concludes this part, and those who bind the three together will now have a valuable subsidiary to the Coptic (Arabic) and Ethiopic *Synaxaria*.

In an appendix Dr. O’Leary has edited some fragmentary hymns brought from the Red Monastery in 1886, which are now in the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery. I can help in the identification of most of these:—

(1) (Dr. O’Leary’s 1) For St. John the Baptist: alphabetical, stanzas p-ω. The whole hymn (beginning ἀναερῶντε ζην οὐρανῶν | ἡταξω ἀπταῖο ἀνιπροδροκος) may be found in Rylands Copt. 433, f. 9 *recto*, and Bodl. Marsh. 55, f. 131 *recto*. It was printed (p. 12) in the كتاب الإصاليات والطروحات (Cairo, 1913), which may be abbreviated *K.A.T.*

(2) For St. John the Baptist: alphabetical, complete, beginning ἀκσι (read ἀκσις) ἀληθός. This is in Rylands 433, f. 13 *verso*, Rylands 434, f. 84 *recto*, Bodl. Marsh. 55, f. 134 *verso*, and *K.A.T.*, p. κ.

(3) For the Archangel Gabriel: alphabetical, stanzas α-κ, beginning ἀναερῶντε ω νημετός. This is found complete in B.M. Or. 5285, f. 81 *verso*, Rylands 430, f. 28 *verso*, Rylands 431, f. 129 *verso*, Rylands 433, f. 165 *verso*, and down to the end of stanza p in Bodl. Marsh. 55, f. 92 *recto*. In the last only is the first stanza like Dr. O’Leary’s, though otherwise the text is the same, with trifling variants, throughout the hymn; the two forms may be placed side by side:—

O’Leary.

Bodl. Marsh.

B.M.

3 Rylands MSS.

ἀναερῶντε ω νημετός
 ἡτερωος ϕ† ζην οὐθεῶν
 οὐορ ἡταξω ἀπταῖο ἡ†παροθενος
 ηϑασηννοτη γαβριηλ

ἀναερῶντε ω ημενω†
 ἡτερωος ϕ† ζην οὐθεῶν
 οὐορ ἡτενταῖο ἀλασνο†
 ημε ηρωσηννοτη γαβριηλ

תודה נביאים וכתובים עם פירוש מדעי יוצא בהשתתפות למדנים
מומחים על ידי אחדים מהנא. כתובים. איכה. מפורש ע"פ
פירוש. תל אביב. הוצאת-מקורות. תר"ף.

[PENTATEUCH, PROPHETAE ET HAGIOGRAPHIA MIT EINEM WISSEN-
SCHAFTLICHEN KOMMENTAR ERSCHEINT IN GEMEINSCHAFT VON
FACHGELEHRTEN. Redakteur: Abraham Kahana. Hagiographa:
Klagelieder. Erklärt von F. PERLES. Tel Awiw. Originalien-
Verlag. 1930.]¹ Lexikonformat. S. 97-123.

Der Herausgeber hat wohl gut getan indem er u. A. Herrn Pro-
fessor Perles zum Mitarbeiter seiner Ausgabe der Kommentare zum
AT. wählte. Prof. Perles' in hebräischer Sprache verfasster Kom-
mentar zu den Klageliedern ist fließend und klar geschrieben. Derselbe
als Bibelforscher bekannt, hat in diesem seinen Kommentar alles
das geleistet, was man von einem modernen Bibelkritiker verlangen
kann. Seine Einleitung zu den Klageliedern sagt auf zwei Seiten
alles erschöpfend, was hierzu gehört. Die Erklärungen sind zwar
etwas knapp gehalten, allein der Verfasser ging gewiss von der
richtigen Voraussetzung aus, dass dieselben einem gebildeten hebräisch
lesenden Publikum vollständig ausreichend sein werden. Bei all
dieser Knappheit hat in der Tat der Kommentar sehr grossen Wert.
Oberhalb der Erklärungen befindet sich der masoretische Text der
Lamentationes so gedruckt, dass der in der Einleitung besprochene
Kīnāvers hervorgehoben ist. Unterhalb des Textes: der auf der
Höhe der Wissenschaft stehende fortlaufende Kommentar, zu dem
der Referent nur einige Bemerkungen, die das Ganze nicht tangieren,
hinzufügen will.

In 1, 2 wird erklärt: die Israeliten hätten deshalb zur Nachtzeit
geweint, weil sie die Feinde nicht merken lassen wollten, dass sie
weinen. Allein die Schmerzempfindenden vermögen durchaus nicht
ihr Weinen auf spätere Zeit zu verlegen. Entweder steckt in בלל
ein verschriebenes Wort aus dem Stamme בלל oder es ist anzunehmen,
es stamme von בלל, arab. بَلَّ, wovon بَلِيلٌ مع الصوت: (LA xiii, 73)
und die Bedeutung des Verses wäre: sie weinte (laut) seufzend. Der
Verf. nimmt an ננות 1, 4 sei nach LXX = נדנות. Hier liegt aber
wohl ein St. נַח = נָח zugrunde (vgl. נאח-נח) heulen, schreien (von
Tieren sowohl wie von Menschen), z.B. "demütig, untätig im
Gebet schreien, stöhnen"; LA iii, 194. Dieses wäre somit eine Parallele

¹ Bis nun sind zehn andere bibl. Bücher mit Kommentaren in dieser Ausgabe
erschienen.

zu daselbst "ihre Priester seufzen". נצב in 2, 4, wo auch eine alte Lesart הצב angeführt wird, ist hier nicht von נצב = نصب, das keinen Sinn gibt, sondern es ist نَضَب LA ii, 260 أَنْضَبَتِ الْقَوْسُ وَأَنْضَبْتُهَا إِذَا جَذِبْتَ. وَتَرَهَا تُصَوِّتُ. Der Vers wäre zu übersetzen: Er spannt seinen Bogen wie ein Feind, er zieht die Bogensehne an mit seiner Rechten (בימינו = ימינו) wie ein Widersacher.—2, 14 מרודים ist hier wohl im Sinne von مُتَمَسِّح - الفُتْحَة (LA iii, 452), was zu der vom Verf. angenommenen Lesart מִשְׁאֹת st. מִשְׁאֹת sehr gut passen würde.—2, 16 בלענו. Wenn dieses = בל + ענו sein sollte, wie Verf. annimmt, so würde man st. ויקראו אומר erwarten. Zu lesen ist aber בל ענו, vgl. I Kön. 18, 26 הבעל ענו.—Ist לשיעתי in 3, 56 richtig, so wäre dann dementsprechend st. לְעִנְיַתִּי לְרוּחִי zu lesen.—In 4, 7 ist statt des unverständlichen אדמי אֶצְבֵּי-אדמי עצם zu lesen. Vgl. Am. 2, 12 נביאים-נירים آدم bezeichnet verschiedene Farben: rot, dunkelbraun, aber auch weiss (vom Kamel; LA xiv, 273 ff.).—Das vom Verf. aus OLZ. vi, 244-5; xviii, 179-80 bekannte לברית es sei = Labartu, ist sehr naheliegend.—Auch נרדפנו 5, 5 in נר דפן nūr dāpini aufgelöst (schon in des Verf. Analekten NF 16-17; mir hier nicht zugänglich) wird wohl die allein richtige Erklärung des Wortes sowie des ganzen Satzes sein. Allein muss man dann das 1 von נרדפנו zu נרענו herübernehmen und נרענו lesen.

Es wäre erwünscht, dass der Herausgeber der Kommentare zum AT. Herrn Prof. Perles, dem wir für seine Erklärung der Klagelieder zu vielem Dank verpflichtet sind, auch zur Kommentierung anderer Bücher des AT. ersuchen möchte.

DAVID KÜNSTLINGER.

THE GEORGE EUMORFOPOULOS COLLECTION: CATALOGUE OF THE CHINESE AND COREAN BRONZES, SCULPTURE, JADES, JEWELLERY, AND MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS. By W. PERCEVAL YETTS. Vol. II: Bronzes: Bells, Drums, Mirrors, etc. 17½ × 12½, viii + 99 pp., pls. 75 + figs. 44. London: Ernest Benn, 1930. £12 12s.

The appearance of a new volume in the set of Eumorfopoulos catalogues is always a remarkable event. Dr. Yetts' second volume on Chinese bronzes and other metal objects is a mine of useful and interesting information, and all students of Chinese art and archaeology

will have to devote a careful study to every page in it. In the first place the illustration materials give him without exception good specimens of the best Chinese art, chosen by a master connoisseur, and are therefore particularly well suited for a diligent study. And then another loving and learned connoisseur has taken infinite pains to describe and comment upon these objects, and he shows himself a guide equally well versed in the intricacies of Chinese art technique and in the copious Chinese archaeological literature.

The objects published in the present volume are firstly a few bells and drums (some of which have been reproduced earlier, e.g. in Koop's *Early Chinese Bronzes*); then there is a rich and remarkably fine set of mirrors (sixty-two pieces) from Han to T'ang, and some Korean specimens; follows a richly varied series of belt hooks; and finally various small objects; plaques (some of them in the "animal style"), bits, stirrups, sword pommels, etc.

If all these objects have been minutely described and commented upon in Yetts' catalogue, which forms the fourth part of his text, there are three subjects which he has picked out for a fuller treatment, in three separate chapters; bells, drums, and mirrors. These subjects of course form extremely wide themes, each of which would demand a volume in order to be exhausted, and so the author has limited himself to certain sides of the questions. For the bells he discusses at length the various types which can be determined to have existed in ancient China, their nomenclature and their ritual use. When treating the drums, he takes up the intricate and highly important question of the real origin of the "barbarian" bronze drums of southern China, and after a sagacious criticism of earlier theories he advances an interpretation of his own. In the chapter on mirrors he gives a full and suggestive account of the animal symbolism which plays such an important part in the decoration of mirrors. The first paragraph of the catalogue can almost be said to form a fourth similar independent treatise. It is here a question of a splendid bell and its inscription, and the author shows himself well versed in the modern Chinese archaeological literature. He weighs the different interpretations advanced by various famous scholars against each other, and finally, siding with Wang Kuo-wei, he determines the place and the approximate time for the casting of the bell in question, giving thus a fine example how the archaeologist will have to try, in future, to connect important specimens with a concrete locality and age and so obtain fixed points of departure in determining the various *milieux* styles.

Dr. Yetts' treatise marks a great advance from the earlier European works on ancient Chinese bronzes, in so far as he gives serious attention to the literary side of the question. The authors of the two handbooks most in use hitherto—A. Koop, *Early Chinese Bronzes*, 1924, and E. A. Voretzsch, *Altchinesische Bronzen*, 1924, base themselves nearly exclusively on the Sung catalogues *Po ku t'u lu* and *K'ao ku t'u* and the Ts'ing time imperial catalogues (*Si Ts'ing ku kien*, *Si Ts'ing sū kien*, *Ning shou kien ku*), which slavishly follow the pattern of the *Po ku t'u lu*. Koop sometimes inserts quotations of stray remarks in Hamada's Sumitomo catalogue and similar data illustrating the ritual use in ancient China of the objects discussed. This is a very unsatisfactory method. The Sung scholars are too late, too far separated in time from the Chou epoch to be of any great use as witnesses to archaeological facts; and, on the other hand, they are much too old to be up-to-date in the archaeological researches. In fact, it is just the same in Chinese archaeology as in the philology of the Chinese classics. Just as Legge is badly antiquated as interpreter because he based himself upon the learned lore of Sung, Yüan, and Ming time (condensed in the "imperial editions" so much praised by him),¹ in spite of the fact that the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had produced a series of great scholars who went back to the Han time commentators and subjected their data to a quite modern philological criticism—imagine what a splendid reader of Chinese like Legge could have produced, if he had followed Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen for the *Shu king*, Ch'en Huan and Ma Juei-ch'en for the *Shi king*, etc.!—in the same way the Western archaeologist who believes implicitly in the literary data and identifications of the *Po ku t'u lu* is hopelessly antiquated. Yetts has realized this, and courageously tackled the works of more modern Chinese archaeological authors, and his thesis has greatly gained by this. The Chinese literature he has perused for the purpose is extensive, and everywhere in the pages of the present volume we find inserted useful fruits of his Chinese readings, information which will be of great service especially to all those archaeologists and collectors who cannot themselves cut their way through the bush of Chinese literature.

But a philologist is never satisfied. I wonder if it is not necessary, now and then, to go even deeper into the Chinese literature than he has done, and by the aid of the discussions of the learned Shuo-wen

¹ Couvreur as a translator and lexicographer gives the views of the orthodox Sung school, and is thus still more antiquated than Legge.

commentators and others to trace the most ancient data which can give us clues to the various types of objects existing in Chou time and their ritual applications. In order to show what I mean I will discuss here some details of Yetts' first section, the learned and highly instructive study of ancient bells.

Let me first make a general remark. It may seem to be of a purely academic interest to know whether an object in our hands is what the ancient Chinese called a *chung* bell, or it is a *to* bell, or a *cheng* bell, or a *cho* bell. But such is by no means the case. Just as to a student of European mediæval archaeology it is certainly not indifferent if a bowl which he studies is a baptizing bowl, or a communion bowl, or a drinking bowl for feasts, etc., in the same way it is of paramount interest to know if a certain type of ancient Chinese bronze bell is a *chung* or a *cheng* or a *to*, etc., for they all had their different and very well-defined ritual and practical uses, as clearly stated by Yetts, who has carefully recorded the data of ancient texts in regard to the role played by the various types. For a concrete and intimate knowledge of Chinese archaeology, therefore, the distinction of the different groups of objects, their nomenclature and the terminology in regard to their elements is of prime importance.

Yetts distinguishes five principal groups of bells:—

(1) *Chung*.—"These are essentially hanging bells, characterized by the presence of thirty-six bosses, arranged in rows of three, and by the absence of a clapper" (various sub-types).

(2) *Tui*.¹—A bell with a bulbous upper part and a narrower lower part and with an animal figure as a loop for suspension.

(3) (Yetts:) "*Cheng* or *Cho*.—According to the *Shuo wen* 'the *cheng* is a *nao* and resembles a *ling*. Its handle is hollow from top to bottom'. This is followed by the definition of the *nao* as 'a small *cheng*'. But the objects known to us by the term *nao* are jingles or rattles carrying an enclosed ball as clapper, and therefore they differ essentially from the bells recognized as *cheng* in the *Po ku t'u lu* The fact that a hollow handle is a characteristic feature encourages the surmise that a pole or haft passed through the central axis of the bell."

¹ It is a pity that the author, who gives a rich bibliography with the book-titles and authors' names beautifully printed in Chinese characters, has not added a reference page of Chinese characters for all these Chinese technical terms, *tui*, *cheng*, *cho*, *ling*, etc.—a few dozens of words which the serious reader must see in Chinese script, in order to be able to go to the Chinese works of reference (dictionaries, art catalogues). I hope he will see his way to add such a list in the next volume.

(4) *To*.—"This class comprises the clapper bells" (three sub-types).

(5) *Ling* (Yetts:)—"Though the ancient Chinese definitions . . . that liken both *cheng* and *cho* to the *ling* may not be strictly accurate, they do, however, lead us to believe that something which answers to our notion of a bell was known during the Han period as a *ling*. Possibly the ancient *ling* was like the small hanging type which figures in some catalogues under that name, and may be seen, for example, as pendants to the big drum in the Han bas-relief of a band of musicians."

Let us discuss these five types.

(1) To Yetts' full and instructive treatise on the *chung* there is little to add. It is, indeed, a matter of taste and a question of space how far one can go into detail. There is, e.g., the terse and little-saying *Chou-li* passage: "The Fu-shi (wild duck clan) are the makers of *chung* bells. The two *luan* are called *sien*. What is between the *sien* is called *yü*. What is above the *yü* is called the *ku* 'drum'. What is above the drum is called the *cheng*. What is above the *cheng* is called the *wu*," etc. This Yetts intersperses with the notes of Ch'eng Yao-t'ien, and obtains the following description illustrated by a nice diagram: "The Fu-Shih are the makers of bells (*chung*). [Ancient bell not being fully round have two side edges which are] the two *luan* called *hsien*. The part between the [two] *hsien* is called *yü*, above the *yü* is the part called the "drum" (*ku*) [where the bell is struck]; above the drum is [the main body of the bell] called *chéng*; and above the *chéng* is [the top of the bell] called *wu*," etc.

As Yetts points out, it is of no mere academic interest to know these and similar technical terms, for you meet them everywhere in Chinese art treatises, and are lost if you do not know them. Yet it must be said that as they stand there these terms are woefully bare and insignificant. They gain much in interest if one adds their explanations, such as you find them brought together from various authors by the excellent scholar Sun I-jiang and amply added to by himself in his monumental work 周禮正義 *Chou-li cheng i*. This work, which appeared long after Biot's translation, is indeed the final and principal work on the *Chou-li*, and should always be in the hand of every student of Chinese archæology (Yetts' comprehensive and valuable bibliography includes several works of Sun I-jiang, but not this one). Sun suggests that 鑠 *luan* must have the sense of "small and sharp", i.e. a thin edge, as it is very likely etymologically the same word as 鑠 *luan*, defined by *Shuo wen kie tsi*, as 山小而

銳也 "a mountain which is small and sharp". For the term *sien* (*hsien*) reference is made to *Shuo wen kie tsī*: 金之澤者 "metal of rich hue (fine quality)" and it must mean "fine-looking, brilliant metal" (so also the *Erya*); hence the two *sien* are the two "brilliant [points]". *Yü* means "the curved line" and Sü Yang-yüan is quoted who emphasizes that *yü* is the rim as seen from below (or seen on a lying bell), and the *wu* the top as seen from above, both being invisible on a standing bell (seen from the side). The term 鉦 *cheng* means according to Ch'eng Yao-t'ien the 正面 "right side, face" of the bell's body, but Sun interprets it better as the part having the shape of a *cheng*—an upwards slowly tapering barrel (cf. *cheng* below). The *wu* does not mean "la danse", as Biot has it, but 舞 is merely a variant for 廡 *wu*. This means "a covered verandah", the word stem having the fundamental sense of "covered, covering, roof".

(2) The *tui*.—This is a misnomer. The character 鐃 should be read *ch'un*, not *tui*. The error, which Yetts has taken over from the Sumitomo catalogue, is due to a misunderstanding of an entry in Giles' dictionary. There we find 鐃 *tui* "the butt of a spear". That is quite correct. But this is only one sense of the character; it is also used in the present sense of "bell", and is then read *ch'un*. All sources agree in this. Lu Tê-ming, the absolutely normative author on the readings of characters in the classics (author of the 經典釋文) indicates this reading to Chou-li (*ti-kuan, ku-jen*): "read like 淳" and Kuang-yün gives the *fan-ts'ie* 常倫 (anc. *ch'üen*), which gives Pekinese *ch'un*, correctly quoted in the K'ang-hi dictionary.¹ Indeed, it seems likely that this *ch'un* is etymologically the same word as 淳 "pure", meaning the "pure-sounding, clear-sounding" instrument, possibly in contradistinction to 鐃 *cho*, the 濁 "muddled-sounding" instrument. It is unfortunate that wrong word-readings like this are current in the most-read hand-books on Chinese bronzes. The short Chinese words in transcription are sufficiently difficult to remember and recognize, even when correctly rendered; how can a non-sinologue reader know that what one author (correctly) calls a *ch'un* is the same thing which another author calls a *tui*? By the way, the *ch'un* in question is the same kind of bell as the 鐃于 *ch'un-yü* mentioned in the *Kuo-yü* (*Tsin-yü*). Voretzsch labels all bells (*ch'un* and *to* as well) as *chung*, which is a capital error.

(3-5) Now for the remaining three types. Yetts considers *cheng*

¹ That Couvreur reads *chouenn* is not a fault, but is due to the fact that his system is not quite Pekinese; he writes *chouenn* equally for 淳.

and *cho* to be synonym words for one and the same thing, co-ordinated with the other main types *to* and *ling*. Can we confidently accept this view?

It is true that the *Shuo wen kie tsi* says 鐸 鉦 也 "the *cho* is a *cheng*". But identifications like that in the old dictionaries are seldom meant to be absolute; they only mean an approximation, and we can build little on them. This is easily seen from the following florilegium:—

鐸 *nao* defined by 鉦 *cheng* in the *Shuo-wen*;

nao defined by 鈴 *ling* in *Kuang ya* (third century A.D.) and

I ts'ie king yin i, 6 ("a big *ling*");

cheng defined by *nao* in *Shuo wen*;

cheng defined by *ling* in *Kuang ya*;

ling defined by *cheng* in Wei Chao's (third century A.D.) commentary to *Kuo yü* (k'uan 11);

ling defined by 令 丁 *ling-ting*, in *Shuo-wen* (Yün hwei quotes 鈴 釘, *T'ai p'ing yü-lan* 338 quotes 鈴 丁);

ling-ting defined by *cheng* in Wei Chao, *loc. cit.* (the actual text is truncated, but in the 宋庠補音 version we find 丁寧令丁 謂鉦也);

丁寧 *ting-ning* defined by *cheng* in Wei Chao, *loc. cit.*, and in Tu Yü's (third century A.D.) commentary to *Tso chuan*, Süan fourth year.

鐸 *to* defined by *ling* in *Kuang ya*; in *Shuo wen* ("a big *ling*"); in Cheng Hsüan's (second century A.D.) commentary to *Chou-li* (ku-jen) ("a big *ling*");

鐸 *cho* defined by *cheng* in *Shuo wen*; cf. *Ts'ien Han shu*, Li Ling-chuan, the passus: "When he heard the sound of the 金 'metal'," to which Yen Shī-ku remarks: "kin, that means 鉦 the *cheng*—another name being 鐸 *cho*."

cho defined by *nao* in *Shuo wen* (the actual text has only *cho*, *cheng ye*; but K'ung Ying-ta's commentary (*Cheng-i*) to *Shi king* (ode *Ts'ai k'i*) quotes *Shuo wen*: *cho*, *cheng ye*, *nao ye*—so the actual text must be abbreviated);

cho defined by *ling* in *Kuang ya*.

Thus *nao* and *cheng* and *to* and *cho* are all *ling*; *nao* and *ling* and *ling-ting* and *ting-ning* and *cho* are all *cheng*, etc. In other words, all these seven: *nao*, *cheng*, *ling*, *ling-ting*, *ting-ning*, *to*, *cho*, are defined by each other and thus identified (but for a difference in size in some cases). This cannot possibly mean that all the names are but synonyms

for identical objects, as the various types have different ritual functions, but shows that the definitions are only meant as approximations. The *nao* is "something akin to a *ling*", etc. Hence Yetts' identification of *cheng* and *cho* as two names for one and the same type may not be allowable.

In order to penetrate the matter further we have to search out such passages in the most ancient commentaries where something is said of the shape of the objects.

We can then start with the *cheng*, and its *Shuo wen* description: 鉦 鐘也似鈴柄中上下通.¹ This is translated by Yetts: "It resembles a *ling*. Its handle is hollow from top to bottom." It is, however, doubtful if this translation is correct. Tuan Yü-ts'ai, Wang Yün, and Chu Tsün-sheng, the three greatest authorities on the *Shuo wen*, all punctuate after 中 *chung*, and Tuan says: *cho*, *ling*, *cheng*, and *nao* are similar but not identical. *Cho* and *ling* resemble a *chung* bell, but have a tongue, which produces the sound. *Cheng* has no tongue. The expression *ping chung* means that half of the handle is above and half is below. [The lower part] is slightly wider than the hole, so that it resists (does not slip through). When you hold the handle and shake it, it is caused to beat against the body and makes the sound. This description of Tuan's tallies very well with Yetts' surmise of a "pole or haft passed through the central axis of the bell".

For his interpretation Tuan has the following *points d'appui*. *Shuo wen* says that *nao* is a "small *cheng*". Now, to the *Chou-li* (*ti kuan, ku jen*) passage: "By a bronze *nao* one stops the [beating of the] drums," Cheng Hsün's commentary says: "The *nao* is like a *ling* but has no tongue; it has a handle grasping which one makes it sound, in order to stop the [beating of the] drums." This Cheng's description of a *nao* agrees perfectly with Hsü Shen's description of a *cheng*. And the use of the two instruments is the same. In his commentary to *Shi king*, ode *Ts'ai k'i* (cf. above), in which ode it is spoken of 鉦人 *cheng jen* "the men with the *cheng*", Mao Ch'ang (second century B.C.) says: "By *cheng* bells one quietens (stops) them (the soldiers), by the *ku* drums one sets them in motion

¹ We cannot even be quite sure that the text here is exactly preserved. *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, k. 584, p. 5 b, quotes *Shuo wen* thus: 鉦 鐘也鈴柄中上下通鉦也. But the reading given above (the actual *Shuo wen* text) re-occurs word by word in Ying Shao's (second century A.D.) commentary to *Ts'ien Han shu*, k. 12, p. 3b, and also in K'ung Ying-ta's commentary to *Shi king* (ode *Ts'ai k'i*, *Siao-ya* section) and in *1 ts'ie king yin i*, k. 4; so it is probable that the *T'ai p'ing yü lan* has corrupted the quotation.

(causes them to advance). Thus we know from two ancient sources that the *cheng* and the *nao* both are made to sound by means of a handle which itself (but not a tongue) beats against the body, when the bell is shaken. And we know, equally from ancient sources, that both serve to stop the advancing-signal, the drum. We may, then, be sure that both terms had in view, as Yetts correctly says, the bell with the hollow shaft. Several such bells are reproduced in the *Po ku t'u lu*, but curiously enough none in the later imperial catalogues. An excellent idea of a true *cheng* the Western reader can get from the fine plate xxi in Tch'ou Tö-yi, *Bronzes antiques de la Chine* (1924)—a *cheng* 0.29 m. in height. And it is but reasonable to accept *Shuo wen*'s statement that the *nao* is a smaller *cheng*.¹ But when Yetts (p. 9) says: "The authors seem to evade an explanation of the manner in which the *cheng* were used, except to state that the spot in which the *cheng* are struck must have been at a higher level on the bell than that of the *sui* of the *chung*," I think he is off the track. When the *Po ku t'u lu*, followed by later catalogues, gives the name of 舞鏡 *wu nao* "dancing *nao*" to rattles—round bells with a ball inside, surrounded by a sun-shaped sphere, the application of the term *nao* is very arbitrary. The *Pei wen yün fu* does not know of the term *wu-nao* earlier than the *Po ku t'u lu*.

If we pass on to the *to*, Yetts is certainly right in defining them as clapper bells. It is true that most of the specimens recorded in the catalogues lack the "tongue" (clapper). There are *to* hand-bells given both in the *Po ku t'u lu*, the *Ning shou kien ku*, the *Si Ts'ing ku kien*, and the *Si Ts'ing sü kien*, but only in one case in the last one is there mentioned a 舌 "tongue". The probability is that the clappers were applied in various fashions. Yetts gives a *to* with a clapper duly attached to a bar inside the bell. Koop, pl. lx, gives a *to* which is clapperless, but he says: "It has the remains of a grating closing its mouth and might very well have had a loose wooden ball within, to act as clapper." That a tongue belongs to the *to* type seems certain. To *Chou-li* (*t'ien kuan*, *siao tsai*): "The *siao tsai* goes the announcing round with a 木鐸 wooden *to*," Cheng Hsuan says: "*mu to* means 木舌 wooden tongue," thus "bell with a wooden tongue". The *mu to* is mentioned in various passages in the classics (e.g. *Lun yü*), see Yetts, p. 11. There cannot be much doubt that the *to* of the

¹ Ch'en Huan, *Huang Ts'ing ling k'ie shü pien*, k. 794, p. 20a, tries to show that *cheng* is a general name for smaller bells, including both *cho*, *nao*, and *to*, but his arguments are not convincing.

catalogues, hand bells with a good handle, apt to be shaken by hand so as to ring, are correctly identified. Yetts includes under the *to* another type (p. 10): "The barrel of the third type approximates in height and width the proportions of the *chung*, and there is a loop in place of a handle. Probably the inclusion of the last type is not justified according to classical usage; for the *to* is essentially a hand-bell, and this type is a hanging bell. It appears to differ from the *ling* only as regards its greater size." As we shall see presently, Yetts is probably right in doubting its classification among the *to*.

In regard to the *ling* Yetts is remarkably hesitating. He seems to think that we can come no further than to the probability that in Han time the term was used for "something like our notion of a bell". I believe we can afford to be more positive, already for Chou time. There can hardly be a doubt that various commentators are right in identifying the *ling*, the *ling-ting* and the *ting-ling*, all three words being imitative of the sound (as Yetts correctly states about the *ling*). That the *ling* of Chou time was a small bell follows from the fact that it was placed on top of the banner poles. To the passage *ho ling ying ying* "the *ho* and *ling* bells tinkle", in the ode *Tsai hien* (*Shi king*, *Chou sung*), Mao Ch'ang's commentary remarks: "*Ling* are on the top of the banner staff." And the *Eryu* says: "[Flags] with *ling* are called *k'i*," to which the early commentator *Kuo P'o* remarks: "They suspend the *ling* on top of the banner pole." From this same fact we can conclude that *ling* were bells with a tongue, as they could not be struck in that position. As to their shape, I know of no earlier testimony than the *Ts'ie yün*, written in the sixth century A.D. (k. 1, p. 12a, of a photographic reproduction of a T'ang manuscript, published in 1925 with the title 刊經補缺切韻), where it is said: "鈴似鍾而小 *ling* is like a *chung* but smaller." In later times the term *ling* has been applied to various kinds of small bells, and the bronze catalogues occasionally use the term for small bells or rattles of ball shape. But the data just quoted confirm Yetts' opinion that the fundamental sense of *ling* was a bell of the *chung* shape shown in the Han relief cited. And the term is applied to such a bell: a *chung* shape with a loop handle, the body of the bell being only a little more than two Chinese inches high, in the *Si Ts'ing ku kien* (k. 36, p. 52).

The most intricate question is that of the 鐃 *cho*. Yetts simply considers it as a synonym for *cheng*, probably on the strength of the *Shuo wen* definition *cho*, *cheng* *ye*. But as I have shown, this proves nothing. The Chinese scholars are very uncertain as regards the *cho*.

None of the imperial catalogues label any bell in the collections as a *cho*, and the *Ku kin t'u shu tsi ch'eng*, which illustrates various types of bells with pictures, gives no illustration for the *cho*—in other words, the compilers of these various works did not know how a *cho* was shaped. The lexicographers are at variance. A commentator of the *Shuo wen* 徐灝 Sū Hao (Ts'ing time) says that *cho*, *ling*, *cheng*, *nao*, and *to* all had the same shape, the only difference being that *ling* and *to* had a tongue, the others not—thus the *cho* would be tongueless. Tuan Yü-ts'ai, on the contrary (as quoted above), rightly sets the *to* quite apart, and says the *cho*, *ling*, *cheng*, and *nao* are similar but not identical, *cho* and *ling* resembling a *chung*, but having a tongue which the *chung* has not. To make a decision between these views is not easy. If Yetts (and Sū Hao) were right, it would mean that the *cho* would be (identical with the *cheng* and hence) identical with the *nao* and differing from it only in size. But in the *Chou-li* (*ku jen*) we find: "With the bronze *ch'un* the pitch of the drums is set; with the bronze *cho* the time of the drums is regulated; with the bronze *nao* the drums are signalled to stop" (Yetts, p. 8). Here there is a direct opposition between *cho* and *nao*: the *cho* regulates the rhythm of the drums, the *nao* stops them altogether. It is little likely that the same instrument (only varying in size) should have these somewhat contrary applications. Still more clearly the difference comes out in the *Chou-li*, *Ta-si-ma* section (Yetts, p. 9): "The leader of a company [of soldiers] takes a *nao*; the leader of a platoon takes a *to*; the leader of five men takes a *cho*". If the *cho* were equal to a *cheng* (the *cheng* being a bigger *nao*) this is quite unreasonable—why should a leader of five men have the same commanding instrument as a company leader, but of a larger size? These passages suggest rather that the *cho* was a quite different type from a *nao* (*cheng* shape).

Thus we have to side with Tuan Yü-ts'ai. This eminent scholar has seized upon the only description of a *cho* existing in the oldest literature: Cheng Hsuan in his commentary to *Chou-li* (*ku jen*) says: "Its shape is like a small *chung*." This is precisely the definition of a *ling* in *Ts'ie yüan* (as quoted above), and Tuan logically concludes that *ling* and *cho* are closely akin, in fact, they are but two varieties of the same object, and hence the *cho* ought to have a tongue just as well as the *ling*. Just as in the case of the *cheng* and the *nao*, the difference between them must reasonably be a difference in size. It stands to reason that a *cho*, serving as signal instrument in the hand of an officer, must be larger than a *ling*, which is placed on top of a banner

pole. It is, indeed, tempting to identify the *cho* with the bell described by Yetts as the "third type" of the *to*, and of which he says: "The barrel of the third type approximates in height and width to the proportions of the *chung*, and there is a loop in place of a handle . . . it appears to differ from the *ling* only as regards its greater size." I suppose that by this category Yetts has in view a bell like the one represented by Teh'ou Tō-yi in pl. vii (height 0.31 m.)—that is in any case how I imagine a *cho* to have looked, according to the data just quoted.

If these deductions from data in the classics and in the oldest set of commentaries¹ (Han and Six dynasties) are correct, we have arrived at the following principal groups of bells:—

- (1) *Chung*—big bells with bosses—as described by Yetts;
- (2) *Ch'un* or *ch'un-yü*—a bulbous upper part with a narrower collar below, and with an animal shape as handle;
- (3) Bells with a hollow shaft, through which passed a handle that penetrated down into the interior of the bell and struck the sides when shaken: big variety *cheng*, and small variety *nao*;
- (4) *To*—hand-bells with loose tongues;
- (5) Bells of *chung* shape, but smaller and with tongue: big variety *cho*, and small variety *ling*.

* * * * *

These remarks of mine are intended less as a criticism of Dr. Yetts' treatise than as a complement to it. Indeed, the author is such an able and sure guide in the wild forest of Chinese archaeology that we can wish for no better, and we can congratulate Mr. Eumorfopoulos that for the task of preparing a scientific account of this collection he has secured this scholar.

BERNHARD KARLGREN.

¹ Yetts says (p. 11) with a certain disesteem: "Legge's translation of 'bells on his horse's forehead and bits, and those on his carriage pole' merely reflects the explanations of commentators." What are we then to build our studies on, if not the informations given by commentators? I want to emphasize the fact that as valueless as are the speculations of late commentators, who are guessing and reconstructing right and left, without safe foundations, just as valuable are the data given by the *earliest* commentators (who lived sufficiently early to have seen a lot of Chou objects), if only they are pieced together methodically and carefully sifted. A careful scrutiny of particularly the Han time commentators is the way the great Chinese scholars of the last 150 years have followed—and as far as I can see it is the only way possible. The fault of Legge and others is not that they have followed the Chinese commentators (without them we are helpless) but that they have considered *all* commentators—early and late—as equally good, believing that one can choose *ad libitum* between various explanations—if they have only some time been expressed by some Chinese commentator!

BULLETIN OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE RESEARCH IN CHINESE ARCHITECTURE, Vol. I, No. 1. Pei-p'ing, 1930.

This is a new art journal, printed and published in Pei-p'ing (Peking), of which a copy of the first issue dated last July, has just arrived in England.

A portrait of Li Chieh, author of the *Ying tsao fa shih*, appropriately appears as the frontispiece. This is followed by a note on the founding of the Society and the inaugural address by the President, Chu Ch'i-ch'ien, the latter being given in English as well as Chinese. The next thirty pages are devoted to a biographical notice in memory of Li Chieh on the 820th anniversary of his death. A large part is occupied by the facsimile reproduction of two articles by W. Perceval Yetts, the first being a long bibliographical study of the *Ying tsao fa shih* which appeared three years ago in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*. A summary of this is given in Chinese. The second of Mr. Yetts' articles, which arrests most attention, is reproduced complete with half-tone illustrations from *The Burlington Magazine* of March, 1927. This absorbingly interesting and scholarly article is entitled "Writings on Chinese Architecture". It should greatly please Mr. Yetts to find that his patient research work in this subject is so fully appreciated in China itself, even though piratical methods have been employed in order to reproduce it! The article is followed by a translation, English done into Chinese, which adds still further point to the compliment.

A list of errata to the 1925 edition of the *Ying tsao fa shih* will be useful to those who possess a copy, and to those who do not the announcement will be of interest that the far-seeing Commercial Press has recently published a revised edition of this most celebrated book written by a Chinese on Chinese Architecture.

ARNOLD SILCOCK.

HAKKA-CHINESE LESSONS. By BERNARD MERCER. London, Sheldon Press. 1930. v + 190 pp. 10s. 6d.

This book is very much to be commended. The author quite evidently writes out of wide and long experience. One can gather this apart altogether from what is set down in a forenote, which reveals the fact that the work is the result of a gradual process, covering many years, and tested by personal intercourse with the people. It is evident also from the fact that points are dealt with in a clear,

concise, orderly, and complete fashion, which shows an intimate knowledge of the subject.

It is the only work of its kind in existence and is a most useful book to put into the hands of anyone desiring to obtain a workable everyday knowledge of the Hakka dialect of the Chinese language. The romanization employed is that which is now commonly used by Hakka students, and accords with that adopted in MacIver's (now Mackenzie's) valuable Hakka Dictionary. Although the dialect followed is admittedly "Sin-On", it conforms closely to "Ka-Yin-Chiu" (commonly regarded as standard Hakka), and is remarkably free from localisms. In many cases, where these do occur, alternatives are given. A noteworthy exception to this appears in Section 92, dealing with the suffix "Hoi", denoting the "finishing of an action". A much more common suffix, expressive of this idea and without the specialized meaning of "Hoi", is "Liau". But there does not appear to be any reference to so important a word in the whole course of the book.

The book is commendable for many reasons. Difficult and rather abstruse points are explained in simple, lucid, easily-remembered terms. Idiomatic phrases in daily use are set forth clearly and fully. Each lesson is of very manageable length and finishes with exercises for translation into English and Hakka, to which there is a very useful key at the end of the book. Moreover, the arrangement throughout in paragraphs is most convenient, both for reference and revision purposes. Every here and there helpful cautions are given where the beginner may easily find a pitfall. And the lessons on such complicated subjects as "Potential and Subjunctive Moods", "Family Relationships", "Weights and Measures" are particularly valuable. For those whose interest lies in Borneo (where the writer himself lives), there is a special chapter on "Borneo Chinese words".

It only remains to add that with every lesson there is a vocabulary of words in common use so full in their cumulative effect that the student who masters this volume will find that he already has a very sound working knowledge of the language. Especially will this be so if he has followed the writer's advice to go forth boldly, using, in conversation with a native Hakka, the words and phrases gradually acquired. He who does this will soon discover that it is as the writer himself says in his Introduction, "this language is worthy of serious study and as one progresses becomes more and more fascinating."

W. BERNARD PATON.

LE JAPONAIS ET LES LANGUES AUSTROASIATIQUES : ÉTUDE DE VOCABULAIRE COMPARÉ. Par NOBUHIRO MATSUMOTO. (= Austro-Asiatica, documents et travaux publiés sous la direction de Jean Przyluski, tome i.) $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, x + 117 pp. Paris: Paul Geuthner. 1928.

Once again has the difficult problem of the position of Japanese in relation to other languages been brought to our notice; this time by a Japanese scholar, Dr. N. Matsumoto, who in this extremely interesting volume has compared 113 sets of Japanese words with similar terms in the Austroasiatic and Austronesian languages. The book has been most adequately reviewed by Dr. C. O. Blagden in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (July, 1930), and this fact should dispense with any further need for remark.

There remain, however, a few points that seem to call for comment. In the first place the author appears to find a linguistic connection between the following sets of Japanese words: *kaho* "face, visage, figure", *ho* "jone" (2, p. 46); *saka* "crête", *ke* "cheveux" (8, p. 48); *-ki, -gi* "mâle", *-kara* in *u-kara, ya-kara* "clan", *hara-kara* "frère et sœur utérins" (22 p. 51); *kira-* in *kira-meku* "briller, étinceler" and in *a-kira-ka* "clair" (34, p. 45); *kumo* "nuage", *kabu-* in *kabu-ru* "se couvrir" (38, p. 56); *ine, šine* "riz en herbe", *yone* "riz décortiqué", *nahe* "jeune pousse d'une plante; on l'emploie surtout pour désigner la jeune pousse du riz", and *neba-* in *neba-ru* "glutineux" (51, pp. 59-60); *saru, mašira* "singe" (71, p. 66); *hiku* "tirer", *hiraku* "ouvrir" (88, p. 70); *niru* "cuire", *nuku-* in *nuku-ši* "tiède, agréablement chaud, etc." (101, p. 73). If each of these sets of words is to be considered as being etymologically related, it is necessary for the author to establish their original form and meaning, before attempting a comparison with other languages. Thus, for example, in the case of *kaho* "face", *ho* "cheek", and *saka* "crest", *ke* "hair", it must first be explained which of the two more faithfully preserves the older form, that is to say, whether the *ka-* and *sa-* are prefixes of some kind or the words *ho* and *ke* have lost their initial stem syllables. Similarly, the nature of the *i-*, *ši-* and *yo-* of *ine*, *šine*, and *yone* should be made clear, if these words go back to **neb* or **nep* as the author supposes. So also the *ma-* in *mašira* "ape". As to the pairs of words *hiku* "to pull", *hiraku* "to open", and *niru* "to cook", *nukuši* "is warm", we find little in common, at least in their forms, unless we assume that the *-k-* and *-r-* have both

developed from *-kr-*, *-rk-*, or from a uvular consonant such as a rolled *ḡ* or a fricative *ḡ*. Similarly the stem of *akiraka* "clear" is, in my opinion, *aki-*, which has nothing to do with *kira-*. On the other hand the stem *kara-* in *karada* "corps" (16, p. 50) and that in *ukara*, etc. (22, p. 51) appear to be identical, although Dr. Matsumoto distinguishes the two. The word *haki* "extrémité, bout, bord" (107, p. 74) may likewise be related to *hate* "extrême limite, etc." (108, p. 74).

Further, the word *yubi* "doigt" (21, p. 51) goes back, not to **yupi* as the author assumes, but to *oyobi* "finger", whereas *mairu* "venir" (96, p. 72) has always been written *mauiru*. It is quite possible that in the latter word the syllabic writing *ui* is nothing more than an orthographic expedient for the prevention of two consecutive vowels, but inasmuch as we have no substantial evidence to the contrary, we must follow the orthography and read the word *mauiru*, in which case the Japanese word in point can hardly be related to the Cam *mai* "to come", and so forth.

As regards the relationship between Japanese and the Austroasiatic and Austronesian languages, we can be almost certain that there are in Japanese many words which have their prototypes in these language groups; the names of reptiles and agricultural terms in particular. But when attempting a comparison of Japanese words with those in a language or a group of languages which is entirely different in its salient features as in the present case, one must carefully avoid such terms as may be found in similar forms in other languages morphologically and syntactically identical or very close to Japanese, or, to say the least, these languages should also be taken into consideration. This, to our regret, appears to have been neglected by the author of the present work. Of the 113 sets of Japanese words quoted by Dr. Matsumoto, well over 20 are found in the Altaic and Finno-Ugrian languages in forms no less resembling the Japanese than those which have been chosen by the author from the Austroasiatic and Austronesian languages. Besides, there are also some words which may be considered to be of Chinese origin, as, for example, *kahi* (< **kapi*) "endroit étroit, gorge" (63, p. 63) (? < Anc. Chinese 峽 *yap* 陝, 峽, "gorge, mountain pass, defile") and *take* "bambou" (56, p. 61); for this latter, see my article contributed in this number of the *Bulletin*.

When these and other doubtful cases are removed, no more than thirty-five of the entire 113 sets of Japanese words selected by Dr. Matsumoto can be accepted as probably of Austroasiatic or Austro-

nesian origin. This, however, does not mean that the conclusions arrived at by the author are altogether impossible, but it clearly shows that we cannot decide their accuracy for lack of knowledge concerning the Japanese words themselves.

In the circumstances, Dr. Matsumoto's work is undoubtedly one of the most useful contributions of recent years to the comparative study of the Japanese language, and is one that should be read by every student in this line of inquiry.

S. YOSHITAKE.

SCHRIFTEN DER ARBEITSGEMEINSCHAFT DER AEGYPTOLOGEN UND AFRIKANISTEN IN WIEN. I Band. WALTER TILL: Koptische Chrestomathie für den Fayumischen Dialekt mit grammatischer Skizze und Anmerkungen. Selbstverlag der Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Ae. u. A. in Wien, Augustinerbastei 6. ii + 30 pp. 3s. 3d.

Herr Till, who is already honourably known for his work on the Akhmimic dialect of Coptic, has now put us further in his debt by this useful collection of Fayoumic texts. They have all been previously published, but in scattered periodicals, some of them difficult of access, and the student will be glad to find them together.

It is a dialect with what would be called in Greek "Doric" characteristics, a broad *a* often taking the place of other vowels (there are other vowel-changes too elaborate for enumeration here); and a substitution of *l* for *r* easily explicable when we remember that the ancient Egyptians (like the modern Chinese) did not distinguish these two labials. Herr Till gives a short preliminary account of these phonetic and orthographical peculiarities—just enough to introduce the student to this dialect, which is not difficult to those already familiar with Sa'idic and Bohairic.

He regrets (as do we) that he had not the space to place the same passages in the other dialects side by side with his Fayoumic texts. He does, however, give the Lord's Prayer in all three. The Fayoumic twice presents a simplification, as compared with the other two, which may mean that the translator found some difficulties in subtlety of expression: "thy will in heaven may it be done on earth," and "thine is the power and the glory".

I naturally take a personal interest in the passages from Acts vii and ix presented by Herr Till, as I first published them in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, xi (July, 1910): Lefort printed them some years

later in *Muséon*, not aware of my previous publication. In vii, 24 Till follows Lefort in reading $\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\eta\epsilon\eta\epsilon\tau \alpha\gamma\tau \eta\epsilon\gamma \eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\sigma\iota\alpha\gamma\eta\eta\eta$ ($\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron \kappa\alpha\iota \epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu \epsilon\kappa\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta\sigma\iota\nu$), but $\alpha\gamma\tau \eta\epsilon\gamma$ is definitely wrong. I printed in its place $\alpha\gamma\iota\lambda\iota$, putting it in brackets because I was not quite certain of it; but a year ago Mr. Crum scrutinised the manuscript anew and told me that he could see . . . $\iota\lambda\iota$ quite plainly.

Herr Till promises us further instalments of work on this interesting dialect, to which we look forward eagerly, grateful for what he gives us now.

STEPHEN GASELEE.

EGYPTIAN COLLOQUIAL ARABIC READER. The American University at Cairo Oriental Studies. Edited by E. E. ELDER. xiii + 154 pp. London: Oxford University Press, 1927.

It is over two years since Mr. Elder's fascinating book was published, and one hopes that he will publish a further collection of stories as told in the colloquial. Nothing quite so ambitious as part iii of section x, "Some Christian Beliefs," has been attempted before in the colloquial, and the result is what might be called "Literary Colloquial". To quote the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1928, No. 7, in a review by Prof. A. Schaade, "Die Abhandlungen über theologische Fragen am Schluss des Buches (S. 142-150) können sogar eine gewisse Bedeutung in der Geschichte der ägyptisch-arabischen Literatur beanspruchen, da hier—so viel ich weiss, zum ersten mal—gezeigt wird, dass sich auch wissenschaftliche Gegenstände sehr wohl in einem Vulgärdialekt behandeln lassen."

A great deal has been written on Egyptian colloquial, but not many texts have been published on the lines of Spitta Bey's *Contes Arabes modernes* and the tales in Willmore's Grammar.

It is true that Green published a collection of stories taken from various sources which are extremely useful to the student of colloquial, but many of these had been published previously and moreover are printed in Arabic characters without vowel points, so that from the point of view of phonetics they are not of great value. Mr. Elder's work is based strictly on the system evolved by the late Canon Gairdner and is intended to take the place of a Reader for the students of the School of Oriental Studies, Cairo. To quote from the preface: "The subject-matter of this book is largely the product

of Egyptian instructors in the School of Oriental Studies. The Editor makes no claim to originality in the composition of the book, but has aimed throughout to have it represent Egyptian thought and expression. It has been his task to select, suggest, outline, and review, but he has been careful to have all that appears pass the approval of at least two Egyptians, and often many more."

The Reader is divided into ten sections:—

No. I. Short anecdotes.

No. II. (a) Tales of Guha, "an apparent simpleton who gets the laugh in the end by some facetious remark or drollery." (b) Tales of Abu Nawwas.

Many of the tales in Nos. I and II have been taken from the first edition of Gairdner's Grammar.

No. III. Short stories, including some concerning Dervish Saints.

All the tales and anecdotes in I, II, and III are excellent and typical. I would specially mention No. III, 13, "The Story of the Fisherman," supplied by Miss Padwick.

No. IV. Tales from the collection of Spitta Bey. Mr. Elder was wise to include these, as though old tales they are full of expressions and idioms, and give one an idea of the life in earlier days when Lane wrote the classic *Modern Egyptians*.

Part of the dialogue of IV, 1, between the Day-Thief and the Night-Thief when they first meet in the Café is quoted in *Orientalische Höflichkeit*, p. 22, by Østrup. The tales are not only amusing but full of material for the student of colloquial.

No. V. Dialogues and occupations. The authors of these dialogues have sprinkled them with proverbs and neat turns of expression which more than anything else introduce the foreigner to the mentality of the people. Some of the headings will give an idea of their usefulness. For example, "An invitation to dinner," "The experienced buyer," "The tailoress and her apprentice," "The eye-doctor and the peasant." There are sixteen of these dialogues and they cover a great deal of ground. No. 17 gives details of the education given at the "Azhar" University in Cairo, and No. 18 gives technicalities connected with the building of a house.

No. VI. "The adventures of Messrs. Long and Short, American tourists in Egypt," is amusing and instructive.

No. VII. (i) Customs and Beliefs. This should be read in connection with Lane's *Modern Egyptians* and that excellent work by Miss Blackman, *The Fallahin of Upper Egypt*. (ii) Moslem Feast Days.

No. VIII. Proverbs. This section is invaluable as every proverb is placed in its own setting and explained.

No. IX. Popular songs and rhymes. Some of these are very difficult.

No. X. Bible section. (i) Stories from the history of Israel; (ii) Bible portions; (iii) Some Christian beliefs.

In (ii) the translation of the British and Foreign Bible Society has been adopted, and the attempt to keep literally to the original has made the translation at times ambiguous. For example, p. 142, l. 18, "soḡb^l ḡale'k turfus manaxis" "it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks," following the classical translation. I note that Willcocks omits these words in his colloquial rendering of this passage, perhaps following Moffatt. So also p. 126, l. 10, "wi ʔdsḡadu muḡriḡa bida:l ibnu" "and he offered it up as a burnt offering in the place of his son," and p. 127, l. 28, "waḡḡ rōdi" "an evil beast," both of which are literal translations of the Hebrew. It struck me also that the style of some of the stories of (i) was rather varied, most of it being very colloquial, although here and there one meets literary words such as "arsal". I have already remarked on the style of Sect. X (iii), the words used and the construction being nearer the literary language than the colloquial. This is possibly a concession on the part of the editor to meet the demand of the more educated for a more literary form of colloquial, though in point of fact it would be difficult to treat such abstruse themes in any other way without resorting definitely to literary Arabic.

Remarks on Grammar, Syntax, etc.

p. 2, l. 26. I am told that "ḡaxḡax il ḡana:ḡil" "jingled the small bells" is better than "ḡaxḡax fi_l ḡana:ḡil".

p. 3, l. 2, "wi_dda: lu masalan riḡa:l" "he gave him about a riyal"; compare p. 36, l. 22, "fa fiḡlu lamma daxal il lei:l li_s sa:ḡa_rbaḡa masalan min il lei:l" "they waited until it was about 4 o'clock at night, i.e. 4 in the morning". The use of "masalan" in these sentences is idiomatic but expressive.

p. 4, l. 20, "ka'n ḡana:di wi_jḡu:l" "he was hawking and saying". This form iii is used in the Sudan for No. 1, "nada" "to call". For curious uses of "nada" with direct and indirect objects see p. 47, "wi nadahu li_mḡammad," and a few lines further on "indah_ibnak" and next line "nadahu ibn il malik". This corresponds to the English "call" and "call out to".

p. 6. The peasant and the wax figures. Sheikh Hāmīd Abdel Kādir tells me that in the original tale, when the Fallāḥ is knocked down by the owner of the shop, he is made to say "eṣ maṣna da illi bi-l lawaḥib" "why is it that this one has springs?" In the sixth line of this tale note the delightful personification of the colloquial "kullima tṣablu toswira", etc., "every time a figure met him," where we should say "every time he met a figure".

p. 6, last line but three, "tiṣmilṣ maṣruṣ," which is equivalent to "tiṣmil maṣruṣ" or "iṣmil maṣruṣ" "will you, please" or "please". I do not remember seeing this usage "ṣ" of the negative without "ma—" mentioned in the colloquial grammars.

p. 7, piece, No. 20, "The persistent beggar," is very difficult. l. 7, "li ṣinnī ḡakl il ṣeṣ jihibb lamm adan'din lak suwajja wi-ddini-lli fiḥ-il ṣisma" "for everyone's living requires that (one makes an effort) . . . I am going to play a tune—give me my due". So also the last line of the tale: "ja-bni sudḡi ṣadik ḡoḥḥ la-jwarrik" "Oh, my son, may the pain that I feel be transferred to your enemies. May God not visit (show) you with it".

Section II, Guha and Abu Nawwas, contains some very good stories and some idiomatic colloquial such as p. 15, l. 5: "iwṣi hissik wi ṣenik il malik jifu:ṣik" "Be careful (to control) your voice and your eye that the king does not see you".

p. 16, l. 2, "wi-nsorofu-l ḥa-l sabi'lhum" "and they went their own way". I am told there is a subtle difference in usage—"li ḥa:l sabi'lhum" for past and "fi ḥa:l sabi'lhum" for present.

p. 21. Ṣizzinni, a colloquial corruption of عُدَّ أَنِّي "count that I am", "consider me".

p. 24. "bare:tak bil ḥaṣṣ wil mistaḥaṣṣ" should have been, I am told, "mil ḥaṣṣ". Note also in the literary language the second form of the verb would be required.

p. 26, l. 2, "xudu:hum bi s sirt la jiglibu:kum" "Take them by reputation (bluff through flattery) lest they defeat you". This is a difficult expression.

p. 30, l. 24. Note facetious way of expressing "a few saints" by "a handful of saints" "kabṣit ḡawlija".

p. 31, l. 9. "jisa:biṣ ṣale:h" "He would race ahead of him" is much more expressive than merely "jisa:biṣu". Compare also p. 25, l. 35, "kaṣṣor il farro:n fi wiṣṣu", where the preposition "fi"

implies not only that the baker frowned but that he met the hunter with a frown on his face.

p. 34, l. 19, "gaj beti leh ana dilwaʔt" "Why has he come to my house now?" The position of "leh" between "beti" and "ana" is very curious and very ungrammatical, but gives a slightly different nuance to the sentence.

p. 37, last line but six, "abu:ja ma maʔt baʔa: lu sanate:n." The dialogue of which this is the last sentence is very interesting and typical. "Did not my father die two years ago?" meaning "My father died two years ago".

p. 44, l. 22. "fi ʕizz is siba:ja." This has been copied straight from Spitta Bey's *Contes Arabes Modernes*. It should be "fi ʕizzⁱ siba:ja" "in the strength of my youth". Otherwise it makes no sense. This was pointed out in the critique on Mr. Elder's book in the *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, 1928, No. 7.

p. 50, last line but three. "boslit il muhibbⁱ xaruf wi l mahabba tustur" "The onion of the loved one is a sheep and love conceals (it)", i.e. "love overlooks everything." Compare the Syrian proverb "ḏorb il habibⁱ zabib" "The blow of the lover is a raisin".

p. 51, l. 9, and p. 53, ll. 24, 25, and 27. "ʕuʔba:l," which is a combination of عَيْبِي ^{ʕaybi}, is a very curious colloquial corruption.

p. 52, l. 24. "ʔolfo: jixzi_l ʕe:n ʕanha" "May God put the evil eye to shame (and remove it) from her". Short and concise.

p. 56, last line but three. "di_bḏo:ʕa waʔrid biladha" "These are goods imported from the country of their origin". The word "min" is omitted in this expression. One says "waʔrid Uro:ba" "imported from Europe".

p. 64, last two lines. "da_lli_ʕiʕtⁱ bih min ḏahr id dunja robbina ma_jgallib lakfⁱ_wlijja" "That which I have brought forth from the back of the world may God not trouble a woman relative of yours", i.e. "may she not suffer as I have". An idiomatic and difficult sentence.

p. 77, l. 16. "wi naʔʔafin il m^aʕallim min do:l lamma tinʔitiʕ ʔi:du ma jigibⁱ wachid minhum" "And as for the painters another contractor, even after all his efforts, will not obtain any like them". "tinʔitiʕ ʔi:du" "to make an effort" is very idiomatic and not in Spiro. Should be tinʔitiʕ, see list of misprints below.

p. 82, l. 21. "wi_l hisa:b jigmaʕ" "and the accounting will collect", i.e. "we will settle up afterwards".

p. 83, last line but 4. Note the weakening of the meaning of "taṣṣub" in modern Arabic from "fanaticism" to mere prejudice.

p. 87, l. 12. "w_ismuhum xamas ʔawʔat" should be "w_ismuhum il xamas ʔawʔat" "and their name is the five times", i.e. "They are called the five prayers".

p. 93. The first three lines of p. 93 are difficult to understand at first, as "madaʔtu" is a misprint for "madagtu" and the word "tinin" is a corruption from "taʔinn", meaning "she groans".

p. 123, last line but nine. Surely "fabb", not being a class or species, should not take "wahid" to make it indefinite. In this connection it is interesting to compare the instances given in the first section of the book (Short Anecdotes); cf. p. 3, l. 2, "kan ro:gil", not "kan wahid ro:gil".

One might draw attention to many more curious idioms and expressions, especially in Section VIII (Proverbs) and Section IX (Popular Rhymes and Songs), but space forbids.

The following are a few examples of passives retained in the colloquial. As one might expect, most of these examples are found in religious expressions or proverbs.

p. 4, l. 27. "tufrōg" "may it be eased". The cry of the hawker.

"inn olloḥ summi as satta:r" "Verily God is named 'The Protector'".

"tikun fi ḥanakak tiʔsam li gerak" for "tuʔsam" "There is many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip". Cf. p. 109, l. 24, where the proverb is given in a slightly different form: "tibʔa_f buʔʔak tiʔsam li gerak."

p. 21, last line but 4 and 5. "ʔalafam il woroʔa ma tistaʔmolf taini n arra" "because the postage stamp cannot be used another time".

p. 31, last line. "lamma gulbit min il xobiz" "when she was overcome by the baking".

p. 51, l. 14. "ju:snl" "it will be delivered".

p. 107, l. 21. "jixlaʔ min ḍoḥr il ʔalim fa:siḍ" "(Sometimes) a corrupt person is created from a learned man": "jixlaʔ" being the colloquial pronunciation of "juxlaʔ", otherwise it would mean "(God) creates sometimes a corrupt person from a learned man". The former rendering is much more probable.

The following are a few examples of second and third forms used where the object is not expressed or understood.

p. 30, l. 15. "la₂ttowwili wala tʔossari" "Do not make long or short", i.e. "cut your story short".

p. 49, l. 23. "ʔa:nist" for "ʔa:nistina" "you have given us the pleasure of your company".

p. 57, l. 25. "di be:ʃ wi firo jizahhaʔ" "this is commerce which disgusts one".

p. 61. lahsan jirub wi jʔottotʃ "let it (the milk) curdle and turn".

p. 109, l. 2. "id li wahdaha ma tsaʔʔaff", which lit. means "a hand alone cannot put on a roof", but is really a corruption of صفق to سفق and then by a process of transposition to سفق. سفق means "to clap", so the proverb is "One hand alone cannot clap".

Examples of denominatives are, of course, much commoner, as p. 30, last line, "jiʃaffar" "to raise the dust"; p. 31, l. 23, "sammi wi haffndi ʃallajja" "Pronounce the name of God and invoke his protection on my behalf".

p. 29, l. 31. "tifoʔʔar" "to nod", which is apparently a denominative from "fiʔra" or "faʔra" the spinal column, i.e. "to move the spinal column".

Examples of original fourth forms or of apparent first forms where in literary Arabic the fourth form is used.

p. 17, l. 11. "tiʔim is sola" "to conduct the prayer".

p. 23, l. 15. "tolla" for "tolila" (1st form), "kutt! tolla mi:totʔa" "I was looking out of the window". Literary Arabic would be "mutilla" (4th form).

p. 62, l. 2. "ʔeh illi bi ju'gaʃak" "what is giving you pain?" and the reply "ʃenajja₂ b tiwgaʃni" "my eye pains me". Both first forms which would be iv in literary Arabic. Phonetically it is interesting to note the two pronunciations, which are both common.

p. 71, l. 26. "dirru balku fiha" "pay attention to it" and "ʃid xula:sit id dars" "repeat the gist of the lesson".

So p. 76, l. 7. "jiʃid ʃulum is sana di nafsaha" "He must repeat the subjects of this particular year".

p. 80, last line but five, "ninhi fuglina" "we will finish our work".

Literary Arabic ^{أَنْهَى} *an-hi*.

p. 95, l. 16. "tolaʔit il buxur" "waved the incense". Literally "let loose the incense", for literary Arabic ^{أَطْلَقَ} *atlaqa*.

p. 145, l. 12. "ro:ɖ" for literary "arad" (^{أَرَادَ} *arada*) "to wish".

One should note that this word is used in what I have called literary colloquial, i.e. in Section X (3).

Criticism on Phonetic Points

The following points struck me:—

(1) There are too many hamzas, especially after the definite article. These occur on every page and it is unnecessary to enumerate them; on the other hand, one feels that a hamza would have made the sentence clearer on p. 43, l. 29, after "tʔuli: li", and on p. 56, last line, after "ruhi ʔabla", though in neither case is it essential.

(2) Is "maʕlehj" and "zajjima" the best phonetic transcription of these very common words?

(3) It is interesting to note that the expression "Then he said" "ʔam ʔal" on p. 21, l. 32, varies considerably; the most usual one is as above, but p. 20, l. 23, "ʔam ʔa:l," and p. 30, l. 22, "ʔa:m ʔa:l." One would expect this.

(4) "to:r" "ox" on p. 32, l. 14, and elsewhere in the book is written with an unvelarized "t", but I note that Willmore writes it with a velarized "t", which is, I think, the more usual pronunciation in Egypt. Etymologically one would have expected "to:r".

(5) As one would expect, the word for "want" is not always written "ʕawiz", though it is the most usual. We get the deeper "ʕawuz" (p. 7, l. 5) and "ʕa:wuz" (p. 13, last line) of the "Fallahin" and the various grades of "ʕawiz" (ʕawz), "ʕajiz" (ʕajz), according to the speaker.

(6) In Egyptian colloquial it is sometimes only possible to discover the original word from the context owing to contractions; cf. p. 92, last line but three, "li haddi s sabʕa", which is contracted from "li haddi s sa:biʕa" "up to the seventh (time)"; and also on p. 94, last line but six, "ʕabba" for "ʕabba". In this latter instance colloquial Egyptian is even stricter than the literary language, which

allows a long vowel to stand before a doubled consonant. The word "jabba" (uncontracted) means "a piece of alum", vide p. 100, l. 26.

(7) p. 14, l. 13, "maddⁱ lu." In Cairo the stress would be on the second syllable "mad'di lu", and in some parts, e.g. Mansoura, on the first syllable "'maddi lu". In the Sudan it would be "mad'da: lu".

Remarks on Misprints and Type

The difficulties attending the printing of a book in phonetic type with a variety of types will be seen from the number of misprints that I have noted.

(a) The confusion between ʔ (ق) and ʔ (ا) hamza is the most frequent, because in the speech of Cairo there is no difference in pronunciation.

(b) Occasionally ʔ and ʕ are confused, as on p. 105, l. 16, "ʔotʃa:n" for "ʕotʃa:n".

(c) A large number of misprints are due to printing unvelarized consonants for velarized and vice versa.

(d) There are a number of instances where helping vowels have been omitted or printed incorrectly as ordinary vowels.

As regards (a) the recognized phonetic symbol for hamza is ʔ, and this must remain, but should not some other symbol be adopted for ʔ (ق) ?

With regard to (b), the confusion between ʔ (ق) and ʕ (ع), I feel that these symbols are not satisfactory. I should prefer to see the actual Arabic letter ع adopted in place of ʕ. I still find it difficult not to confuse ʔ and ʕ. I hope that the phoneticians will be able to solve these points satisfactorily. Misprints are occasionally very confusing, as, for instance, "fuʔa:d" for "fuʕa:d" on p. 108, nine lines from the bottom, and "riðo" for "rida" on p. 19, l. 7. This word is printed correctly on p. 108, l. 20.

In conclusion I wish to record my thanks to my colleague Sheikh Hāmid Abdel Kādir for the help I have received from him in solving numerous difficulties.

Misprints

p. 1, l. 7. *geir for geir.*

l. 19. *basiṭo (بسيطة) for basiṭo.* I think this must be a misprint, as the word in Gairdner's *Grammar*, p. 63, l. 23, is so written "habba basiṭo". Compare also Gairdner's *Phonetics of Arabic*, pp. 50 and 51, "Influence of modifying consonants on the vowels of syllables other than those to which they belong." It is noticeable in this connection that the word ميسوط "pleased" is frequently

misspelt ميسوط by the uneducated. Compare also l. 25 below,

"fa_nbsot"; l. 23, "wpsfa" for "wpsfa" as below in last line.

p. 2, l. 15. *kullaha: for kul'laha.*

l. 18. *samn for samn^l;* otherwise three consonants will come together.

p. 7, l. 7. *saʕil for saʕil.*

l. 13. *ʕinn^l for ʕinn^l.*

p. 10, l. 18. *umm^u ʕwe:ʔ for umm^u ʕwe:ʔ.*

p. 13, l. 12. *toḥḥa:n for toḥḥam.*

p. 15, l. 12. *ʕaxi:ron for ʕaxi:ron.*

p. 16, l. 1. *ʕab for ʕab^l.*

p. 17, l. 9. *simʕu taʕlab for simʕu t taʕlab.*

p. 19, l. 7. *riḍo for rida;* cf. p. 108, l. 20, "min jomak ja rida wi nta kida."

p. 20, l. 34. *adfaʕhum for adfaʕhum,* unless this is intentional.

p. 21, l. 31. *ʕafa for ʕala.*

Last line but four. *tistaʕmalʕ for tistaʕmalʕ^l.*

p. 23, l. 31. *in fa ʕotto: for in fa ʕotto:.*

p. 25, l. 5. *nizil i ʕaʕad for nizil wi ʕaʕad.*

p. 28, l. 16. *bint for bint^l.*

p. 30, l. 9. *ʕed il ḥadi:d for ʕed il ḥadi:d.*

p. 30, l. 33. *laʕa:ha for laʕa:ha.*

p. 31, l. 7. *id dasu:ʔi for id dasu:ʕi.*

p. 32, l. 18. *ka:lu for kalu:.*

p. 33, l. 20. *ʕarofu:haʕ for ʕarofu:haʕ.*

p. 37, last line. *xawa: a for xawa:ga.*

p. 41, l. 13. *fi for fa.*

l. 33. *eh for e:h.*

- p. 43, l. 23. baʔa: *for* baʔa.
- p. 47, l. 31. ʔa:gi *for* ʔa:gi.
- p. 49, last line. kunʃ *for* kunʃ.
- p. 51, l. 25. ʔaxiʔ a:jis *for* ʔaxi ʔa:jis.
- p. 54, fourth line. su:ʔ *for* su:ʔ.
- p. 59, last line but six. tobaʔ *for* tobaʔ.
- p. 62, l. 16. doʔfa:n *for* doʔfa:n.
- l. 17. ʔosfar *for* ʔosfar.
- p. 65, l. 17. id ʔona *for* id ʔona.
- p. 68, last line but five. is subhtixuff *for* is subh¹ tixuff; i.e. two words, not one.
- p. 69, last line but five. izza:ji *for* izza:j¹.
- p. 70, last line. waʔi:f *for* wa:ʔif.
- p. 73, l. 19. tsotlah *for* tsotlah.
- p. 74, l. 3. soʔott¹ *for* soʔott¹.
- Last line but five. it tarbijja *for* it tarbijja.
- p. 76, l. 8. tama:n *for* tama:m.
- l. 24. jibʔa_bu xalt *for* jibʔa_bu¹ xalt.
- p. 77, l. 16. tinʔitiʔ *for* tinʔitiʔ.
- p. 79, l. 19. masa:ʔil *for* masa:ʔil.
- p. 80, l. 31. ri wajajt *for* riwajajt in one word; and two lines lower, min nu *for* minnu in one word.
- Last line but four. itti *for* illi.
- p. 81, l. 7. ʔa:jis *for* ʔa:jis.
- Sixth line from bottom. ʔawsotuha *for* ʔawsotuha.
- p. 82, l. 17. jitothoʔ *for* jitothoʔ.
- p. 84, l. 1. ʔoma: *for* ʔoma:r.
- p. 89, l. 16. jistoʔbotna *for* jistaʔbotna.
- p. 90, last line but six. likum *for* lukum.
- p. 92, last line but six. il ʔawwila *for* il ʔawwila.
- p. 93, l. 2. madaʔtu *for* maʔagtu.
- l. 7. jitoʔtoʔu *for* jitoʔtoʔu.
- p. 94, last line but one. ga:bu_lha *for* gaʔbu_lha.
- p. 97, last line. walla¹_jfibb¹ *for* walla_jfibb¹.
- p. 98, l. 6. burnettak *for* burnettak.
- p. 100, l. 21. jitothasu *for* jitothasu.
- p. 102, l. 27. kull balad *for* kull¹ balad.
- p. 104, l. 21. jsottis *for* jsottis.
- l. 22. The same misprint.
- p. 105, l. 16. ʔotʃa:n *for* ʔotʃa:n.

ll. 23 and 32. *min romoḏom* for *mir*, etc.; literally "min" but phonetically before *r* "mir".

l. 32. *fi ʔaxir* for *fi ʔaxir*.

p. 107, l. 6. *m²xollis* for *m²xollis*.

l. 20. *ʔabuh* for *ʔabuh*.

Last line. *jiʔti lla:* for *jiʔti lla:*.

p. 108, l. 1. *ifriḏ inni* for *ifriḏ inn¹*.

p. 110, l. 27. *gṣbin* for *gṣbin*.

p. 122, l. 15. *inni* for *inn¹*.

p. 123, ll. 20 and 24. *soṭla* for *soṭla*.

p. 124, l. 12. Same as above; and l. 15, *soṭto* for *soṭla*.

l. 19. *tsṭli:* for *tsṭli:*.

l. 23. *mis sarṭja* for *mis sarṭja*.

p. 125, l. 8. *ṣṣaḥ* for *ṣṣaḥ*.

l. 21. *ji ʔaddim* for *jiʔaddim* in one word.

p. 127, l. 2. *ma ʔidruṣ* for *ma ʔidruṣ*.

ll. 9 and 11. *ʔṣsu* for *ʔṣsu*.

l. 19. *rudd li* for *rudd¹ li*.

l. 24. *laʔaḥum* for *laʔaḥum*.

Last line but three. *wi_n xobbi* for *wi_nxobbi*.

p. 128, l. 16. *aṣṣaḥ* for *ṣṣaḥ*.

p. 129, last line but six. *inni* for *inn¹*.

p. 130, l. 7. *garij* for *ga:ri*.

p. 139, l. 19. *jisṭlu* for *jisṭlu* and *jisṭli* for *jisṭli*.

p. 140, l. 23. *soṭlu* for *soṭlu*.

p. 142, l. 1. *ill* for *illi*.

p. 143, l. 22. *jiʔni*, probably misprint for *jaʔni*, as below, p. 144, last line but four.

p. 144, l. 7. *inn_i masiḥijjin* for *ʔinn_il masiḥijjin*.

p. 146, l. 4. *jihkum*, probably misprint for *juhkum* as elsewhere printed.

p. 148, last line but 6. *ʔinni* for *ʔinn¹*.

p. 149, l. 1. *m gadla* for *m²gadla*.

l. 5. *liʔinnil* for *li ʔinn_il*.

G. E. ILES.

GRAMMATIK DES BIBLISCH-ARAMÄISCHEN. VON HANS BAUER und PONTUS LEANDER. Max Niemeyer Verlag. Halle, Saale, 1927. pp. 380 + xv.

KURZGEFASSTE BIBLISCH-ARAMÄISCHE GRAMMATIK MIT TEXTEN UND GLOSSAR. VON HANS BAUER und PONTUS LEANDER. pp. 81. Halle, 1929.

The sum total of Biblical Aramaic is contained in nine moderate sized chapters ; including the commonest words and particles and the most frequent repetitions, the number of words found in Biblical Aramaic cannot much exceed four thousand. With laudable thoroughness, on the lines laid down in Brockelmann's *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Messrs. Bauer and Leander have documented, analysed, and described the characteristics of the tiny literature found in their field of study.

The authors rightly inveigh against the idea that the Jews who returned from the Exile had forgotten Hebrew and spoke only Aramaic ; but we think that they go too far when they assume that at the beginning of the Exile the greater part of the Judeans were bi-lingual, and that Aramaic superseded Hebrew as early as the time of Antiochus. Most scholars nowadays are disposed to date many of the later psalms in the Maccabean era. They were written in Hebrew and sung in Hebrew. It is more than probable that the analogy which the authors draw elsewhere (p. 2) between the dominion of Arabic and Aramaic in their several centuries holds good also in the domain of every day use. Thus every good Muslim who is able to read knows *something* about the classical language ; and, despite the existence of the Targums (whenever they may have been improvised or written down), every good Jew must have known not a little classical Hebrew.

The authors' claim, which they also make elsewhere, to have identified "Canaanisms" within the general body of Hebrew literature and within Biblical Aramaic, should not be accepted without searching examination, nor should the "ursemitische" forms be given more than a hypothetical importance.

Another statement (p. 9) which should be regarded with grave suspicion is "In der Perserzeit wird das Aramäische im ganzen noch einheitlich gewesen". It is all but impossible that Eastern and Western Aramaic can have been the same or similar as late as the Persian period. The great differences between them can only be explained by independent growth through centuries of separate existence,

and though no literature of Eastern Aramaic is extant before the Christian era this does not indicate that so soon before its emergence it was identical with Western Aramaic. To draw yet another parallel from Arabic the same argument would prove that Arabic and Hebrew in the time of Ezekiel were identical "im ganzen".

But these criticisms are of details which stand outside the main purpose of the book, which is to furnish the student with a fully documented description of the characteristics of Biblical Aramaic. The great merit of this book is that the accidence and syntax of Biblical Aramaic are abundantly illustrated from the cognate literature of the Targums and the papyre. As an exhaustive analysis of the dialect employed in the Aramaic of the Old Testament, Bauer and Leander's work is likely to remain unrivalled in its own sphere for many years to come. Whatever doubts may be entertained on the points we have criticized above, nothing can detract from the value of the authors' searching examination and explanation of the forms and words of Biblical Aramaic.

A. GUILLAUME.

LA HOMA LINGVO. By W. E. COLLINSON. 96 pp. Berlin.

This admirable little work by the Reader in Comparative Philology and Professor of German in the University of Liverpool deals briefly with the vast subject of Language. In small compass the author has contrived to present a very attractive account of his theme. The main divisions are: language and thought, grammar and logic, learning to use the mechanism of speech, signs and symbols, physiology, phonetics, animal cries, infant language, language changes, separation and union, dialects and standard languages, foreign languages, language as characteristic of its speakers, structure and genealogy of languages, bibliography. In spite of the variety of its contents, it is not a mere catalogue, for it is full of human interest, while those who desire greater detail in particular subjects are referred to the larger books mentioned in the brief bibliography.

On p. 90 it is stated that Romani is "apparently derived from the Dard languages". The author is not an Indianist, and may therefore be referred to R. L. Turner's monograph, especially the words "all that can be said with certainty is that Romani belonged to the Central group".

The book is written in Esperanto, and is a striking tribute to the ability of that youthful but sturdy language to adapt itself to science and literature.

The author may feel legitimate satisfaction in having got so much material into so small a book, and yet having made it readable throughout. He never allows his reader to grow weary.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE NAME LAHNDI

In the last number of the *Bulletin* Sir George Grierson has written a useful article on the regular method of forming linguistic names in Indian languages. I agree with most, but not all, of it: thus the sentence "it is he who writes Lahndī for Lahndā, the latter having been undisputed for over forty years", contains, it seems to me, five mis-statements of fact. They do not however affect the position.

It is always interesting to reflect on what one would expect words to be and to compare that with what they actually are. English, Urdu, Panjabi, and Hindi swarm with words which have rejected the line of regular development and adopted another. People's attitude to such words varies with their temperament. Some describe them as "atrocious examples of hybridism" or "false analogies" or more briefly as "impossible". Similarly many writers call changed words "corruptions". Others on the other hand find that in linguistic matters what *is* is much more interesting than what *was*, and still more so than what *should be*. To these latter I attach myself; in fact, if I may be permitted to employ two atrocious hybrids and one false analogy or impossible word, I venture to say that many of these words are very *likable* or even *lovable*, and are formed in exercise of the sovereign (sovrän) right of every language to use whatever forms it prefers.

Who would desire to change the name of the fourteenth century Muḥammadan saint Ganj ul 'Ilm (born in Delhi, 1306), or quarrel with the well-known Urdu words *'alaihiāt* and *ḡrāmīāt* merely because they are not made after the pattern of *ṣaūfiāt*?

So it is with Lahndi, a form which Europeans would not have expected, but which Indians like. When I first began to write about the language I found already existing a number of names to choose from, some Indian, some obviously English. Out of these I selected an Indian one, viz. Lahndi. It is not uncommon now. The last instance of it I noticed was in a degree thesis written by an Indian lecturer in an Indian University, a Panjabi who has not been in this country.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

LINGUISTIC SURVEY

Sir George Grierson's statement in the last *Bulletin*, p. 961, that Colonel Lorimer and I were protagonists in a long discussion on *d* and *t* sounds in Ṣinā is misleading. Colonel Lorimer and I have never written against each other on this or any other subject. During the last fifteen years I have owed to him two periods of quite exceptional mental enjoyment and pleasure. The first was connected with his Pashto Syntax, and the second with our work on Ṣinā. In 1917 I finished a book on Ṣinā. In 1924 he wrote an *ad interim* personal report of his investigations, following it up by an article in which the sounds were more carefully differentiated. I wrote two articles. We finally collaborated in a systematic phonetic account of Ṣinā sounds (*Bull.*, Vol. III, Pt. IV, p. 799). There are four *t*'s and two *d*'s in Ṣinā, *t*, *th*, *d*, which are pure dentals, and *t̤*, *th̤*, *d̤*, which very closely resemble the corresponding sounds in Urdu or Panjabi, and are commonly called cerebral.

Sir George has missed the chief point of the objection to the name Brokpā. It is not merely that we do not use for a language the caste name of some who speak it, as Brāhmanī for Avadhī or Khattrī for Panjābī. The graver objection is that Drāsī and Dāh Hanū which differ widely are given the same name, while the almost identical Drāsī and Guresī are called by separate names, as if Avadhī and Southern Panjābī were named alike and Northern Panjābī otherwise. The correct thing is to give the same name to Drāsī and Guresī as Sir George does in the last volume.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

‘UMAR KHAYYAM AND A RELATIVE OF THE NIZAM AL-MULK

The early account of ‘Umar Khayyām published in Vol. V, Part III of the *Bulletin* contains a reference to his visiting a certain vizier, namely the Shihāb al-Islām “‘Abd al-Razzāq, son of the great juriconsult Abu’l-Qāsim ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Alī”. In the text as printed these names are followed by the words بن اخ نظام (trans., ibn Akh Nazzām). But we should undoubtedly read instead either بن اخي النظام or بن اخي نظام الملك —“nephew of the Nizām [al-Mulk]”, since from other sources we know exactly who this vizier was.

Notices of him are given by al-Bundārī (ed. Houtsma), 267, Ibn al-Athīr (Cairo ed.), x, 226, and Khwānd-amīr (published by Schefer,

Siasset-Namēh, Supplément, 47), and a reference is made to him in the *rāḥat al-ṣudūr* (Gibb Trust ed.), 167. He appears to have been called in full Abū'l-Maḥāsīn 'Abd al-Razzāq, the Shihāb al-Islām, though al-Bundārī gives his name as 'Abd al-Dawwām and Khwānd-amīr as 'Abd al-Rāziq, and the *rāḥat al-ṣudūr* gives his *laqab* as Shihāb al-Dīn. He was a son of one of the Nizām al-Mulk's two younger brothers, namely the elder, Abū'l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī ibn Ishāq—for whom see, e.g., al-Subkī's *ṭabaqāt al-shāfi'īyyat al-kubrā*, iii, 207, and the *ta'rīkh bayḥaq*, B.M. MS. Or. 3587, fol. 41b.

The Shihāb spent his youth studying law, notably with the Imām al-Haramayn al-Juwaynī, afterwards giving *fatwās* and signing rulings. He also memorized a vast number of Traditions, and gained a reputation as a theologian. But what stood him in better stead was his relationship to the Nizām al-Mulk. For it was certainly this that caused Sultan Sinjar in *dhū'l-ḥijjah*, 511 (March-April, 1118), to take him as vizier after the murder or execution (it is uncertain which) of his, the Shihāb's, first-cousin-once-removed, the Nizām's grandson the Ṣadr al-Dīn, who had then held the office eleven years, having succeeded his father, the Fakhr al-Mulk, in 500 (1106). Indeed Sinjar was so much attached to the Nizām's family that for all but twenty years of his sixty-four years' reign he kept some member of it as his vizier.

The Shihāb remained in office till his death (natural) in *al-muḥarram*, 515 (March-April, 1121), at Sarakhs. Al-Bundārī has it that his administration was of great advantage to the kingdom and that he duly cultivated such superior company as his training had taught him to appreciate. Khwānd-amīr, on the other hand, maintains that the world went to his head, and that he took to drinking in the sultan's assembly.

I may note also that the words *al-faqīh al-ajall*, applied to the Shihāb's father and translated "the great jurisconsult", are not really descriptive but form his *laqab*, by which he is generally referred to.

HAROLD BOWEN.

THE DIFFERENTIATION OF GENDER IN THE SEMITIC NUMERALS: A POSTSCRIPT

Since writing my note on the above subject, which was published in Vol. V, Part III, of the *Bulletin*, I have learned that an exactly similar explanation of the peculiarity of the Semitic numerals was

put forward by Dr. David Künstlinger, first in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, x, pp. 212-16, and subsequently in a pamphlet entitled *Zur Theorie der Zahlwörter in den semitischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1897. I hasten to give Dr. Künstlinger all due credit for priority in formulating his theory of the syntax of Semitic numerals. I may add that before putting what I considered a new explanation before the public I had discussed my theory with a number of Semitic scholars. They, like myself, were not acquainted with Dr. Künstlinger's articles on the subject. It is to be regretted that the Hebrew grammars I have consulted did not even mention Dr. Künstlinger. I hope that this omission will be rectified in future grammars of Hebrew and other Semitic languages. I notice that Dr. Künstlinger, like myself, was indebted to ethnology for his explanation. In his case it was Burckhardt's travel books which led him to formulate his new theory; in my own it was Frazer's *Golden Bough*. In ethnology we may perhaps find many a solution for obscure grammatical constructions not only in the Semitic, but in other families of languages.

J. LEVEEN.

THE TEXT OF SARVĀNANDA'S *TIKĀSARVĀSVA*

With reference to Professor Keith's statement in *BSOS.*, Vol. V, Pt. I, pp. 27 ff., that the *Durghaṭa* referred to by Sarvānanda in the *Tikāsarvasva* is the well-known *Durghaṭa-ṛtī* of Śaraṇa-deva, it may be pointed out that Sarvānanda clearly states in the same passage that Puruṣottama-deva is the author of the work in question: *Puruṣottama-devena gurviṇītyasya durghaṭe'sādhutvam uktam*. This passage has been quoted in full by Professor Keith himself, but he has apparently missed or ignored the name of the author. The Puruṣottama-deva of Sarvānanda's citation in this passage is apparently the grammarian Puruṣottama-deva. But it is not known to us whether this Puruṣottama wrote a book on *durghaṭa* also. But Rāyamukūṭa (Dacca University MSS. No. 985), while explaining the same word *gurviṇī*, refers to one *Uṇādi-ṛtī* by Puruṣottama: (*gurviṇītyuṇādi-ṛtītau Puruṣottamāḥ*). Puruṣottama-deva, however, is known to have written an *Uṇādi-sūtra-ṛtī*, which, as mentioned by Aufrecht (*Catalogus Catalogorum*, vol. i, p. 63a), is quoted by Ujjvala-datta. The purpose of *Uṇādi* and *Durghaṭa* being similar, it may be presumed that Sarvānanda means, by *Puruṣottama-devena . . . durghaṭe*, the *Uṇādi-ṛtī* of Puruṣottama, quoted by Rāyamukūṭa and Ujjvala-

datta. It may, further, be noted that Rāyamukūṭa refers also to the *Durghaṭa-vṛtti* of Śaraṇa-deva in connection with his comment on the word *gurvīṇī*. It may also be added that while Śaraṇa-deva in his *Durghaṭa* apparently defends the *sādhutva* of the usage of *gurvīṇī*, Puruṣottama-deva, as quoted by Sarvānanda, appears to hold a contrary view. The reference, therefore, cannot presumably be to Śaraṇa-deva's known work.

S. C. BANERJEE.

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We regret that in our last issue in the reviews of two books, *The Documents of Irikī*, translated and edited by K. Asakawa, and *The Mīmāṃsā Nyāya Prakāśa*, translated by Franklin Edgerton, the name of the Oxford University Press as publishers in this country of the books concerned was omitted, and only that of the American publishers given.

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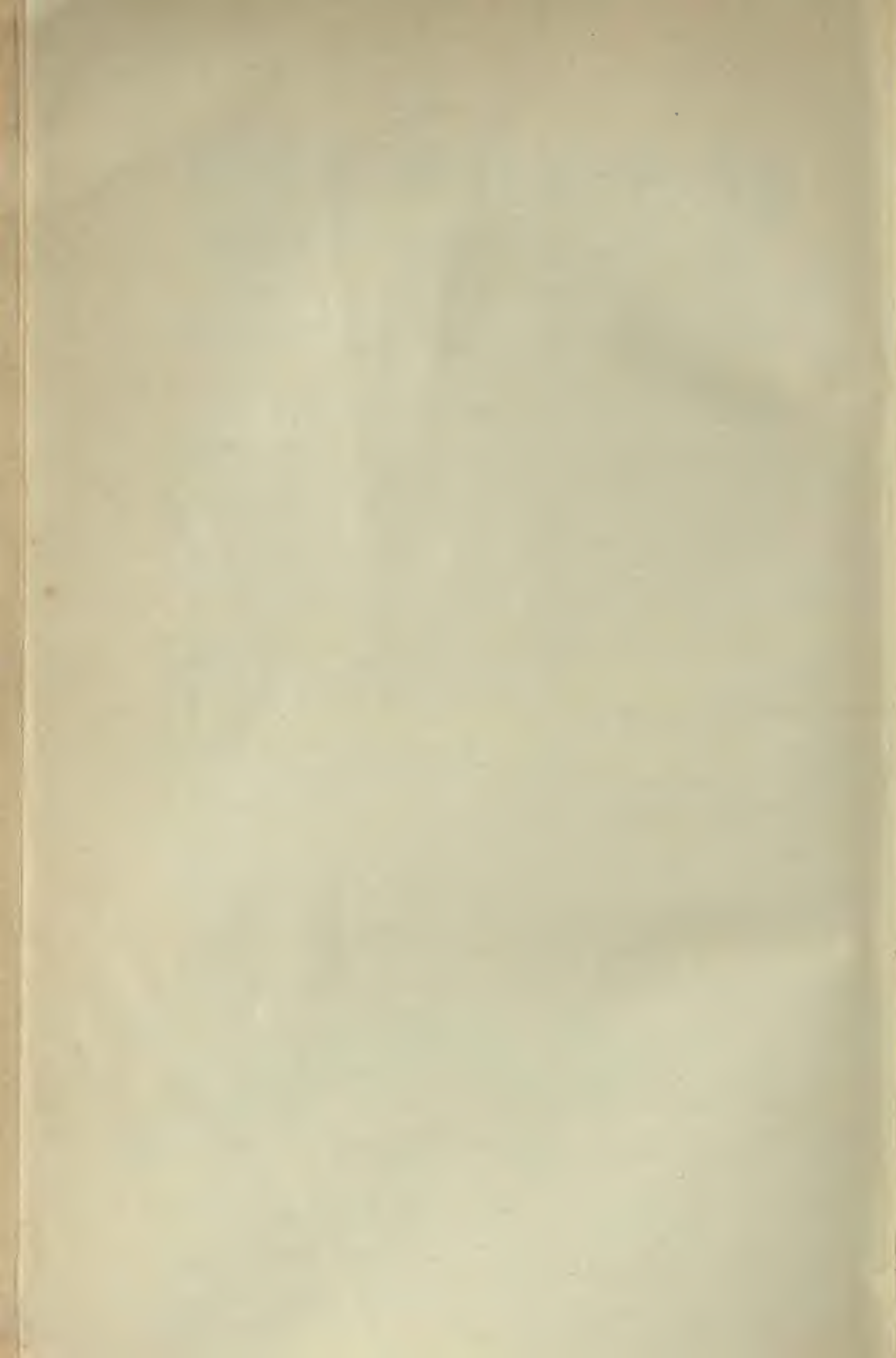
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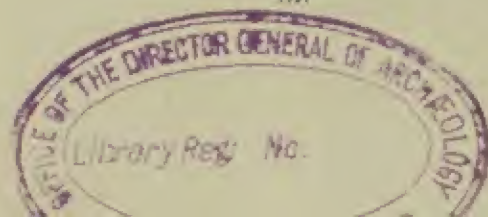
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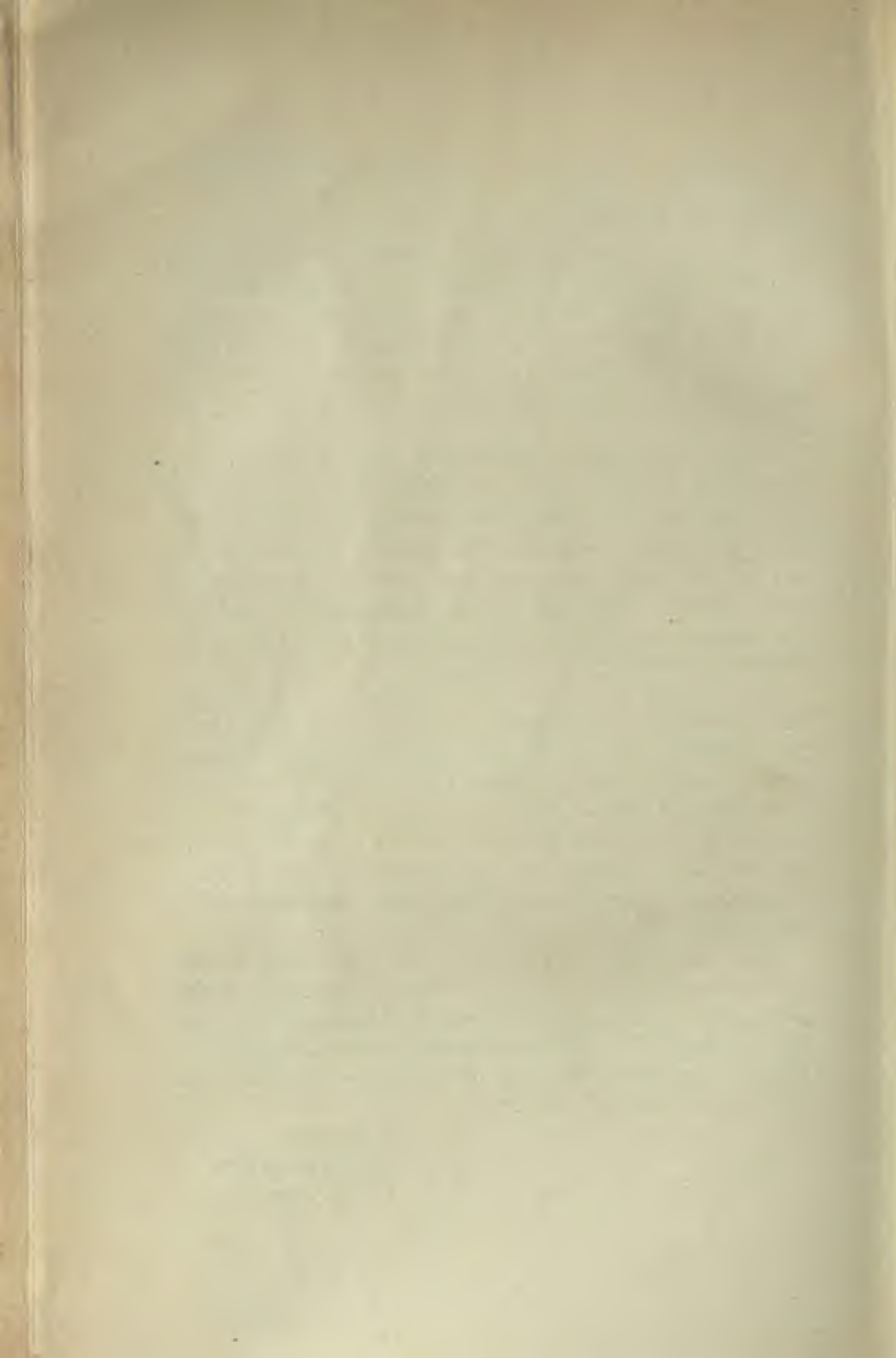
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The thanks of the editors of this volume are due to the Governing Body of the School of Oriental Studies and to the General Editor, Sir E. Denison Ross, for putting the *Bulletin* at their disposal, and to Miss Murray Browne, Assistant Librarian of the School, who has seen the volume through the Press.

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The word "*But*" in Iranian

By H. W. BAILEY

1

AN important passage which has often¹ been treated, but not so far satisfactorily, is found on page 186 of the Iranian text of the Bundahišn,² lines 11-12,

וְאֵלֶּיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְאֵלֶּיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְאֵלֶּיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

that is, but *dēv ān kēś pat Hindūkān paristēnd api-ś vaχš pat ān butihā mēhmān* < i > *dēgōn bōdāsaf paristēt*: "the demon But is that which they worship in India and in his images a spirit is resident which is worshipped as Bōdāsaf."

II

Three of these words demand consideration.

1. *but But*. With the discovery of Sogdian texts the history of the Indian word Buddha outside India was happily made clear, as Gauthiot had already recognized in *Journal Asiatique*, 1911, juillet-août, p. 55 *seq.* The Sogdian form of the name *piety* "Buddha" occurs *passim* in the Buddhist texts, beside the adjectival *piet'n'k* (= *butānak*) "of Buddha". In Sogdian Indo-Iranian voiced consonants *bdg* had initially become spirants $\beta \delta \gamma$, which required the use of *ptk* for foreign words containing *bdg*. Hence the spelling *piety* = *But-*. This is the identical form which is found in New Persian *but* بـُت, in the sense of "idol". But the meaning of "Buddha" is still clear in many passages of New Persian. Thus we read in Juvaini²: *va dar xiāi but-parastī būda ast va rasūli nazdik i < ū > xān firistāda*

¹ Cf. West, *SBE*. v, 111; Darmesteter, *SBE*. iv, lili; Gray, *Foundations of Iranian Religions*, p. 203.

¹ Ed. Anklesaria, Bombay, 1908.

² See Salemann apud Radloff, *Kudatku Bilik*, vol. i, introd., and Marquart, *SBAW.*, 1912, 486 *seq.*

ast va tōyinān rā xvāsta, "In Khitai (Northern China) there was Buddha-worship, and the Khan sent an envoy to him (the Chinese Emperor), and asked for Toyins (Buddhist priests,—an Uigur and Mongolian word)". In Uigur occurs *pvt*, **but* rather than **bud*.¹ In Pahlavi the word *bet*² in the sense of "image" was recognized by all; it was doubted that *bet* also meant "Buddha", since the intermediate forms were missing.³

The Sogdian word *pyty* is a transcription⁴ from an Indian dialect. But the word "Buddha" reached Central Asia also in another form from China. The pronunciation of Chinese 佛 about the eighth century is given by the Tibetan spelling *hbur*, cf. *JRAS.*, 1927, p. 296. The *-r* represents the final Chinese consonant developed from final *-t*. Sogdian has this word in a compound *piersnk* **bursang* "Buddha-sangha".⁵ From Sogdian the word passed to Uigur *bursang*, and in the like form to Mongolian. The first part of Uigur (and, as a loan-word, Mongolian) *burxan* may be this same *bur*- "Buddha" (cf. Mironov, *Kuchean Studies*, p. 74). Then Uigur *tāngri burxan* is "the divine Khan Buddha", but this meaning was not always fully recognized, so that in Manichaean Uigur texts *burxan zrušc* is "the Burxan Zoroaster". Japanese, on the other hand, borrowed the word with *-t*, *Butu* (*Butsu*).

2. *v'χš*.⁶ A considerable semantic development lies behind this word. In the Turfan manuscripts in Middle Iranian (MPT.) *v'χš* **vāχš*⁷ occurs often in a sense which can be roughly rendered by "spirit". Both the singular *v'χš* and the plural *v'χš'n* are found:—

*'yg pyd'g bed v'χš 'y her's'n vymnd*⁸
aiy paiδāy būδ vāχš ē hearāsān vīmand

"Then appeared the Spirit of the Land of Khorasan."

¹ F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* [I], p. 11.

² In Pahlavi *ε* (*vāv*) is used as a *mater lectionis* for *ū* as well as *ū* and *ō*: *der* = *dūr* "far", *geš* = *gōš* "ear", *kenšn* = *kūnišn* "deed".

³ For "Buddha" on a Sassanian coin see Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, p. 45, corrected *Arch. Mitt.*, i, 136, note 2.

⁴ For Sanskrit in Sogdian transcription see Gauthiot, *J.A.*, 1911, jan.-févr. p. 94.

⁵ See Rosenberg, *Bull. Acad. Sc. USSR.*, 1927, p. 1394.

⁶ This has always been the crux of this passage.

⁷ For the alef compare MPT. *'ry'm'n* beside *'ry'mn* "Aryāman", a loan-word from Avestan *airyaman-*, nom. sg. *airyama*, *airyōmā*.

⁸ *vymnd* Pahl. $\hat{\text{v}} \mu \text{nd}$ is probably **vī-mantu-* to *man-* "dwell, remain", cf. NPers. *nišand* "formidable; cast down", **ni-šantu-* to *gan-* "strike", MPT. *znd-*, Av. *zantu-* "tribe" in MPT. *zadbyd*, Av. *zantupaiti-* to *zan-* "be born".

frystg'nt p'y'nd v'χš'nt r'myn'nd
frēstayān-ot pāyānd vāχšān-ot rāmēnānd

"May the *Frēstays* (ἄγγελοι or ἀπόστολοι) protect thee, may the *vāχšs* give thee joy."

But in Sogdian, as Lentz has shown,¹ Christ. Sogd. *v'χš*, Manich. Sogd. *v'h[s]* correspond to MPT. *szwn* in the sense of λόγος.² It is therefore clear that we have here to do with a technical word from the Avestan (nom. sing.) *vāχš* and *vāχš*³ "a spoken word", which is the meaning also of Sogd. (Buddh.) *w'γš*. For this use of the nom. sing. we have a parallel in MPT. *druχš* **druχš* "evil one", Av. (nom. sing.) *druχš*. The Pahlavi has *drev* **druž*.

In Zoroastrian writings the word *vāχš* "spirit" is found in the Škand-gumānik Vičār, a Pāzand text.

In chapter xiii, 7, *vāχš* corresponds to the Hebrew מִן in a paraphrase of the beginning of Genesis:—

u vāχš i Yazad aβar rōd i q. āβ i syāh hamē nyāβεδ.

"And the spirit of God ever had desire upon the face of that black water."

In chapter xiv, 12, quoting also from Jewish Scripture, Is. 30, 28,

u huzva ēun ātaš i sōzā

u vāχš ēun rōd i arōvīnā

"And his tongue like burning fire

And his spirit like a rushing river."

The word is found also in another passage of the Iran. Bund. in the "Chapter of Opposites", p. 48, l. 14-15: *apārīk dēvīk vāχš ō yazdīk vāχš ēgōn dēvān družān *yātūkān māzanīkān ō yazd bayān amahraspandān* "and the other *dēvian* spirits are opposed to the *yazdian* spirits, as *dēvs*, *drušs*, sorcerers, Mazanian demons to *yazds*, *bayš* (gods), and *Amahraspands*."

The word *vāχš* is, therefore, assured for Pahlavi, beside the MPT. passages.⁴

3. *but'sp*. In this we have clearly to recognize another word received by Pahlavi through Sogdian from India. It is the Sanskrit *Bodhisattva*. The usual Sogdian form in Buddhist texts is the exact transcription of the Sanskrit word, *pwtystβ* **Bodisatβs*, but a

¹ "Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus," p. 85, *ABAW.*, 1926.

² Cf. Pahl. *vχšer* **vāχšar* "prophet" = **vāχš-a-bara*.

³ Bartholomae, *AIW.*, 1334-5.

⁴ See Salemann, *Manichäische Studien*, s.v. *𐭮𐭲𐭭*.

developed form is found in the "Sūtra of Causes and Effects"¹ *putysβ* **Bodisaβ*, l. 284; *putysβ* **bod(i)saβ*, l. 555. The word passed hence to Uigur, which has *putystβ* **Bodisatβ* in Buddhist texts,² but *putysβ* **Bodisaβ* or **Bodisaf* in Manichæan texts.³ From Uigur it passed to Mongolian *putystβ*, which became by wrong reading *bodisung* and *bodisug*. In the Chinese the word became 菩薩 (modern *p'u sah*), which the Japanese read as *Bosatu* (*Bosatsu*) and the Uigurs as *pvs'r* **bosar*.

Here, then, we have the source of Pahlavi *bet'sp* in Manichæan texts. But it is equally the source of the Arabic بداسف *budāsaf*, and of the *Ioasaph* of the Western form of the legend of "Barlaam and Joasaph".⁴

It is certain, therefore, that the word "Bodhisattva" had reached Persia, independently of this Bundahišn passage. Probably the Arabic form with medial alif *budāsaf* is due to the Pahlavi which also has alef: *bet'sp* *Bōdāsaf*.

III

But it is clear from the context, which is an enumeration of the names of *dēvs*, mostly with Avestan names, that the *bet* of this Bundahišn passage is intended to represent the *Būiti* of the Avesta. Here *Būiti* occurs three times,⁵ each time as nom. sing. in this form *Būiti*, which indicates either an insufficient understanding of an inflected language, or perhaps more probably a foreign word. It is important to remember that the Avestan alphabet is derived from an Aramaic alphabet, in which, as in Pahlavi, the three letters, alef, vāv, and yod, served as *Matres lectionis*: Avestan 𐬀 (*u*) and 𐬁 (*ū*) are representatives of vāv. Geldner⁶ noticed that the manuscripts were undecided in the use of 𐬀 and 𐬁. The result is that, in Avestan texts, transcribed *u* and *ū* may both stand for original Indo-Iranian *u* or *ū*; cf. *ūna*- and *una*-. Graphically 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 may correspond to an etymological

¹ Ed. Gauthiot and Pelliot, *Le Sūtra des causes et des effets*, 1926.

² F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* [I], p. 17 et passim.

³ Von Le Coq, "Ein christl. u. ein manich. MSfragment," *ABAW.*, 1909, p. 1202 seq.

⁴ Von Le Coq, loc. cit. Cf. Christensen, *Les types du premier homme et du premier roi*, p. 206.

⁵ Vidēvdāt, 19, 1, 2, 43.

⁶ K. Geldner, *Avesta*, Prolegomena I, col. 2.

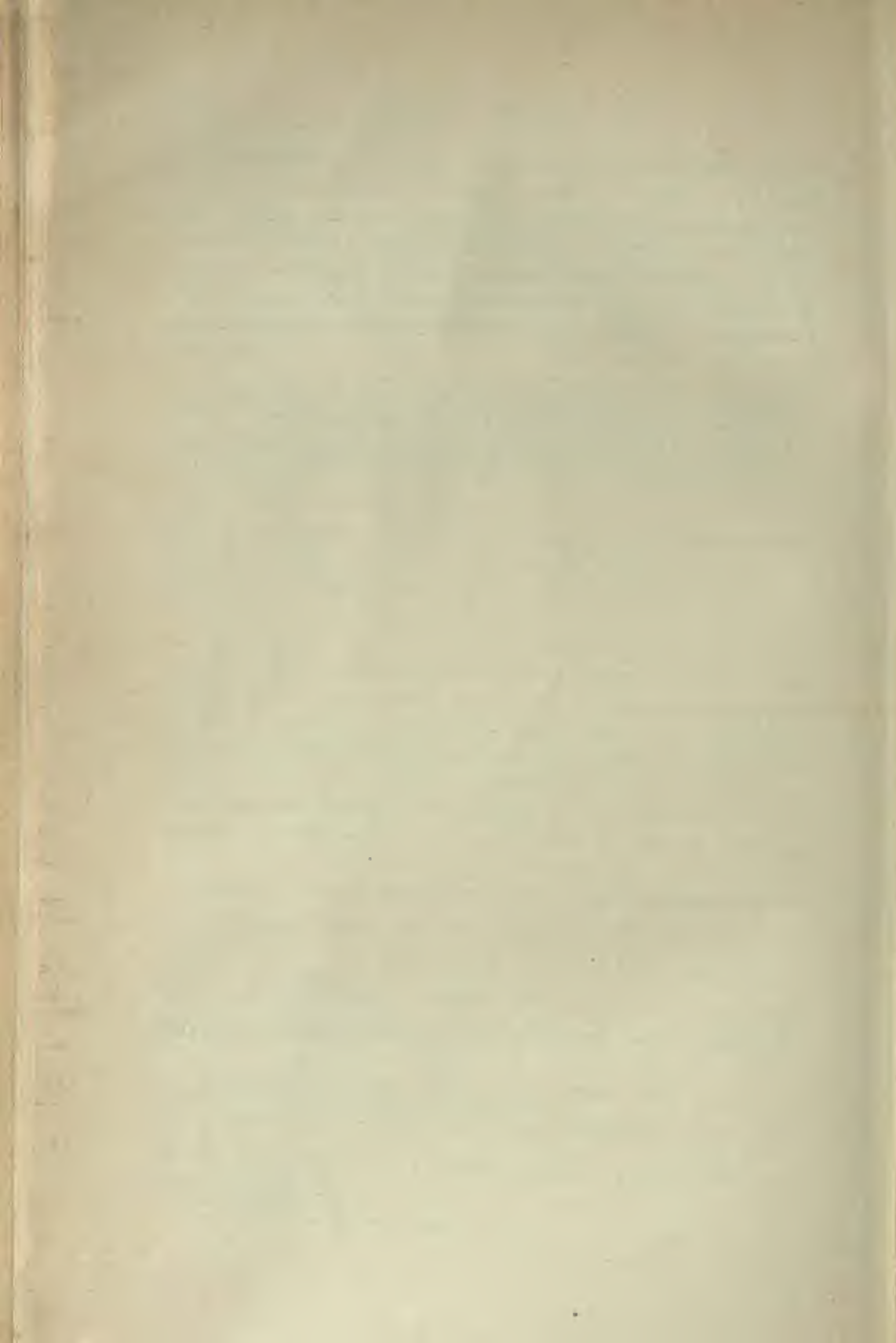
**buti-* or **būti*. Decision in such cases can only be obtained from New Iranian dialects¹ (or Middle Iranian in the early Arabic writers) in comparison with Sanskrit. Here the NPers. *but* is decisive for **Buti*, which is identical with Sogdian *pcty*.² This conclusion agrees with the date of the Vidēvdāt passages, which, as Herzfeld³ has shown, is about the middle of the second century B.C. In substance Darmesteter⁴ was right, though his details can now be corrected, in recognizing "Buddha" here.

¹ Sakan (in a fully vocalized Indian alphabet) does not help in this particular case, since Buddha and Bodhisattva are simply transcribed from Sanskrit.

² The final *-i* of the Avestan *Būti* probably betrays its Eastern Iranian origin.

³ *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, i, 79, note 1; 136, note 2.

⁴ *Zend-Avesta* (1893), 3, xlviii, cf. 2, 259.



Pramnai

By L. D. BARNETT

I

IN the course of a description of India Strabo makes the following statement, apparently drawn from a source other than the Memoirs of Megasthenes (Geogr. xv, C. 719): φιλοσόφους τε τοῖς Βραχμᾶσιν ἀντιδιαρροῦνται Πράμνας, ἐριστικούς τινες καὶ ἐλεγκτικούς. τοὺς δὲ Βραχμᾶνας φυσιολογίαν καὶ ἀστρονομίαν ἀσκεῖν, γελωμένους ὑπ' ἐκείνων ὡς ἀλαζόνας καὶ ἀνοήτους, "they mention as philosophers in opposition to the Brahmans the *Pramnai*, who are addicted to wrangling and refutation; and [they say] the Brahmans study natural science and astronomy, but are derided by the others [i.e. the *Pramnai*] as impostors and fools."

In the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. i, p. 421, Mr. E. R. Bevan remarks on the word *Pramnai*: "This should not be emended to *Sramnai*, as was once done, on the supposition that it represented *śramaṇa*. The people intended are undoubtedly the *prāmāṇikas*, the followers of the various philosophical systems, each of which has its own view as to what constitutes *pramāṇa*, a 'means of right knowledge'. These philosophers are, as a rule, orthodox Brahmans, but they view with contempt those Brahmans who put their trust in Vedic ceremonies." With all respect to Mr. Bevan, however, I submit that his interpretation is wholly wrong. Firstly, the word *prāmāṇika* is palaeographically too unlike *pramnai*. Secondly, the Vedic Brahmans also have their *pramāṇas*. Thirdly, *prāmāṇika* will not bear the meaning which he assigns to it: it means "having authority, authentic, credible (of things), trustworthy (of persons)", and cannot be used to distinguish their opponents from the Brahmans. Fourthly, the idea that Strabo refers to an opposition between Vedic ritualists and non-Vedic Brahmans is fanciful and improbable, for Strabo's informant says nothing about ritualism, and Vedic ritualists also studied "natural science" and "astronomy"—of sorts. His mention of *φυσιολογία*, however, makes it probable that under the term "Brahman" he included both Vedic ritualists and Aupaniṣadas.

The view that by *Πράμνας* are denoted the sectarian opponents of the Brahmans has thus everything in its favour. But that the word *śramaṇa* underlies the corruption *πράμνας* is not so certain. The question suggests itself whether Strabo's informant would have used

the Sanskrit form *śramaṇa* or the Prakrit *samaṇa*. True, the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra Edicts of Aśoka write *śramaṇa*-, and that of Girnar has *sramaṇa*-; but Megasthenes (Strabo, xv, C. 711) reproduces the word as *sarmanes*. Hence, if Strabo's source used the word *śramaṇa*, it is unlikely that a Greek would have transliterated it as *σραμάναι*, and still more unlikely that he would have written *σράμναι*. And a corruption of *σ* to *π*, though possible, is not very obvious. On the other hand, if the word intended was *samaṇa*, it is even more difficult to account for the supposed change of *σραμάνας* to *πράμνας*.

Rejecting therefore all these attempts to solve the problem, I would suggest that in *πράμνας* is concealed some form of *prājña*, "the clever men". Who were these, and why were they so styled?

II

The Brahman of the Upaniṣads was essentially a mystic. With rapt and eager enthusiasm he sought the intuitive vision of the cosmic Unity, in the radiance and joy of which all thoughts of earthly things vanished, and by the fire of which all bonds fettering his soul to the cycle of births were burned up. He cared, he laboured for nothing else. Rules of conduct interested him little, if at all: he left them for those of his ascetic brethren who belonged to the hermit orders.

In almost direct opposition to these passionate pilgrims, as well as to their ritualistic brethren, there arose early a number of sectaries, mostly of non-brahmanic birth, who for the most part crystallised out in course of time into the schools of Jainism and Buddhism. Like the Brahmins, they sought emancipation from suffering and rebirth; but they sought it by other ways and in another spirit. They had no taste for rapt visions of the Absolute. Their imagination was narrow and realistic, their aims essentially practical. They endeavoured by means of a carefully disciplined and studiously harmless life to attain to *prajñā*, practical cleverness, skill in grasping the principles of their crude creed, and in adjusting their conduct to its Procrustean demands.¹ They were thus, in antithesis to the

¹ "The prominent characteristic of the Arhat is Wisdom, *Prajñā*. It is by Wisdom that he crosses the ocean of existence" (Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 61). The Pali Text Soc. Dict., s.v., defines *paññā* (i.e. *prajñā*) as "intelligence comprising all the higher faculties of cognition", and points out that "as it . . . it comprises the highest and last stage as third division in the standard 'Code of Religious Practice' which leads to Arahantship or Final Emancipation". It is hence extremely common, both in the popular and the technical senses. The Jain

Aupaniṣada enthusiasts, "skilful," "practically clever" (*prajñā*), "men of skill" (*prājñā*); and they rejoiced in the title, glorying in the possession of a wisdom ensuring to them a salvation which they denied to their opponents, the Vedic ritualists and the Aupaniṣada mystics.¹

To many, perhaps most, of the Brahmans the words *prajñā*, *prājñā*, and even the verb *pra-jñā-*, became distasteful, being so often used to denote an intellectual and moral attitude wholly repugnant to them; and perhaps this dislike was strengthened by the fact that popular language invested *prajñā* with the sinister meaning of "trick", "device," even among the Buddhists themselves.² This feeling is curiously reflected in their literature. *Prajñā* and its cognates are occasionally, but not frequently, used in the Brāhmaṇas in the sense of ordinary human intelligence applied to practical purposes. The older Aupaniṣadas made some sporadic attempts to use *prajñā*, *prajñāna*, and *prājñā* to express the ideas of pure spirit or mystic vision; but, with the exception of the author or authors of Kauṣ., they soon desisted from them; and in some cases they definitely applied *prajñā* and *prajñāna* to denote an inferior sort of intelligence. From this position it was an easy step for the early Advaitins in framing their system to give the epithet *prājñā* to the soul as bound by limitations of individuality and materiality. On the other hand, the school represented by Kauṣ. boldly applied these terms to all the highest conceptions of spirituality, tacitly asserting thereby that the

scriptures use *paññā* in very similar meanings; cf. Uttar. xxiii, 25, *paññā samikkhaḥ dhamma-tattaṃ tatta-vinicchiyaṃ* "wisdom perceives the verity of the Law determined in verity" (cf. the scholastic defn. in Abhidhāna-rājendra s.v.), Uttar. ii, 32, *adipā thāvaḥ pañnam* "let him cheerfully confirm himself in wisdom", and xxiii, 28, 34, etc. See also note 1 below.

¹ For the simple adj. *paññā* only two examples are quoted by the Pali Text Soc. Dict., viz. Dhp. 208 (where it is glossed by the Aṭṭhakathā as *lokiya-lokuttara-paññāya sampanna*, "versed in both secular and transcendental wisdom") and 375. But it is very common in compounds, of which the Dict. quotes 54 examples; most of these are possessive compounds, and so should properly come under the heading *paññā*. In the Jain scriptures the simple adj. *pañña* is often applied to sages, from Tīrthamkaras downwards, e.g. Sūyagaḍ. I, vi, 4 (of a *kēvala-jñāni*: *tasā ya jē thāvarā jē ya pñā sē piccāpiccāhi samikkha paññē dīrē va dhammaṃ samiyaṃ uddhu*), and 15; Thāp. V, 3; Uttar. I, 28; XV, 2, 215; in composition also it is common, e.g. the possessive compounds *mahā-p** (Uttar. V, 1; XXII, 15, 18, etc.), *viuddha-p** (ib. VIII, 20), *ujju-p** (ib. XXIII, 26), *ānu-p** (Sūyagaḍ. I, vi, 7; xiv, 4), *jaya-bhūi-p** (ib. I, vi, 15), which strictly should be classified under the heading *paññā*; cf. also *pañnavam* (Uttar. VII, 13). Both Jains and Buddhists are peculiarly fond of the causal stem of *pra-jñā-* and its derivatives, e.g. *paññāpīti*, *paññānti*, *paññanta*, *paññavaṇḍ*.

² Cf. Kern, *ut sup.*, p. 127, n. 3.

sectaries' interpretation of them was false, and perhaps endeavouring to win more general favour for their own conceptions of spirit by using to denote it the popular terms understood in a higher sense.¹

The general feeling of the Aupanishadas is reflected in the *Bhagavad-gītā*, II, 11, a passage usually misunderstood. Arjuna, horrified at the prospect of having to slay in battle many kinsmen and friends, dwells feelingly on the guilt of such bloodshed, and refuses to fight. Kṛṣṇa replies, *asōcyān anvaśōcas tvam prajñāvādāṃs tu bhāṣasē*, "they for whom you have lamented need no lament, and indeed (*tu*) what you say is the talk of common-place wisdom"²; the soldier's duty is to smite the bodies of his opponents, but their immortal souls he cannot harm, and therefore no guilt attaches to him, whatever may be said by shortsighted conventional moralists like Jains and Buddhists, who preach on the text "thou shalt not slay", without understanding the higher law.³

¹ In the older Upanishads (Brh., Ch., Taitt., Ait., Kauṣ., Kēna, Kāṭha, Īśā., Māṇḍ., Muṇḍ., Praś., Śvēt., and Mait.) the subst. *prajñā* at first sight would seem to be common; but most of the examples are in Kauṣ., in which it is remarkably frequent (alone nineteen times; in composition, *prajñātman* nine times, *prajñāpēta* once, *prajñā-mātrā* once, *adhiprajñam* once). Elsewhere it is rare: four times it denotes the Cosmic Idea (Ait. V, 3; Brh. IV, i, 2; Śvēt. IV, 18; and in comp. *prajñā-nētra*, Ait. V, 3), twice it means vaguely the wisdom which the sage should acquire (Brh. IV, iv, 21; Praś. II, 13), and once it is characteristically used in the comp. *strī-prajñā*, "having only a woman's intelligence", contemptuously contrasted with the knowledge of Brahma-lore (Brh. IV, v, 1). *Prajñāna* occurs seven times, viz. Ait. V, 2, 3; Mait. VI, 31; Kāṭha II, 24, and in comp. as *pr^o-ghana*, Brh. IV, v, 13; Māṇḍ. 5, 7; in Ait. and Mait. it denotes a minor category, in Kāṭha it is significantly applied to the inferior wisdom which will not enable the man of restless soul to win the divine gnosis; in Brh. and Māṇḍ., however, *pr^o-ghana* is applied to Brahma. The adj. *prajñā* means merely "conscious", occurring in Ait. V, 4 (of *ātman*) and Māṇḍ. 7, with the abstract subst. *prajñatā* in Brh. IV, i, 2; *prājñā* is used in the same sense in Brh. IV, iii, 21, 25 (of *ātman*), Mait. VII, 6 (of *ātman*), but signifies the third state of consciousness in Māṇḍ. 5, 11, and a wise man in Kāṭha, III, 13. The verb *prajñā-* appears in about twenty-six passages, but of these twenty-one are in Kauṣ.

² In the Kashmir recension the line reads: *asōcyān anvaśōcāṃs tvam prajñāvaan nābhībhāṣasē* (see F. O. Schrader, *The Kashmir Recension of the Bhagavad-gītā*, p. 25). With the utmost respect I differ in regard to this line from Professor Schrader: it seems to me to be one of the cases where Kashmir has altered the old reading preserved in the vulgate because of its difficulty. The latter was the only one known to the author of the Mōkṣa-dharma (XVII, 19, *prajñā-prāsādam āruhya*, etc.), and is thus older than any manuscript evidence to the contrary. The *lectio difficilior*, as usual, is to be preferred.

³ On the other hand, the author of Mbh. XII, xix, after depicting in lively terms the wrangling heretics who paraded their irreligious arguments in the assemblies (vv. 23-4), contrasts them with the true sages, who are *prajñān*, etc. (v. 25). Is he moved by the same motive as the author of Kauṣ. Up., or is he merely using the word without special point, as e.g. *mahāprajñā* is used in III, liv, 14?

We see then that, while the older Aupaniṣadas apply to themselves the term *prājña* very rarely indeed—in fact, only once in the earlier Upaniṣads,¹—their sectarian opponents designated themselves as such very frequently, and with definitive intention: and we may thence conclude that in the centuries before the Christian era *prājña* might well have denoted the sectaries, as opposed to Aupaniṣada Brahmins, and to Brahmins generally. This inference is strongly confirmed, perhaps indeed finally proved, by the passage Bhagavad-g°. XVII, 14, which commends among other practices reverence to gods, Brahmins, (*dvijas*), elders (*gurus*), and *prājñas*, who must be sectarian teachers. Here we have a fairly close parallel to Aśoka's teaching, which enjoins "due behaviour to kinsfolk, due behaviour to Brahmins and *śramaṇas*, obedience to parents, obedience to elders"²: the Gītā's *dvija*: *prājña* corresponds to Aśoka's *brāhmaṇa*: *śramaṇa*. It is the same antithesis as that described in Brh. IV, v, 1, between Maitrēyī, who "knew the lore of Brahma", *brahma-vādinī*, and Kātyāyanī, who "had but a woman's understanding", *strī-prajñā*.

III

If then Strabo's source used the word *prājña*, how was it spelt in Greek?

The I.E. palatal *ǵ* normally became in the Indo-Aryan languages *j*. In *tadbhavas* the compound *ǵn* in the Prakrits became *ṇṇ*, *nn*, or *jj* (Pischel, § 276). In *tatsamas*, however, *ǵn* is represented in modern Northern speech by *gy*, in the West by *dñ*, and in the South by *gñ* or *ñ*; in all cases the nasal preserved the *g* from passing into *j*. Strabo's informant therefore might have transliterated *prājñāḥ* accurately enough as *πράγναι* or *πρᾶγναι*. But the dialects of the North or North-West with which the Greeks came into contact were strongly influenced by Dardic or "Paisācī" phonetics, which changed voiced

¹ This passage (Kātha III, 13) is Yogic, and hardly fits the context. Yōga is not a part of the spiritual outfit of the Aupaniṣada, though I am not prepared to assert with Rai Bahadur E. P. Chanda (*Survival of Prehist. Civilisation of the Indus Valley*, p. 29) that it is of foreign and non-Brahmanic origin.

² E.g. Dhauti: *nāṭiru saṃpaṭipati* [sa]mana-bambhaneṣu *saṃpaṭipati* mātā-pitṛ-susūśa vudha-susūśa. In Mahābh., Sabhā-p. V, 100 (Kaccij jñātīn gurūn vṛddhān dēvatāś tūpasān api | caityāṇāś ca vṛkṣān kalyāṇān brāhmaṇāṇāś ca namasyasi) the same list is given with the difference that for *śramaṇas* is substituted a more general term for ascetics, and the *caitya*-trees are added.

into surd consonants (e.g. *Σοφύτης* = Subhūti, *Σοφάγασηνος* = Subhagasēna, *Σανδρόκοττος* = Candragutta or Candragupta); and hence it is most probable that the word was written *πράκναι* or *πῶκναι*, and that Strabo's text should be corrected to *πράκνας*. In Greek minuscules *κ* and *μ* are often almost indistinguishable, and confusions between them are notoriously frequent.

Asoka et la Magadhi

Par JULES BLOCH

I

DANS toutes les inscriptions d'Asoka recueillies sur la côte orientale et dans le bassin du Gange, l'équivalence : As. -e = skr. -aḥ est constante et doit s'interpréter phonétiquement. C'est le cas pour les nominatifs singuliers thématiques masculins comme *devānampīye*, et accessoirement pour l'ancien neutre *dāne* ; dans les thèmes en -n- on a nom. pl. *lājāne*, gén. sg. *piyadasine lājine* ; dans les thèmes en -r-, nom. pl. *natāle*¹ ; dans les pronoms, *ne*, *ve* ; il faut ajouter -te adverbial exprimant l'origine dans *mukhate*, *Takhasilāte*, *mamate* (cf. Woolner, I, p. xxvi ; le verbe *kaleti* n'a bien entendu rien à faire ici).

La finale -o n'est pas inconnue à la langue ; on la trouve dans la négation *no* et dans *kho*, où il s'agit de groupes vocaliques à u ancien (*na u*, *khalu*), et dans l'exclamation *aho* (dans *ahodhammaghose*, v. Lavallée-Poussin, *Bull. Ac. R. de Belgique*, 1922, p. 515), qui rappelle *hamgho* de la vieille māgadhī des drames bouddhiques, skr. *hamho*. Chose plus étonnante, on rencontre d'une part à Dhauli et Jaugaḍa, de l'autre à Kalsi, des formes à -o où l'on attendrait -e. Senart en avait déjà fait la remarque (II, p. 437), mais n'avait rien osé décider sur ce point. Il peut paraître imprudent en effet de prétendre en rien tirer, puisque ces inconséquences sont particulières aux édits sur rocher, où l'on connaît par ailleurs des mélanges inverses, notamment à Mansehra. A vrai dire, même les lectures ne sont pas toutes sûres : *yaso* (ou *yaṣo*) relevé à Kalsi, Dhauli et Jaugaḍa dans l'édit X se lit fort mal sur les facsimilés de Hultzsch : il se devine tout au plus une fois à Dhauli ; même le *pi yaso* "deutlich erkennbar" de Bühler à Kalsi, *ZDMG.*, XXXVII, p. 574, est discutable ; personne n'ose garantir, et pour cause, *abakajaniyo* de Kalsi, IX, 24 (cf. Bühler, ib., p. 429). Quant à *seto* isolé qui suit le VI^e édit de Dhauli, il n'appartient pas à la série des édits : Bühler y relevait un s de type Gupta (*ASSI.*, I, p. 119, n. 32). Restent, d'abord Kalsi, II, 4, *Satiyaputo* et *Kelalaputo*, le premier au moins tout à fait sûr : on n'ose tirer parti du fait que ce sont des noms propres, d'autant que Jaugaḍa a précisément *Satiyapute* ; en tout cas ce sont des formes isolées. Ensuite vient *lājāno*, probable à la ligne suivante de Kalsi : s'il a vraiment été écrit, on n'hésitera

¹ De même sur le reliquaire de Piprawa : nom. *satīlanidhanē*, gén. *bhagavate*.

pas à y voir une faute. Mais il y a encore un mot, qui se trouve en plusieurs endroits, dont la lecture ne fait guère de doute (**tate* en tout cas y est impossible), et pour lequel il n'y a pas d'autre forme attestée, c'est *tato* :—

IX, 26, *tato ubhayesaṃ ladhe hoti* " il en résulte un bénéfice double ";

XIII, 35, *tato pachā* " après cela " ;

XIII, 35, *tato gulumatatale* " plus pénible que cela " ;

XIII, 39 *tato śate bhāge* " de cela (de cette foule) la centième partie ".

Aucune autre inscription orientale ne donne les textes correspondants ; mais les exemples sont assez nombreux pour que la forme soit sûre.

Sa présence n'admet, semble-t-il, que deux explications : ou bien il s'agit d'un emprunt au sanskrit (l'emprunt à un dialecte occidental du moyen-indien est tout-à-fait invraisemblable) ; ou la forme est indigène malgré son irrégularité.

La première hypothèse paraît d'abord la plus simple et la plus naturelle ; on trouve en effet chez Asoka une autre forme pronominales archaïque, *akasmā* (dans le 1^{er} édit séparé) ; mais celle-ci est employée avec un sens technique précis — ce qui se reconnaît à la difficulté qu'on trouve à la traduire — et appartient à la langue du droit ; elle a fourni au sanskrit un adjectif dérivé, *ākasmika* " accidentel ". On n'en saurait dire autant de *tato*, surtout employé de façon aussi courante qu'on le voit dans les formes citées. Il faut donc considérer *tato* comme une forme locale ancienne. Autant dire que le phonème noté *-e* chez Asoka est issu d'un son de la série *-o*, le même que nous connaissons par le sanskrit. Ce qui a permis à *tato* d'échapper à l'évolution normale dans la langue d'Asoka est qu'il faisait nécessairement groupe avec le mot suivant ; il a été isolé de la déclinaison ; aussi bien le suffixe n'y a-t-il plus exactement le sens de *-te* employé librement pour former des ablatifs d'origine ou des adverbes comme *kute*¹ ; *tato* a pris rang parmi les mots accessoires comme *no* et *kho*.

Si *-o* est la forme ancienne de *-e*, on s'explique du même coup la présence chez Asoka de composés comme *mano-atīleke* Sép. I., Dh. 16, J. 8—si du moins on adopte les lectures de Hultzsch — et en tout cas de *vayo-mahālakāṇaṃ* Delhi-Topra, VII, 29, mot de lecture certaine, de sens clair, de contexte correct, enfin d'aspect relativement populaire. L'ancienne finale a été protégée par la composition comme par la proclise.

¹ Dans le IV^e édit sur piliers, *asv ite* reste obscur malgré les efforts des traducteurs. — Au début du XIII^e édit de Kalsi, " de là " est exprimé par *taphā*.

Il faut donc se garder de mettre en rapport le double traitement de *az en sanskrit (-e- intérieur, -o final) avec l'opposition dialectale de -o et -e finaux en moyen indien. L'histoire doit se résumer ainsi : en sanskrit, *az devient -e- à l'intérieur du mot,¹ -o en position finale. Cet -o final est dès le début distinct de o issu de au (cf. *māna-rnga* : *gav-iṣṭi*-; en védique -o final issu de au est en général pragrhya, -o issu de -as ne l'est pas); en moyen indien, il achève de se désarrondir dans les dialectes orientaux et s'y note -e.²

II

On sait que le drame classique comporte à côté du sanskrit plusieurs dialectes moyen-indiens; l'un d'entre eux, la māgadhi, a trois principaux caractères phonétiques dont deux sont ceux-là même qui distinguent la langue d'Asoka, le roi de Pāṭaliputra, le *priyadasi lājā māgadhe* (Calc.-Bairat, éd. Hultzsch, p. 172, n. 7); à savoir, l pour r et -e final pour skr. -aḥ (phénomènes du reste indépendants : voyez p. ex. à Brahmagiri et Siddapur *Suvarṇagiri*). La troisième caractéristique, la sifflante palatale, se retrouve dans la courte inscription de Śutanukā, sur les sceaux du Magadha, quelquefois chez Asoka lui-même (Hultzsch, p. lxxii et xi), mais dans des conditions qui font se demander s'il ne s'agit pas sur ce point moins de phonétique que d'orthographe.

Quoi qu'il en soit de ce détail, il y a entre la māgadhi des drames et la langue d'Asoka une différence importante, sur laquelle on n'a pas assez insisté : c'est que -e final n'est plus dans la māgadhi dramatique le substitut normal de tout -aḥ sanskrit; il y est réservé au nominatif singulier des noms thématiques. Il suffit d'ouvrir les textes pour en être frappé; et l'on verra en parcourant le livre de Pischel que les grammairiens indigènes ne donnent aucune forme propre à la māgadhi pour les autres désinences nominales et pour la 1^{re} personne du pluriel des verbes; par exemple *puttādo*, *aggiṇo* sont de la śaurasenī toute pure; inversement *ne* "nous" est māhārāṣṭrī. On remarquera du reste que ces formes ambiguës sont employées avec beaucoup de discrétion par les auteurs dans les passages, rares

¹ RV. I, 34, 5. *sāre dukhītā*; si *sāre* est un génitif — ce que conteste Oldenberg, *Rgveda Noten*, I, p. 36 s. —, on ne peut guère en comprendre la finale que comme résultant d'un traitement intérieur de groupe; cf. Meillet, *MSL*. IX, 374.

² Faut-il déjà reconnaître une trace de la tendance qui a mené -o issu de -as jusqu'à -e dans certaines notations védiques où il se décompose comme -e en -ay, et non en -av dans le sandhi? V. Oldenberg, *Hymnen des Rgveda*, p. 457; cf. Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.*, I, p. 338; Stehoupak, *MSL*. XXI, p. 15.

eux-mêmes, où ils se servent de la māgadhi. En outre, ce n'est certainement pas un hasard que dans la scène du pêcheur de Śakuntalā, les désinences en -o se rencontrent exclusivement dans des mots caractérisés comme māgadhi par d'autres moyens, à la seule exception de *īdo*, mot accessoire comme le *tato* d'Asoka : *lāāṇo* (*rājānaḥ*) a l māgadhi, *śāmino* (*svāminah*) a ś ; *maṣcabandhaṇo* (*matsya-*) et *maṣcalisattuno* contiennent la même sifflante, et dans le second de ces mots le ś- étymologique du deuxième terme redouble l'effet ; c'est encore ś qui maintient dans la couleur demandée *khaṇḍaśo*, *śūlādo* qui sont les derniers exemples de cette scène.

Dans l'ardhamāgadhi du canon jaina également on trouve -e presque exclusivement au nominatif singulier. Les adverbes comme *pure*, *ahe*, cités par Pischel § 345, de même que les adverbes correspondants du pali, se rangent avec les locatifs ; *ṇe* (skr. *naḥ*) va avec *me*, *amhe*, etc. ; nom. pl. *lahave* avec *savve*, etc. Il reste que suivant les textes, *tataḥ* paraît représenté tantôt par *tao*, tantôt par *tae* ; exx. chez Pischel, § 16, 518).

La contradiction qui nous occupe ne comporte pas d'explication phonétique. On n'ose récuser à la fois deux séries de textes aussi indépendantes ; cependant il faut bien rappeler qu'on se trouve ici en présence de traditions littéraires, vieilles de plusieurs siècles déjà quand les œuvres ont été rédigées.¹ En ce qui concerne les textes jainas, on a déjà supposé qu'ils portent la trace d'accommodations aux parlars occidentaux ; les nominatifs en -e sont-ils ce qui reste d'un usage beaucoup plus étendu à l'origine ?² Pour la māgadhi dramatique, une observation s'impose : quand la littérature fait appel aux dialectes, il est normal qu'elle en choisisse certains traits caractéristiques, mais peu nombreux ; car la reproduction complète rendrait les œuvres inintelligibles.

Cette limitation de -e final à une seule forme, quelle qu'en soit l'explication exacte, n'a pas été sans conséquence pour l'aspect

¹ Les premières lectures de l'inscription d'Héliodore à Besnagar auraient pu faire croire à un témoignage épigraphique de la même répartition des désinences. Elles donnaient en effet : *garuḍadhvaṇe ayaṃ kārīte . . . sakāsaṃ maṇo*. Mais M. Sukthankar a montré (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Inst.*, I, p. 60) que *kārīte* est sûr, et que *dhvaṇe* est dès lors une faute aisément explicable. Ainsi l'inscription devient tout à fait parallèle à celle de Gotamīputa sur un pilier semblable trouvé au même endroit (R. P. Chand, *Archæology and Vaiṣṇava tradition, Mem. Arch. Survey of India*, 5, p. 152).

² En tout cas un détail relevé par Pischel § 345 semblerait prouver que cet -e, comme celui d'Asoka, remonte à un ancien -o : le nom. sing. en -o, normal dans les vers, est nécessaire aussi en prose devant *ia*, comme si l'on avait conservé la forme ancienne pour éviter le conflit entre voyelles palatales.

linguistique du drame sanskrit. La déformation systématique de la liquide et de la sifflante ne faisaient pas obstacle à la compréhension ; le discours en māgadhi ne présentait qu'une vraie irrégularité, cette désinence en -e, à la fois fort répandue et très limitée. L'ensemble restait donc caractérisé phonétiquement, mais au point de vue grammatical, très proche de la śaurasenī qui fait le fond du drame ; et c'est du reste ce que les grammairiens indigènes ont reconnu.

Ce que Gawronski a dit des petits dialectes (*KZ.*, XLIV, p. 247 s.) est donc vrai de celui-là également ; en sorte que le dialogue ne comporte en réalité que deux langues : le sanskrit et la śaurasenī (cf. S. Lévi, *Théâtre indien*, p. 332). Considéré ainsi, le drame indien paraît beaucoup moins étrange que si l'on y voit une marqueterie de dialectes hétéroclites, d'importance égale, reproduisant des langues réellement distinctes, et dont la plupart seraient restés incompréhensibles à l'auditeur inexpert. Surtout à l'origine, la différence entre le sanskrit et la śaurasenī elle-même ne devait être que celle de la langue polie et de la langue usuelle ou familière. L'introduction, rare du reste, de la māhārāṣṭrī s'explique non par le besoin de reproduire la variété linguistique de la société indienne, mais parce que c'était la langue du genre lyrique. En ce qui concerne la māgadhi, le problème revient à savoir pourquoi, en attribuant à certains personnages parlant śaurasenī quelques caractéristiques traditionnelles d'une langue orientale, on a voulu les ridiculiser : car ces personnages sont des gens de peu à l'époque classique, et c'est déjà le *duṣṭa* dans le drame bouddhique édité par M. Lüders.

Corrections of Eggeling's Translation of the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa

By W. CALAND

AS the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* is, among Western scholars, Sanskritists as well as non-Sanskritists, the most popular and best-known of the Brāhmaṇas, it may be of use to publish a list of corrections of Eggeling's translation in the *Sacred Books of the East*, vols. xii, xxvi, xli, xliii, and xliv. For previously proposed corrections the reader may be referred to the Vienna Oriental Journal (*W.Z.K.M.*, vols. xxiii and xxvi) and the German Oriental Journal (*Z.D.M.G.*, vol. lxxii). The accents in the citations have been neglected, except when they are required for understanding the text.

I, 1, 2, 8: *uto pūtryai gr̥hṇanti* "Some do, indeed, take it from a (wooden) jar". The translation might infer that the author of the Brāhmaṇa here, as he does so often, polemizes against the Adhvaryus of the Black Yajurveda, but the translation should run rather: "They take it also from a (wooden) jar."

I, 2, 1, 22: *mahīnām payo 'sīti mahya iti ha vā etāsām eke nāma yad gavām* "For 'the great ones' some (take to be) a name of the cows". But Weber himself (vol. i, page 134) had emended *eke* into *ekam*, and that this is right, is proved by iii, 1, 3, 9. So correct: "For 'the great ones' is one name of the cows."

I, 4, 1, 2: *tat etat purastān mithunam prajananam kriyate sāmīdheninām* "A productive union of the sāmīdhenīs is thereby effected at the outset". The genitive depends on *purastāt*: "Thereby a pairing, a procreation is effected before the sāmīdhenīs (at the beginning of the s.)." That this is right is proved by the Kāṇva text: *mithunam evaitat prajananam purastāt sāmīdheninām kriyate*.

I, 4, 1, 22: *agna āyāhi vītaya iti tadveti bhavati*. The last words have been omitted in the translation. They mean "and this is (the syllable) ā" (*tad u ā iti bh.*), cf. i, 4, 1, 4.

I, 4, 1, 23: *te devā akāmayanta katham nu na ime lokā vitarāṁ syuḥ katham na idam varīya iva syād iti tān etair eva tribhīr akṣarair vyanayan vītaya iti* "The Gods desired: 'How could these worlds of ours (read "for us") become more apart from one another? How could there be more space for us?' They breathed through (the worlds) with these three syllables: *vītaye*". Eggeling translates as

if the text had *vyānan*, but *vyanayan* means "they separated them, they shove them asunder" (*vyūhan* the Kāṇva-recension).

I, 6, 1, 3: *te haitām edhām cakrire yām eṣām etūm anuśṛvanti* "Those (Asuras) then throve in such a manner that they (the Gods) heard of it". This cannot be right, as the text has the present tense. The meaning is rather: "They reached that prosperity, which they (the men of present times) hear them to possess."

I, 6, 1, 19: *saṁvatsaraṁ ha vai prayājair jayan jayati* "He who gains by means of the fore-offerings, assuredly gains the year". The text probably is corrupt, and instead of *jayan* we ought to restore *yajan*: "He who performs the fore-offerings gains the year." This emendation is supported by the Kāṇva-recension: *saṁvatsaraṁ ha vāva jayati prayājair yajamānaḥ*.

I, 6, 2, 4: *agnaye vā asthād iti tam agnāv eva parigrhya sarvakutam ajuhavuh* "Having enveloped it in fire, knowing, as they did, that it had stopped for Agni, they offered it up entirely". That the locative *agnau* belongs rather to *ajuhavuh* ("Having seized it they offered it as a holocaust into the fire") is proved by the Kāṇva-recension: *agnāv eva sarvakutam ajuhavuh*.

II, 1, 1, 5: *tasmād enena na dhāvayati* "Hence also one should not cleanse oneself with it (with gold)". The meaning of the verb is not wholly certain, but if we compare *Kāth.* viii, 5: *tasmād brāhmaṇena durvarṇam (= rajatam) na bhartavyam*, it seems probable that *na dhāvayati* means "he does not let someone run with it (i.e. wear it)".

II, 1, 4, 13: *bhūr iti vai prajāpatir ātmānam asṛjata bhuva iti prajāṁ svar iti paśūn etāvad vā idaṁ sarvaṁ yad ātmā prajā paśavaḥ* "With 'bhūḥ' Prajāpati generated the Self, with 'bhuvaḥ' the (human) race, with 'svaḥ' the animals". It is highly improbable that *ātman* is to be taken here in the sense of "the Self", cf. *Pañc. br.* iii, 4, 3: *etāvān puruṣo yad ātmā prajā jāyā* "Man comprises his self, his children, his wife".

II, 2, 2, 13: *atra tṛṇāni dahātra dārūṇi dāha* "Eat grass here, eat wood here!" is a lapsus for: "Burn grass here, burn wood here!"

II, 2, 3, 1: *varuṇo hainad rājyakāma ādadhe* "Now Varuṇa established this (fire)". But it is impossible to supply to the neuter *enad* the masculine *agnim*. Rather understand *punarādheyam*.

II, 2, 3, 22, 23: *tathādhāgneyo bhāvatī sōmo vai pāvamānas tād u saumyād ājyabhāgān nāyanti*, and *tasmād u saumyād ājyabhāgān nāyanti* "For, indeed, it becomes of the nature of Agni. Pavamāna

means the Soma, but this (Soma-element) they eliminate from the butter-portion of Soma". That this is incomprehensible has its cause in the text, which thus has been printed wrongly by Weber. We must separate: *tād u saumyād ājyabhāgān nā yanti* "They do not depart from the ājya-portion destined for Soma" ("they do not neglect it"), cf. the Kāṇva-recension: *no saumyād ājyabhāgād yanti*.

II, 2, 4, 12: *apahiṅkārāṁ haiva purā tataḥ sāmāsa* "For heretofore (their song was) without the 'hiṅ', but after that it was the real sāmān". Correct: "For heretofore their sāmān was without the *hiṅ*"; *purā tataḥ* belong together; cf. the Kāṇva-recension: *tato hārvāk sahiṅkārāṇi sāmāny apahiṅkārāṇi haiva tataḥ purā babbhūvuh*.

II, 6, 1, 18, 24: *te ha sarva eva yajñopavitino bhūtvā | iṭhād yajamānaś ca brahmā ca paścāt paritaḥ purastād agnūḥ* "All of them, having become sacrificially invested, the Sacrificer and the Brahman (being) thus (invested), walk round to the west side and the Āgnīdhra to the east side". Correct as follows: "All of them, having now become sacrificially invested, the Sacrificer and the Brahman walk around *thus* behind (the fire), and the Āgnīdhra *thus*, before (the fire)." The word "thus" was accompanied by a gesture of the hand to indicate the direction.

III, 2, 2, 20: *ubhayaṁ vā ata ety āpaś ca retaś ca sa etad apa eva muñcati na prajāṁ*. Eggeling has only: "for so he does," either because he did not comprehend the words or for decency's sake! The words mean: "both come forth from here (from the masculine member, the word *ataḥ* must have been accompanied by a gesture of the hand!): water (urine) and semen. He, in saying this formula, discharges only water (urine), not progeniture."

III, 4, 4, 14: *sa yat samānatra tiṣṭhan juhōti na yathedaṁ pracarant samcaraty abhijityā abhijayānīti* "The reason why in offering he remains standing in one and the same place and does not move about as he is wont to do here in performing, is that he thinks: 'I will conquer for conquest.'" Correct: "... is for conquering, while he thinks: 'I will conquer.'" "I will conquer."

III, 4, 4, 15: *saṁvatsaro hi vajrah | agnir vā ahaḥ somo rātrir atha yad antaram tad viṣṇur etad vai pariplavamānaṁ saṁvatsaram karoti* "... thus he makes the revolving year". Rather: "The revolving of all this makes the year."

IV, 1, 1, 17, 18: *tan na sādāyati . . . yadīt tv abhicared athainaṁ sādāyed amuṣya tvā prāṇaṁ sādāyāmīti tathāha tasmin na punar asti yan nāmusrjati teno adhvaryuś ca yajamānaś ca jyog jīvataḥ* "He does

not deposit it . . . Should he, however, desire to exorcise, he may deposit it with : ' I put thee down, the out-breathing of N. N. ! ' Thus, forsooth, inasmuch as he (the Adhvaryu) does not quit his hold of it, it is not again in that (enemy) : and thus both the Adhvaryu and the Sacrificer live long ". Correct : " . . . the out-breathing of N. N. ! " Thus, on the one hand (*aha*), in him (his enemy) there is no " again " (he must die) and, by not quitting his hold of it, thereby, on the other hand (*u*), the Adhvaryu and the Sacrificer live long." Cf. the Kāṇva-text : *tathāha tasya na jīvātur asti yasmai tathā karoty atha yat sādāyitvā nānvarjati teno adhvaryuś ca yajamānaś ca jīvataḥ*. In the same way § 18.

IV, 1, 3, 5 : *te devā abhyasṛjyanta yathā vittim vetsyamānā evaṁ so yam eko 'labhata*, etc. "The Gods rushed thither—as (those) eager to take possession of their property—so (it fared with) him (Vṛtra-Soma). What (part of him) one of them seized," etc. The first sentence closes with *evam* : "The Gods rushed thither just as people who are eager to take possession of their property."

IV, 2, 1, 19 : *tau jaghanena yūpam aratnī samdhattāḥ | yady agnir nodbādheta yady u agnir ulbādheta*, etc. Eggeling's translation of *yady agnir nodbādheta* "unless the fire should blaze up", is somewhat strange; *ulbādheta* has not this meaning. It must be preferable to translate : "if the fire does not press (or 'force') them away," i.e. if the fire leaves room for them in joining their elbows.

IV, 2, 2, 11 : *atha daśāpavitram upagrhya* "having wrapped up (the bowl) in a fringed cloth". Rather : "having put the fringed cloth under (it)."

IV, 2, 4, 22 : *prattheyaṁ gāyatrī yajamānāya sarvān kāmān dohūtā iti* and XII, 9, 2, 11 : *yadā vai vatso mātaraṁ dhayaty atha sā prattā sā prattā duhe*. In both these passages *prattā* is wrongly translated : "made over to the Sacrificer," and "when given away". Its equivalent is *prasmutā*, see on this word my note in the translation of the Pañcaviṃśabrahmaṇa, xiii, 9, 17. It is said of the cow, when the calf by taking the udder causes the milk to flow.

IV, 3, 1, 10 : *na vyayavatsyat* "it would never pass away". Read *vyavatsyat* and translate : "it would not dawn (for them)."

IV, 3, 3, 8 : *te hocuḥ | apanidhāyainam oja upāvertāmahā iti ta enam apanidhāyivoja upāvartuḥ* "They said : 'Having put aside this one (cup) for our vigour, we will join thee.' Having accordingly put it aside for their vigour, they joined him." That this is wrong is proved by the last sentence of this same § : *enam* depends on the

verbum finitum and *ojaḥ* on the gerund. So translate: "They said: 'Having put aside (our) vigour, we will join him'" etc.

IV, 3, 5, 13: *madhyata iva grhṇīyāt . . . paścād iva te eva grhṇīyāt* "He should put it right in the centre (of the cup); . . . but let him rather put it in the back part (of the cup)". This is false. The meaning is that he should take the *dadhi* in the middle, after first having taken soma and afterwards taking again soma, cf. *Āpastambaśrautasūtra*, xiii, 9, 5-7.

IV, 5, 3, 7, 8: . . . *aitasmāt kālāt upaśete* "It reposes apart from that time"; correct: "until that time (for its offering)."

IV, 6, 8, 3: *atha dīkṣiṣyamāṇāḥ samavasyanti* "Now those who are about to consecrate themselves should settle (the time and place) between them". Rather: "they should all of them settle down" (on the place for the sacrifice, the *devayajana*).

V, 3, 4, 9: *etasyai vā eṣūpachidyaiṣaiva punar bhavati* "now that (flow of water), after separating itself from that (main current), comes to be that again". So Eggeling has separated *apacchidya eṣā eva*, but we ought rather to separate *apacchid yā eṣā eva*.

V, 4, 1, 9: *tam indro nivivṛādha tasya padā śīro 'bhitasthau sa yaś abhiṣṭhita udabūdḥata sa ucchvaṅkaḥ* "Indra knocked him down and trod with his foot on him. And in that he, thus trodden upon, bulged out, that is (the origin of) a rupture". Perhaps better: ". . . and trod with his foot on his head. And in that he, being trodden upon, went asunder (to wit, his head), that is the (origin of the) suture (in the skull)."

VI, 6, 1, 1, 13: *bhūyāṁsi havīṁsi bhavanti | agnicityāyām yaś u cānāgnicityāyām* "Many are the oblations, in the building up of the fire-altar, as well as at any other (special ceremony) than the building of the fire-altar". Correct: "More numerous are the oblations in a rite of building the fire-altar than in one at which no fire-altar is effected"; cf. Introduction to the *Kāṇvīya-brāhmaṇa*, page 76 fl.

IX, 4, 3, 1: *atha pratyetya dhiṣṇyānām kālē dhiṣṇyān nivopati* "Having now returned he, at the proper time, throws up the Dhiṣṇyas". But *kālā* is used here, as so often in Baudhāyana, to denote the place prepared in advance for some end. So *dhiṣṇyānām kālē* means: "on the place prepared in advance for the Dhiṣṇyas."

IX, 4, 3, 7. A part of the text, which is easily understood, has been overlooked by the Translator.

X, 1, 3, 11. Here, also, a whole § has been omitted by Eggeling.

XI, 7, 1, 2: *pacanti vā anyeṣv agniṣu vṛthāmāṁsam athaitesām*

nānyo 'nyā māṁsāśā vidyate yasyo caite bhavanti " In other fires people do, indeed, cook any kind of meat, but these (sacrificial fires) have no desire for any other flesh but this (sacrificial animal) and for him to whom they belong". Translate: "... but these (fires) have no other desire for meat than of that person to whom they belong." Cf. the remark on VI, 6, 1, 1.

XI, 8, 3, 5. Here a sentence has been overlooked by the Translator.

XII, 3, 5, 2: *yady u mriyate scair eva tam agnibhir dahanty aśavāgnibhir itare yajamānā āsate* " but if he dies they burn him by his own (three) fires, without any (ordinary) fire for burning a dead body) and the other Sacrificers sit (through the sacrificial session)". To me it is probable that *aśavāgnibhir* belongs to the last sentence.

XII, 8, 3, 17: *purastād dhi pratyag annam adyate* " for from the front food is visibly eaten"; "visibly" as translation of *pratyag* conveys no meaning. Understand: "from the further side back"; the food is conveyed back (: into the mouth). In this same passage three short sentences have been overlooked by the Translator.

XIII, 7, 1, 15: *na mā martyaḥ kaścana dātum arhati viśvakarman bhavana manda āsītha upamañkṣyati syā salilasyo madhye* ... The last words: "she (the earth) will sink into the midst of the water" are wrongly translated; *syā* here is, as so often in the Jaiminiya-brāhmaṇa, nearly equivalent to *aham* "I will sink ..."

XIII, 8, 1, 19: *tad vidhāyāpasalavisṣṭabhi spandyaḥ paryātanoty apasalavi pitryam hi karma*. Translate: "Having attended to this, he encloses it in the non-sunwise way with cords twisted in the non-sunwise way; for it (this act) is a performance connected with the Fathers." Eggeling had not paid attention to the place of *hi*.

XIV, 1, 2, 2: *kṛṣṇājinaṁ sambharati*. The context and comparison of VI, 4, 1, 6, prove that *kṛṣṇājine* is the right reading; *lomataḥ* in the same passage means "on the hairy side".

XIV, 1, 2, 12: *so 'bravīd ādīryeva bata ma eṣa raso 'stauṣīd iti*. With the MSS. of the Kāṇva-text we are tempted to correct *astauṣīd* into *asrauṣīd*; only an aorist of *sravati* yields a satisfactory sense.

Antiochus, King of the Yavanas

By JARL CHARPENTIER

IT is too well known to need more than a formal repetition here that two of the Rock Edicts of Aśoka mention as his contemporaries a number of kings of the West, the foremost of which is a certain Antiochus. The most important passage is that of the Edict XIII (P-Q), which I quote from the only version that is here wholly preserved, viz. that of Shāhbāzgarhī:—

*aṣi ca mukhamula¹ vijaye Devanampiyasa yo dhramavijayo ||
so ca puna ladho Devanampiyasa iha ca saveṣu ca aṃteṣu[a] ṣaṣu
pi yojanaśateṣu yatra Aṃtiyoko nama Yonaraja paraṃ ca tena Aṃtiyokena
cature 4 rajani Turamaye nama Aṃtikini nama Maka nama Alikasudaro
nama ||²*

"Now this conquest, viz. the conquest by (preaching) Buddhism,³ is considered the highest one by the Beloved of the Gods.

"And even this conquest⁴ has been won by the Beloved of the Gods here⁵ and in all the borderlands as far as six hundred *yojanas* where (lives) Antiochus, king of the Yavanas (Westerners), and beyond this Antiochus⁶ four (4) kings, Ptolemy by name, Antigonus by name, Magas by name, Alexander by name."

Less illuminating is the passage in the second Rock Edict (Shāhbāzgarhī):—

(A) *Aṃtiyoko nama Yonaraja ya ca aṃhe tasa Aṃtiyokasa samanta
rajano . . .*

"Antiochus, king of the Yavanas, and those other kings who are the vassals⁷ of this Antiochus . . ."

¹ Bühler read "mule."

² The *variae lectiones* of the Kālsi, Mānschrā, and (partly) Girnār versions are unimportant and need not be repeated here.

³ The rendering of *dhamma* by "morality", etc., is senseless. *Dhamma* in the Aśoka inscriptions never means anything but "Buddhist doctrine, Buddhism"; with this I propose to deal in another connection.

⁴ It is unintelligible to me why Hultzsch rendered the single *punaḥ* in this sentence by "repeatedly", a translation that cannot be upheld.

⁵ This "here" undoubtedly reminds us of Rock Ed. V M, where the other versions have *hida* (K, M, Dh.) or *ia* (Sh.) while G has the explanatory *Pāṭalipute*.

⁶ With *paraṃ ca tena A*, cf. Rock Ed. V E, *paraṃ ca tena* (in a temporal sense).

⁷ Bühler, *Epigr. Indica*, ii, 466, translated *sāmantāk* by "vassal-kings", which is undoubtedly the common meaning of the word. Previously Wilson, *JRAS.* (O.S.) xii, 169, rendered it: "and those princes who are near to (or allied with) that monarch"; Kern, *I.A.* v, 272: "his neighbour kings" (with a foot-note: "in the

Now, who is this Antiochus, king of the Yavanas? To this question various replies have been given, and it may not be out of the way shortly to review them here.

Prinsep, *JASB.* vii, 156 sqq., when first interpreting these inscriptions, suggested that we have here a mention of Antiochus III who, during the earlier part of his reign, rightly earned the surname of "the Great". This suggestion was only a natural one; for Antiochus III is the one of all the Seleucids bearing that famous name of whose dealings with the Indians we are aware. As is well known, *Polybius*, xi, 34, tells us that during his Eastern campaign Antiochus accepted the surrender and the tribute offered by Σοφάγασῆνος, βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰνδῶν.¹ But Σοφάγασῆνος, or *Subhagasena*, was not *Aśoka*,² nor is it in any way probable that the "Beloved of the Gods" could have been a contemporary of Antiochus III (223-187 B.C.).

Prinsep, when making the above-mentioned suggestion, was not yet aware of the contents of Rock Edict XIII. A little later on, having deciphered also this edict, he abandoned his former idea and instead of Antiochus III suggested the first or second king of that name: "of whom the former may have the preference from his close family connection with both Ptolemy and Magas, which would readily give him the power of promising free communication between India and Egypt."³

first place Bactria"); and Senart, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, i, 74: "des rois qui l'avoisinent." Thus Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, *JBBRAS.* xxi, 398, in taking exception to the translation of Bühler, was not without predecessors; pointing to the various reading *sāmipam* of the Gīrnār version he strongly advocates the translation "neighbours". This view was endorsed by V. Smith, *I.A.* xxxiv, 245, who had previously (*Aśoka*, 1st ed., p. 115) adopted the translation of Bühler. According to my humble opinion there can be no doubt that Bühler was right; it is only natural that *Aśoka* should think those other princes to have been the vassals of Antiochus, who was, besides himself, the most powerful monarch of the period, and he certainly drew conclusions from the state of his own dominions where there were undoubtedly numbers of half-subdued *Sāmanta*'s. As for *sāmipam* (or "pā") cf. the remark of Hultzsch, *CII.* i, p. 3, n. 3 (according to Michelson, *AJP.* xxx, 183 ff., it is = Skt. *sāmipyam*).

¹ The identification Σοφάγασῆνος = *Subhagasena* was suggested already by A. W. von Schlegel, *Indische Bibliothek*, i, 248; ii, 301. There exists no known Indian prince of that name; cf., however, *Subhaga*, prince of Gāndhāra (with whom cf. *CHI.* i, 512) in the *Mahābhārata*, vii, 6944 (Bombay).

² To suggest that, we should want the phantasy of Wilford who in *Asiatick Researches*, v, 285 sq., concluded that Σοφάγασῆνος rendered an Indian *Sivakaesna*, which would again be = *Aśokaesna* (cf. also Prinsep, loc. cit., p. 162). Already Wilson scoffed at this rather adventurous idea.

³ *JASB.* vii, 225 sqq. (reprinted *Essays*, ii, 20 sq.).

Wilson, *JRAS.* (O.S.) xii, 244 ff., arrived at the queer conclusion that the five kings mentioned in Rock Edict XIII were not contemporaries. To quote his own words (p. 246): "Under this view I should refer Alexander to Alexander the Great, Antigonus to his successor, Magas to the son-in-law of Ptolemy Philadelphus,¹ Ptolemy to either or all of the four first princes of Egypt, and Antiochus to the only one of the number who we know from classical authors did visit India . . . Antiochus the Great." Wilson afterwards tells us that it seems highly improbable that Aśoka should still have been alive in the year 205 B.C., upon which he fixed as being that of Antiochus's Indian campaign; this, consequently, would exclude Antiochus III. And he likewise finds it utterly incredible that the Yavana king could be Antiochus II—this chiefly because of the Bactrian and Parthian rebellions occurring during his reign. As, however, Wilson did not admit the identity of Aśoka and Piyadasi, all his arguments must needs end in a *non liquet*.²

We next come to Lassen, who, in his *Ind. Alterthumskunde*³, ii, 253 sqq., seems to think Antiochus II to be the most probable one, though he finds chronological difficulties connected with the mention of Magas and Alexander. Lassen's attitude is a little wavering, and he made no very lucky shot in suggesting that Aśoka should have sent embassies to all these princes already at his coronation—which is, anyhow, totally unwarranted by the existing inscriptions.

That it was Antiochus II with whom Aśoka entered into relations was also taken for granted by Senart⁴ and V. Smith.⁴ Hultzsch, in his edition of the Aśoka inscriptions, p. xxxv sq., betrays a little undecidedness, but finally fixes upon Antiochus II. Professor Thomas, *CHI.*, i, 502, has taken up no definite position. As far as the present writer is aware—and it seems unnecessary to mention that his information can scarcely be complete on this point—modern classical scholars who have busied themselves with the history of the Seleucids seem to be at one in assuming the king of the Yavanas to have been

¹ This sentence contains two rather apparent mistakes: Magas was not the son-in-law but the stepson (and perhaps also the adoptive son) of Ptolemy Soter; his mother, Berenike, was also the mother of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

² Wilson's arguments were criticized by General Cunningham in *The Bhilesa Topes*, p. 110 sq., which was an easy enough task. Cunningham was right in eliminating Antiochus III; but he states, with a slight exaggeration, that Prinsep had definitely fixed upon Antiochus II (unless we have here possibly a misprint—II for I).

³ Cf. *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, ii, 256 sqq.; *IA.* xx, 242.

⁴ Cf. *Aśoka*, 3rd ed., p. 162.

in reality Antiochus II.¹ Overwhelming consensus of scholarly opinion thus seems to plead the case of this king as having received from his pious neighbour embassies preaching the doctrine of the Enlightened One.

Before we proceed further a few words should be said concerning those other princes mentioned in Rock Edict XIII.

As concerns *Turamāya* there can happily be no doubt. That it denotes one of the Ptolemies has been taken for granted ever since the days of Prinsep; and it seems quite obvious that none but Ptolemy II Philadelphus, whose long reign covered nearly four decenniums (285-247 B.C.), would fit into the chronology of Aśoka's reign.² As for *Maka* or *Maga* there existed, no doubt, more than one princeling of the name of Magas; but there can be little doubt that we have to do here with that Magas of Cyrene whose regnal years fall between c. 300-250 B.C. Already Bühler³ remarked that *Amtekina* (G., K.) or *Amtikini* (Sh.) would rather render a Greek *Ἀντιγένης* than *Ἀντίγονος*. However, although we know of at least one Antigenes,⁴ he, for obvious reasons, cannot come in here. The old Antigonos who met his fate at Ipsus (301 B.C.) seems to be out of the question; and thus there remains only his grandson, surnamed from the place of his birth Gonatas, whose reign extended between 276 and 239 B.C. Finally, *Alikasudara* (or *Alikyaśudala*, K.) has long been taken to be Alexander of Epirus⁵ who was the son of Pyrrhus and Antigone,⁶ the daughter of Berenike I and sister of Magas; his regnal years are generally given as 272-c. 255 B.C. However, a classical historian of authority has suggested that he should rather be identified with Alexander of Corinth (252-c. 244), the son of Craterus.⁷ For such an assumption there exists, as far as I can find out, not the very slightest foundation; and I shall still take it for granted that Alexander of Epirus is the person mentioned here.

The chief interest is, however, concentrated upon the identity

¹ Cf. e.g. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, i, 298, etc.

² It would, of course, be theoretically possible to think also of Ptolemy III Euergetes (247-221 B.C.). That would, however, seriously dislocate the chronology of the three first Mauryas. Ptolemy III, it is quite true, was not, as a ruler, a contemporary of either Magas or Alexander of Epirus; but that would probably be of little importance in this connection.

³ Cf. *ZDMG.* xl, 137.

⁴ Cf. *CII.* i², p. xxx, note 2.

⁵ Cf. the literature quoted in *CII.* i², p. xxx.

⁶ Cf. Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, c. 4.

⁷ Cf. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, iii, 2, p. 105.

of Antiochus. As we have already mentioned above, modern scholarly opinion seems to have fairly unanimously fixed upon the second monarch of that name. Personally I am inclined gravely to doubt this conclusion as I shall explain presently. As an introductory remark I shall only emphasize my opinion that, whoever be this Antiochus, there is not the slightest reason for assuming that the man mentioned in Rock Edicts XIII and II would not be the same person.

Antiochus II, surnamed probably by the grateful Milesians¹ Theos, "the god," was the younger son of Antiochus I Soter, whom he succeeded between October, 262, and April, 261 B.C.² at the age of about twenty-four. He died rather suddenly in 246 B.C. (or possibly late in 247, cf. *Cambridge Ancient Hist.*, vii, 716) at the age of scarcely more than forty. He, like at least one of his successors, seems to have been a special favourite with the scandalmongers of the period. Phylarchus,³ most foul-mouthed perhaps amongst Greek historians, tells us shocking stories about his drunken bouts and his inclination towards young men of somewhat dubious accomplishments. Some or even most of this may be true; but we still may do well in taking note of the warning uttered by one of the best modern authorities on the history of the Seleucids.⁴

What interests us in this connection is, however, not so much the character of Antiochus II as the main events of his reign. He undoubtedly inherited from his father a war with Egypt, which came to an end only during his very last years, and an unbroken series of troubles with the petty despots and quarrelsome city-states of Asia Minor. As far as the very scanty evidence goes, Antiochus II spent the whole of his reign in the last-named country and in Syria; and there is certainly no evidence whatsoever for his having ever proceeded to the east of the Mesopotamian rivers to visit the outlying provinces of his vast and loosely-knitted empire. Furthermore, we have the direct evidence of the historians, above all that of Justin, the *epitomator Pompei Trogi*, that during the reign of Antiochus II the most important provinces of the east rebelled, an event which must have entirely cut off the connections between Mesopotamia and the borderlands of India until these were again, for a very short period of time, restored by Antiochus the Great.

¹ Appianus, *Syr.* 66.

² Cf. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, i, 168 sq.; the date given here is in accordance with the *Cambridge Ancient Hist.* vii, 709.

³ Ap. Athenæum, x, 438c; cf. also Aelianus, *Var. Hist.*, ii, 41.

⁴ Cf. Bevan, *loc. cit.*, i, 172.

Obscurity unfortunately veils the events which lead up to the foundation of the Parthian and Bactrian kingdoms at a date not far removed from 250 B.C. We, however, know that Arsakes and Tiridates, whatever may have been their somewhat disputed ancestry, killed the satrap Pherecles¹ and ousted the Seleucid troops from Parthia. And we also know that Diodotus, "governor of the thousand cities of Bactria,"² revolted and made himself independent of Antiochus II at about the same time. This Diodotus (I) must have reigned for a comparatively short period if the suggestion be correct that his son and successor, Diodotus II, was on the throne during the eastern expedition of Seleucus II.³

The date 250 B.C. suggested for these important events is, of course, a somewhat arbitrary one, though it cannot be very far from correct. There is, however, scarcely anything to show that just about this date the position of Antiochus II was an especially complicated and dangerous one, a circumstance which would have afforded to the mutinous satraps of the East an easy opportunity for breaking loose. On the contrary, the troubles in Asia Minor during the later years of Antiochus seem rather to have slightly subsided, and a peace with the none too successful ruler of Egypt was concluded on what seems to have been rather favourable terms just about that date. Seleucid kings have been known to have devoted their attention towards Eastern affairs in circumstances far more critical than those prevailing about 250 B.C. However, Antiochus II, wine-sodden and somewhat inefficient as he undoubtedly was, seems totally to have lacked interest in his Eastern provinces and to have devoted all his spare interest to the affairs of Asia Minor, which were always disastrous to the successors of Seleucus. As far as I am able to form an opinion on these obscure events, the revolts of the Parthians and of Diodotus⁴ may well have

¹ He seems to be known also by at least two other names, viz. Agathocles or Andrageras, cf. *CHI.* i, 438. It is not quite sure that they all refer to the same man, though, of course, nothing definite can be suggested here.

² Justin, xli, 4.

³ Cf. *CHI.* i, 439 sq.

⁴ As for Diodotus the following circumstances, even if quite hypothetical, may well be taken into consideration. It seems to me fairly probable that Diodotus was really the satrap of Bactria who about 274/73 B.C. furnished Antiochus I with some twenty elephants during his war with Ptolemy (*CHI.* i, 437). If that were the case it seems quite likely that Diodotus had been appointed satrap of his important province already during the viceroyalty of Antiochus I in the East, which came to an end in 281/80 B.C. Diodotus, whose reign seems to have been rather short (cf. above, p. 308), must then have been a fairly old man in 250 B.C.—at least about or well above sixty. The reasons for his rebellion are, of course, unknown; but they may have ultimately been connected in some way or other with the execution

begun several years earlier than 250 B.C., during the very critical period following upon the death of Antiochus I.¹

What has been summarily put forth here according to my humble opinion decidedly speaks against the suggestion that the *Am̐tiyoko nama Yonaraja* mentioned in the Rock Edicts XIII and II should be Antiochus II Theos. He seems to have devoted no interest to his Eastern provinces; at a probably early date during his reign he was despoiled of the most important one, viz. Bactria (with Sogdiana), by the rebellion of Diodotus, perhaps a little later also of Parthia by the upheaval led by Arsakes and Tiridates. Thus being entirely cut off from connection with the Further Orient and devoting all his energy to the affairs of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, there was little if any opportunity for Antiochus II to have established connections with the Emperor of the Indians, who was no longer his immediate neighbour. And Aśoka, provided he was still continuing his missionary activities outside his own borders, would rather have turned to Bactria than to distant and inaccessible Syria.

And now let us turn to the one other Antiochus that would be possible in this connection, viz. Antiochus I Soter, and try to find out whether there are not better reasons for identifying him with Am̐tiyoka, king of the Yavanas.

Antiochus was the son of Seleucus, the most prominent of all the successors of Alexander, the greatest man of all next to the world-conqueror himself,² who was cut down by the monstrous Ptolemy Keraunos at the very moment when he seemed able to raise himself into the position of a second and maybe wiser Alexander.³ His mother was Apama, the daughter of Spitamenes, one of the great lords of Eastern Irān, who had fallen during the Oriental campaign of Alexander; she was given to Seleucus at the great marriage festival

of the young Seleucus, the elder son of Antiochus I, who was probably viceroy of Irān, and must have been put to death in the year 263 B.C. (cf. Bevan, loc. cit., i, 150, n. 3, 169; *Cambridge Ancient Hist.* vii, 709 sq.). What I mean is that Seleucus may have been popular and perhaps even have tried to reign on his own, while Antiochus II was perhaps less well liked throughout the East.

¹ Even if such were the case there is no reason for the remark sometimes put forward about Diodotus (and even Arsaces) not being mentioned by Aśoka. For Aśoka, even if he had happened to hear about some uprising in Bactria, would scarcely have considered its leader worthy of mention as one of the kings connected with Antiochus.

² Cf. Arrianus, *Anabasis*, vii, 22, 5.

³ Seleucus, according to the latest available evidence (cf. *Cambridge Ancient Hist.* vii, 98, n. 1), was murdered some time between 30th November, 281, and March, 280 B.C.

in Susa (324 B.C.).¹ And though most other Macedonian nobles seem to have repudiated their Persian spouses after the death of the great conqueror, Seleucus faithfully kept to his Iranian wife.² It seems scarcely improbable that, owing to his Iranian parentage, Antiochus from an early age did not feel out of touch with his Eastern subjects, and that they for that same reason clung to him with greater sympathy than to rulers of unmixed Macedonian or Greek origin.³

Antiochus most probably accompanied his father during at least a part of his great Eastern expedition; for he was with him during the long march that ended on the battlefield of Ipsus (301 B.C.). In that battle, as a youth of little more than twenty, Antiochus unshrinkingly flung himself in the face of the formidable Poliorcetes, his future father-in-law, and to a great extent bore the brunt of the battle. Demetrius no doubt routed him; but while this magnificent *condottiere* chased his adversary far from the field his aged father, deserted by his own troops, went down before the lancers of Seleucus, and the battle ended in the defeat and temporary downfall of the house of Antigonus.

What we next hear about Antiochus is the romantic story, made up in the best Greek style, of him and his step-mother, Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius. It does not vividly interest us in this connection. What interests us more is that Antiochus, when once married to Stratonice, was set up by his father as his co-regent and as the viceroy of the whole eastern part of the empire from Mesopotamia to the very frontiers of India. His title was that of *βασιλεύς*; and there are even preserved a few coins with the legend *βασιλέων Σελεύκου καὶ Ἀντιόχου*, which may most probably date from this very period.⁴ The date of his elevation seems to have

¹ Cf. Arrianus, *Anabasis*, vii, 4. Antiochus I thus most probably was born in 323 B.C. and cannot, at the time of his death, have been sixty-four years old (Beyan, loc. cit., i, 168, quoting Eusebius, i, 259).

² Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, i, 7.

³ In this connection let me quote the following passages: "Antiochus . . . had some things to his favour. In the first place, his hold upon the eastern provinces was firm. His mother, it must be remembered, was of Iranian race, and those peoples might naturally cleave to a king who, by half his blood, was one of themselves. Through his mother, many perhaps of the grandees of Iran were his kindred" (Beyan, loc. cit., i, 74). "Antiochos avait sur son père l'avantage d'être à demi iranien par sa mère Apama et, peut-être pour cette raison, moins impopulaire dans l'Iran" (Bouché-Leclercq, loc. cit., i, 40).

⁴ Cf. *CHI*, i, 434, with pl. ii, 1. The *Cambridge Ancient Hist.* vii, 93, correctly remarks that the appointment of Antiochus as viceroy of the East was not without precedence in Achaemenian times.

been somewhere about 293 (292) B.C., and his viceroyalty apparently did not come to an end until he succeeded his murdered father in a still more powerful and responsible position. It thus seems obvious that he must have governed the east of the realm during at least some twelve years. And though next to nothing is known of his activities during this period there seems little doubt that they were manifold. The foundations of many Greek cities throughout Irān seem to be to his credit¹; and probably he may have done more for the spread of Hellenism throughout the Far East than anyone else, Alexander himself perhaps excepted.

During the time of his eastern viceroyalty Antiochus may have entered into those friendly connections with Bindusāra Ἀμιτροχάτης² mentioned by Hegesander.³ It may have been also during this period (roughly 293-281 B.C.) that he dispatched a certain Daimachus of Platea as his ambassador to the then capital of India.⁴ That Antiochus did really spend most of his time in the East seems clear from the circumstance that some time during the years 285-283 B.C. his father wrote to him about the fate of his father-in-law Demetrius; and at that time Antiochus had taken up his residence in Media.⁵ Even long after his ascension of the throne Antiochus seems to have upheld his sway over the far-off Eastern provinces, as in 274/73 B.C. the then governor of Bactria, who may well have been Diodotus, sent him elephants to assist him in the war with Ptolemy Philadelphus. Whether during the last years of his reign his hold upon the Far East became less strong it is impossible to ascertain, though such a condition seems intrinsically not improbable.

From what has been shortly set forth above it is quite obvious that the connections of Antiochus I with the East were of long and solid

¹ Cf. von Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, p. 26 sq.; the greatest of authorities, the late Ed. Meyer, *Hermes*, xxxiii, 643, speaks of Antiochus as "der grosse aber in der Ueberlieferung fast verschollene Städtegründer". Cf. also Bevan, loc. cit., i, 163.

² That this name should be transliterated into *Amitrakhāda*, not "ghāta, I have tried to prove, following older interpretations, in *JRAS.* 1928, p. 132 sqq. On Bindusāra—or whatever was his name (*CHI.* i, 495)—cf. the clever but utterly hypothetical article by the late Professor Gawronski in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, ii, 21 sqq., which, according to my opinion, affords no tangible results.

³ Cf. *Fragm. Hist. Graecorum*, iv, 421. The story of the Indian king wanting to buy a philosopher, which seems strikingly un-Indian, is apparently meant for a witty sneer at the far-off barbarians, but does not interest us here.

⁴ The slight discrepancy between *CHI.* i, 495, where Seleucus and i, 433, where Antiochus I is said to have sent this Daimachus to India is probably of no consequence at all. For he may in reality have been sent by Antiochus acting as the viceroy of his father in the East (cf. βασιλέων Σελεύκου καὶ Αντιόχου).

⁵ Cf. Bevan, loc. cit., i, 69 sq.

standing. By his mother Apama, the daughter of Spitamenes, he was half Iranian. Already in his early youth he had probably visited the East in the train of his great father, and from the age of thirty on he, for about twelve years, held the viceroyalty of all the vast land between Mesopotamia and Afghanistan, between the Jaxartes and the Persian Gulf. Even after having succeeded to the throne he seems to have maintained a firm grip on his eastern provinces. During his term as viceroy he must have entered into relations with his powerful neighbour, the Indian Emperor Bindusāra, and sent envoys to his court. Aśoka, the son of Bindusāra, clearly must have inherited these relations with a friendly and powerful neighbour. Thus there can be little doubt, to the present writer at least, that Antiochus I and no one else is in reality the Aṃtiyoka, king of the Yavanas, of the Rock Edicts.

The five kings mentioned in Rock Edict XIII would thus most probably be the following ones:—

Antiochus I Soter, end of 281 or beginning of 280—October, 262, or April, 261 B.C. ;

Ptolemy II Philadelphus, 285—January, 246 B.C. ;

Antigonus Gonatas, 276–239 B.C. ;

Magas of Cyrene, c. 300–c. 250 ;

Alexander of Epirus, 272–c. 255,

the two last ones being, for chronological purposes, without any decisive value.¹

If I am right in assuming that Antiochus I is the Yavana king spoken of in the Rock Edicts—and I can scarcely see any reason for doubting this suggestion—this will, of course, have a certain influence upon the fixing of the dates of these edicts. Antiochus I must, as we have already mentioned, have been well known to Bindusāra as well as to Aśoka himself.² There is scarcely any reason for doubting that fairly constant diplomatic connections were upheld between the court of Antiochia and that of Pāṭaliputra. And if that were the case

¹ Most of these princes were closely related to each other. Berenike (I), the daughter of Lagus and Antigone, daughter of Kassander (cf., however, Beloch, *Griech. Geschichte*, iii, 2, 128), first married a certain Philippus, the father of Magas and of Antigone, wife of Pyrrhus of Epirus. Berenike then married her half-brother Ptolemy I and became the mother of Ptolemy II. Magas thus was the cousin of this ruler; he himself married Apama, the daughter of Antiochus I. Pyrrhus and Antigone again were the parents of Alexander of Epirus.

² Aśoka, as governor of some of the western provinces of the empire during the lifetime of his father, may already then have entered upon relations with Antiochus, at that time possibly still the viceroy of the East.

the death of Antiochus in the current year 262-261 B.C. could not long have been unknown in India. Whether Magas of Cyrene or Alexander of Epirus, known to Aśoka probably only through their relationship and other connections with Antiochus, were alive or dead would be of little or no consequence to the ruler of India; and he would probably have cared little more about the fate of Antigonus Gonatas. Nay, it may even have been fairly indifferent to him which one of the Ptolemies was occupying the throne of Egypt. But with the Seleucid king, the greatest prince of the age besides himself, the one ruler who was striving to uphold the traditions of Alexander, it was otherwise. No doubt Aśoka would be well aware of his movements; no doubt the death of a Seleucid king would be looked upon as a momentous affair even in distant Pāṭaliputra.

The late lamented Senart in his admirable work on the Aśoka inscriptions¹ formulated the theory which seems to have been unanimously adopted by later scholars, that all the Rock Edicts were incised at one and the same time. Such a theory seems to be supported by the fairly uniform style of these edicts, as well as by the last one which appears to contain a sort of summing up of the whole code of *dharma-lipi*'s. Senart, however, was far from blind to certain evidence that seems rather to contradict his own theory, though it was only natural that he should try his best to explain it away. As far as I can understand, it must be quite correct to suggest that the fourteen edicts were really *incised at the same time*; but this does not at all mean that they were originally *composed* at the very same date. That this is not the case is my own humble but firm opinion, of which I shall have to say a few words presently.²

First of all let us turn to the Rock Edict XIII, in a way the most important one of them all, which we continue to quote from the Shābhāzgarhī version:—

(1) *athavaśaabbhisitasa Devanapriasa Priadrakisa raño Kaliga vijita || diadhamatre pranaśatasahasre ye tato aparudhe śatasahasramatre tatra hate bahutavatake va muṭe ||* (2) *tato paca adhuna ladheṣu Kaligeṣu tiṇe dhramaśīlana dhramakamata dhramanuśastī ca Devanapriyasa || so asti anusocana Devanapriasa vijinīti*³ *Kaligani ||*

¹ Cf. *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, li, 243 sqq.

² In the following I am not concerned with any inscriptions except the fourteen Rock Edicts and the two separate ones of Dhanli and Jaugada. Of the new Mysore version, the discovery of which was announced in the *IHQ.* v, I have, unfortunately, not been able to gather even the scantiest information.

³ *vijinīti* Bāhler; but cf. *tīkhiṭi, aloceṭi* (CII. 1^a, p. xcvi).

(8) *ayi ca mukhamuta vijaye Devanampriyasa yo dhramavijayo ||*
so ca puna ladho Devanampriyasa iha ca saveṣu ca aṇṭeṣu, etc.

(10) *savatra Devanampriyasa dhramanuṣāsi*
anuvāṣāmi ||

(11) *etaye ca aṭṭhaye ayi dhramadīpi nipista*
kiti putra papotra me asu navaṃ vijayaṃ ma vijetavā māñiṣu
taṃ ca yo vija¹ māñatu yo dhramavijayo ||

"When the Beloved of the Gods, the King of auspicious countenance, had been eight years anointed, the Kālīṅgas were conquered. One hundred and fifty thousand men were deported thence, one hundred thousand were slain there, many times that number died. After that, now the Kālīṅgas have been taken possession of, there is on the side of the Beloved of the Gods zealous study of Buddhism, love of Buddhism, instruction in Buddhism. This is the repentance of the Beloved of the Gods having conquered the Kālīṅgas."

"Now this conquest, viz. the conquest by (preaching) Buddhism, is considered the highest one by the Beloved of the Gods. And even this conquest has been won by the Beloved of the Gods here and in all the borderlands . . . everywhere they follow the instruction in Buddhism by the Beloved of the Gods."

"And for this purpose has this edict concerning Buddhism been composed, viz. that those sons and (great) grandsons that may be born to me should not deem a new conquest fit to be won . . . but that they should hold the conquest by Buddhism (to be) the (true) conquest."

Now what do we learn from this edict? First of all that, having been anointed for eight years, i.e. in the year 8/9 after his coronation, Aśoka had conquered the Kālīṅga country where many hundred thousand people died, were slain, or were carried off into captivity. Further, that the Beloved of the Gods, repenting this wholesale slaughter and all the miseries brought upon the innocent population of Kālīṅga, had now become a zealous Buddhist,² who tried to spread

¹ Kālsī correctly *vijayaṃ*.

² We are not here deeply concerned with either the date or the mode of Aśoka's conversion, which have been much discussed. That the conversion occurred immediately after the Kālīṅga campaign there cannot be the slightest doubt. And as even those virtues which Aśoka does elsewhere (cf. Rock Edicts IV, IX, etc.) praise as the most meritorious ones are said in xiii, J, to have been practised even among the people of Kālīṅga, it would be a perfectly justifiable conclusion that Buddhism was at that time widespread in that country, and that the conversion of Aśoka did really originate from there.

his newly adopted faith not only throughout his own realm but also within those of his western and southern neighbours. He also apparently tells us that he had still got no (great) grandsons born to him—it would be rather an unwise conclusion to apply these words also to his sons—which seems to be the case elsewhere (cf. Rock Edicts IV, V, VI, etc.). Finally, it is to be observed that the usual introductory words (*Devānāmpriyaḥ Priyadarśī rājā evam āha*) are missing here without any visible reason.

All these circumstances taken together seem to me to prove that this is in reality the oldest of the edicts hitherto known. It was, according to my humble opinion, made public immediately after the conquest of Kālīṅga and the conversion that followed upon it, i.e. it may well belong to the ninth year after the *abhiṣeka*. And this year must fall several years before the death of Antiochus I for reasons to which we shall return presently. That in the final redaction of the Rock Edicts it came to be counted as the last one—for the fourteenth does not, for obvious reasons, count in the same way as the other ones—seems well explicable as its contents are quite different from those of the previous rescripts.¹

After this earliest of the preserved edicts there can be little doubt what follows, viz. the two separate edicts of Dhauḷi and Jaugāḍa. At the latter place they both present introductory words of a slightly simpler trend than the usual formula, viz. *Devānāmpriye hevaṃ āhā* "thus speaketh the Beloved of the Gods"²; while at Dhauḷi even this simple introduction has been neglected and substituted by the simple *Devānāmpriyasa vacanena*, etc. Which is really the original version cannot now be fully made out, though it seems rather probable that the introductory words at Jaugāḍa may represent a later addition.

The separate edicts apparently contain rules and advices for the peaceful administration of the recently conquered Kālīṅga country and for the pacification of the unconquered border-tribes of that province.³ From this it seems pretty clear that they must be ascribed

¹ The reason why it was not published in Kālīṅga is, of course, quite conspicuous and has been pointed out long ago. It would, however, be still more obvious if the edict was really published immediately after the conquest and not several years afterwards.

² It seems peculiar that the epithet *Priyadarśin* should occur nowhere in the two separate edicts. For this some local reasons unknown to us may account. It is also somewhat remarkable that in the second separate edict Dh. has everywhere *Devānāmpriyaḥ* where J. uses the word *rājā* (cf. the parallel conditions prevailing in Rock Edict VIII, A; cf. *CHI.* i², p. xxx).

³ We are strongly reminded of the existence even to this day of uncivilized hill-tribes within the frontier districts of Orissa, etc.

to the period immediately following upon the conquest, i.e. to the ninth year after the coronation. The immediate objection to this argument will be that the *mahāmātras* mentioned in these edicts as being sent out at fixed times must in all probability be identical with those of whom we hear in the Rock Edict III, which is dated in the year 12/13 after the *abhiṣeka* (cf. also the *dharmamahāmātra*'s of Rock Edict V, who were appointed for the first time in the year 12-13 after the *abhiṣeka*). Such an objection, however, seems to me to be lacking in validity. The separate edicts simply speak of *mahāmātra*'s resident in Tosālī¹ or Samāpā, of whom one was sent out every fifth year on a general tour of inspection, while at Ujjayinī (and Taxila?) every third year was the date of the inspection-tours. The Rock Edict III, again, speaks of *yukta*, *rājūka* (*rajjūka*), and *prādeśika* (whatever they be) to be sent out as inspectors every fifth year *sarvatra vijñte mama* "in the whole of my empire". The inference seems to be that such tours of inspection were at first instituted at Ujjayinī and Taxila—perhaps even during the time of Aśoka's own viceroyalty or on account of some revolts at those places—and that they were then after the Kālīṅga conquest further instituted at Tosālī and Samāpā; finally, under the influence of Buddhism they were extended over the whole of the empire. There need thus be no immediate chronological connection between the two separate edicts and the Rock Edict III.

A further reason for thinking the two separate edicts to have been published separately and not at the same time as all the edicts I-X (XII), XIV seems to be found in the prescription (I Sep. Ed. Dhauli V, Jaugaḍa W; II Sep. Ed. Dhauli N, Jaugaḍa O), according to which the edict should be listened to by all on every day of the constellation Tīṣya.² This means that on these occasions it was publicly recited—apparently preceded by ceremonial drumming—throughout the towns of Tosālī and Samāpā; this distinctly points to a date when it was not yet incised on the rocks, but was preserved in the shape of a royal proclamation.

¹ On this place cf. B. S. Deo, *Quart. J. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, iii, 41 sqq.

² It seems somewhat remarkable that several names containing that of the constellation Tīṣya belong to the Maurya time. There is Aśoka's wicked queen Tīṣya-rakṣitā, and his brother Tīṣya (on this name cf. Pāṇini, iv, 3, 34). There is further the contemporary king Tissa of Ceylon (*Dīpavaṃsa*), and the great divine Tissa Moggaliputta (cf. Geiger, *Mahāvamsa*, p. xlvii sq., etc.). Still further there is Puṣyagupta, a viceroy of Candragupta (*Epiqr. Indica*, viii, 46 sq.); and there may be even more names of which I am not aware. The fifth Pillar Edict further tells us that on Tīṣyā castration and branding of animals must not be performed. Unfortunately, I cannot suggest any probable connection of the Maurya family with this constellation though there may well be one.

As for the other Rock Edicts, they may well be of the same date all of them—with one possible exception, viz. Edict VIII. In this document we are told that Aśoka, having been anointed ten years, i.e. in the year 10/11 after the coronation, made a pilgrimage to *Sambodhi*. I am at one with Professor D. R. Bhandarkar¹ that this word must mean the place where supreme enlightenment was reached by the Buddha Gotama, i.e. Bōdh-Gayā.² And it seems only natural that Aśoka who, after the bloody conquest of Kālīnga, had been converted to Buddhism—though most probably a very simple layman's Buddhism—should as soon as possible set out to visit what must perhaps be considered the most sacred spot by the followers of the Tathāgata's doctrine.

The eighth edict lacks the usual introductory words, and for that reason may possibly have been given, before it was included in the collection of the fourteen rescripts, in a somewhat different form. But of this we, of course, know nothing. All that can be said is that it seems quite possible that this edict was really of a somewhat older date and was originally published shortly after the (first) pilgrimage to Bōdh-Gayā. In spite of various interpretative efforts³ it is, unfortunately, far from clear what is meant by the words *Devānaṃpiyasa Priyadasino rāṇo bhāge aṃṣe* of the last sentence.

As for the remaining Rock Edicts (I-VII, IX-XII, XIV), two of them, viz. the third and the fourth, clearly state that they were published when Aśoka had been anointed for twelve years, i.e. in the year 12/13 after the *abhiṣeka*; and the Sixth Pillar Edict furnishes the information that a "rescript on Buddhism" was composed at this very date (*duvādasavasa-abhisitena me dhammalipi likhāpitā*). Although it is not, of course, impossible—or perhaps even rather probable—that some of these edicts should have appeared earlier in a somewhat different form, it seems fairly obvious that in their present shape they were all issued at one and the same date.

As concerns their internal arrangement only a few words may be added here. The introductory words of Rock Edict I (*iyam dhammalipi Devānaṃpriyena Priyadasinā rāṇā lekhāpitā*, Gīrnār) recur at the beginning of Edict XIV, and are, of course, a phrase put

¹ Cf. *IA*, xlii, 159 sq.

² With this use of the word *sambodhi* cf. *Jātaka*, iv, 236, 2: *mahāyitthāna sambodhipi* (with *mahāyitthāna* cf. *mahiyite* in the Rumindēi and Nigālī Sāgar inscriptions). Cf. also Mookerji, *Aśoka*, p. 105 sq.

³ Cf. e.g. Lüders, *Sitz. ber. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1914, p. 846.

in by the final redaction. The second edict again lacks every sort of introductory sentence. Hence it seems fairly probable that these two are really meant to form one continuous rescript: the first part tells us that Aśoka had abolished bloody sacrifices as well as the heedless slaughter of animals practised in his own royal kitchens¹: when this edict was published only two peacocks² and one deer were killed for making curries, and even these were to be spared in the future. In the second part Aśoka tells us that in his own realm and in those of his neighbours he had instituted medical treatment of men and animals, planted herbs of medical use and nourishing roots and fruits, caused wells to be dug, and planted trees for the use of cattle and human beings. These two parts seem to fit very well together.

The same seems to be the case with Edicts III and IV. The introductory words of III exactly correspond to the final paragraph of IV; and Edict IV besides lacks the usual introductory sentence. Furthermore, the virtues inculcated in III *D* are exactly the same ones the absence of which Aśoka is deploring in IV *A*. On the very remarkable contents of this later edict I shall say nothing here as I hope to return to them in another connection.

Again the Edicts V and VI both begin with the usual phrase (*Devānāmpriyāḥ Priyadarśī rājā evam āha*); they are both separate rescripts and seem from that point of view to present no difficulties. As for Edict VII it seems indeed very fragmentary and has in any case got nothing to do with the following one (cf. above). Edict IX again, which starts with the usual introductory sentence, is a complete rescript dealing with the different sorts of *maṅgala*'s; unfortunately sufficient explanation has not been forthcoming for the very remarkable fact that in the later part of the edict Kālsī and the North-Western versions differ entirely from Gīrnār and the two Eastern ones. The tenth edict seems to be only a fragment and can scarcely be connected with the preceding one, while the eleventh—which, by the way, is of a very undefined and hazy nature—seems to form a piece by itself. Finally, Edict XII lacks the introductory formula, but may originally

¹ Somewhat similar measures were at times taken by Akbar, cf. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 167.

² To peacock's flesh no doubt magical qualities were ascribed; it was believed to convey immortality, not to decay, etc. Cf. *Jātaka*, ii, 36 sq.; Johansson, *Solpfågeln i Indien*, p. 78 sq.; Charpentier, *Festschrift E. Kuhn*, p. 283, n. 4; Mookerji, *Aśoka*, p. 62.

have been a rescript not to the subjects in general, but to certain religious sects that were at daggers drawn between each other.¹

Now if the Rock Edict II, which mentions Antiochus, was in its present form published in the year 12/13 after the *abhiseka*, which no doubt was the case, this would give us the means not for fixing its actual date, but for fixing the latest date at which it can possibly have been published. The death of Antiochus I occurred between October, 262, and April, 261 B.C.; and there is little or no doubt that it would have been known in India at least in 261/260 B.C. This consequently marks the latest date possible for a rescript that speaks of Antiochus as being still alive. If the present version of the fourteen Rock Edicts were published at such a date—which is, of course, only a working hypothesis and intrinsically not very probable—the year of the coronation would be calculated by adding 12/13 to 261/260, by which means we would arrive at 274/272 B.C. as the latest possible date of the *abhiseka*. And as tradition unanimously asserts that Aśoka was raised to the throne four years before his coronation the date of his real accession would fall between the years 278 and 276 B.C.

The length of Bindusāra's reign is given differently in different sources; but perhaps the most probable one is the calculation of the Purāṇas, according to which he reigned for twenty-five years. If, now, we reckon with the accession of Aśoka as having taken place between 278 and 276 B.C., this would bring the beginning of Bindusāra's reign to a date somewhere between 303 and 301 B.C. Considering the accepted date of Seleucus' Indian expedition (305 B.C.)²—which is, however, nothing but a not incredible hypothesis—and the assertion of Arrian that Megasthenes did repeatedly (πολλάκις) visit the residence of Candragupta,³ such a date would seem rather early,

¹ It is certainly remarkable that this rescript contains at least two words which strongly remind us of Jain terminology, viz. *vaci-guti* (*vaca-guti*) in *D* and *kalāṇāgama* in *J* (this, by the way, must mean "possessed of good scriptures", not "pure in doctrine" as rendered by Hultzsch). Of the officials mentioned here the *dharma-mahāmātra* is in all probability the special supervisor of the Buddhist *saṅgha* (cf. Delhi-Tōprā VII, Z); the *ūthiḥakha* certainly has got nothing to do with the *ganikādhyakṣa* of Kautilya (thus *CHI*, i², p. 22, n. 4)—he may possibly be some sort of overseer of the nuns; the *vaca-bhūmika* is the supervisor of the holy cows (and probably of the pinjrapols, cf. Rock Ed. II), a purely Brahmin official.

² Cf. *CHI*, i, 430, 472, 608.

³ It must, however, be observed that these words do not necessarily involve that Candragupta was still alive during all the visits, though the text says *παρὰ Σαρδάροισιν τὸν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα*. The successor of Candragupta, as we know, was not even known to the Greeks by his real name.

though of that we can form no fixed opinion.¹ As Candragupta, again, is unanimously told to have reigned for twenty-four years, the period of his reign would have to be placed somewhere between 327-325 B.C. and 303-301 B.C.; the dates 325-301 B.C. would in that case seem to be the more probable ones.²

That the reign of Candragupta should have begun as early as 327, or more probably 325, B.C. will perhaps be considered not very probable. But I fail to find real arguments that could be raised against such an assumption. If the passage in Justin, xv, 4, is to be considered the leading one amongst classical scriptures dealing with Candragupta it tells us the following: first of all he by his insolent behaviour fell out with King Nandrus³ and fled for his life from him. Then: *contrectis latronibus Indos ad novitatem regni sollicitavit*; and Indian sources—whatever else may be their value—scarcely contradict the statement that it was with the help of a veritable pack of rascals (*latrones*) that Candragupta did overthrow the throne of the Nandas.⁴ And finally: *molienti deinde bellum adversus Alexandri praefectos*, etc.; the *deinde* obviously proves that it was after having assured for himself the realm of the Prācyaś that Candragupta turned upon the Punjāb and Sindh. The consolidation of the Eastern empire and the recruiting of armies capable to combat the soldiers of Macedonia and Greece and with the strong men of the North-west will have taken some years. Thus it is nowise impossible that Candragupta may have begun his reign in Pāṭaliputra about 325 B.C., or even perhaps a little earlier.⁵

¹ There remains the possibility that the four years during which Aśoka is said to have reigned before his anointment do in reality mean nothing but a co-regentship with Bindusāra (cf. also *CHI.* i, 503, n. 1). If such were the case the latter's regnal years would come in somewhere between 299/97 and 274/72 B.C. But all this is pure guess-work.

² On the date of Candragupta cf. also the able paper of Dr. O. Stein, *Indologica Pragense*, i, 354 sqq.

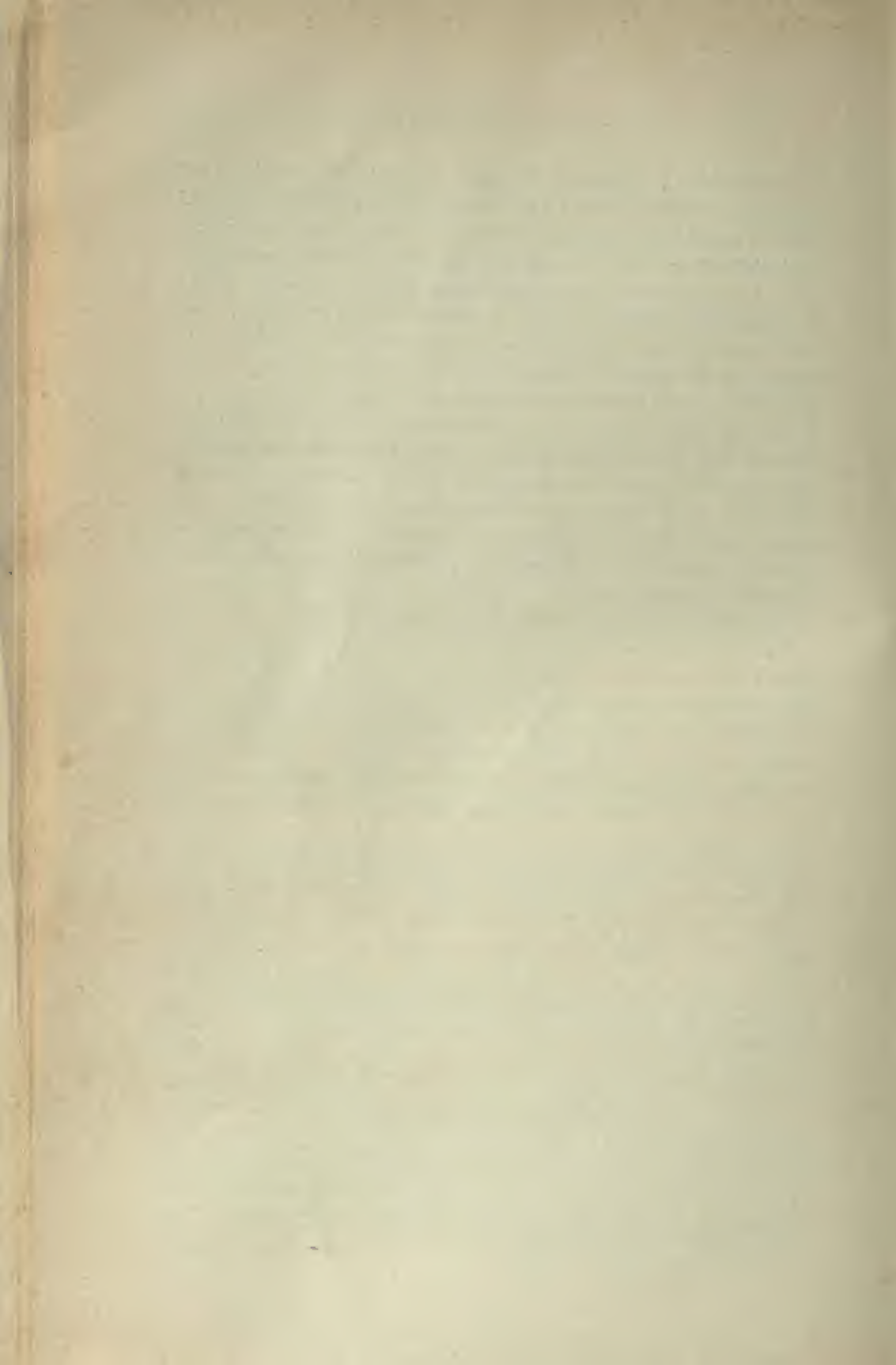
³ It is to be sincerely hoped in the interest of Indian ancient history, which is mainly constructive, that the emendation *Nandrum* for *Alexandrum* is really the correct one. Otherwise the passage from Justin would tell us an absolutely different tale.

⁴ Here the *Mudrārākṣasa*, which may be of considerable historical value, is especially illuminative.

⁵ It seems to have been always taken for granted that *Agrammes* or *Xandrames* (on whom cf. E. Thomas, *JRAS.* 1865, p. 447 sqq.), the despicable sovereign of the East who had murdered his predecessor, was in reality a Nanda. But we look out in vain for definite proofs of such a suggestion. *Xandrames*, as Professor Thomas has rightly remarked (*CHI.* i, 469 sq.), most probably renders a Sanskrit form *Candramāśa*, and this is certainly not far from Candragupta. That Candragupta should have visited Alexander while in the Punjāb (Plutarch, *Alexander*, lxii) sounds suspiciously like a myth.

To sum up: I have tried above to make it probable that Antiochus I (281-262/61 B.C.) and not Antiochus II (262/61-246 B.C.) is the Yavana king Amtiyoka mentioned in two of the Rock Edicts of Aśoka. Even if such a suggestion cannot, of course, be definitely proved, it still seems fairly probable that such is the case. Certain chronological conclusions may be drawn from this assumption; they are, however, lacking in definiteness and are only apt still further to emphasize the profound uncertainty with which the ancient and in general the pre-Mohammadan chronology of India is beset.

Let me finally express the sincere wish that these modest lines may present some interest to my dear and revered friend Professor Rapson. Without the splendid work performed by him for the elucidation of crucial points within the ancient history of India—especially as an editor and author of most important chapters of the *Cambridge History of India*—to produce even the above pages would have proved well-nigh an impossible task.



À propos de l'origine des chiffres arabes

Par G. CœDÈS

(PLATE IV)

L'ORIGINE des chiffres que nous appelons " arabes " parce qu'ils ont été introduits en Europe par les Arabes, et de la notation arithmétique basée sur leur valeur de position avec l'emploi du symbole zéro, a donné lieu à des recherches qui ont abouti à des résultats opposés : certains auteurs ont affirmé l'origine indienne du système, tandis que d'autres ont voulu y voir une invention occidentale.

Parmi ces derniers, M. G. R. Kaye s'est fait remarquer par son hostilité contre la thèse de l'origine indienne. Il s'exprime ainsi dans son article " Notes on Indian Mathematics: Arithmetical Notation " (*JASB.*, 1907, p. 487) : " On palæographic grounds we are forced to fix the ninth century A.D. as the earliest period in which the modern place-value system of notation may have been in use in India. This earliest period depends on one inscription only. If this inscription, on further light being thrown upon it, proves unreliable (as it possibly will), then we shall have to fix the tenth century as the earliest period. Even for the tenth century there is not an excessive amount of good evidence, and it is within the bounds of possibility that we may have finally to turn to the eleventh century for evidence of the use of our modern system in India."

Dans son récent mémoire intitulé " Hindu-Arabic Numerals " et publié dans *Indian Studies in honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman* (pp. 217-36), M. W. E. Clark proteste contre l'attitude de M. G. R. Kaye. Laisant résolument de côté l'épigraphie indienne qui peut justifier dans une certaine mesure le scepticisme de ce dernier, il recherche dans la littérature indienne des témoignages anciens de l'emploi du symbole zéro et des chiffres avec valeur de position, et il conclut ainsi son enquête : " It seems to me that the Indian literary evidence proves conclusively the presence of a symbol for zero by A.D. 600. Before this could be referred to in a work of general literature it must have had a considerable history behind it. It also proves the knowledge of nine symbols with place value (with either a blank column on the reckoning board for zero, or a symbol for zero) by the end of the fifth century A.D. at least. Beyond that the present evidence

does not go. But this carries the Indian knowledge of symbols with place value back at least four hundred years earlier than the date assigned by Kaye."

Il est à craindre que M. G. R. Kaye ne se laisse pas facilement convaincre par des arguments tirés d'une littérature dont la chronologie est aussi mal établie que la littérature indienne et dont la tradition manuscrite est aussi discutable. Sans prendre parti dans un procès dont je n'ai pas étudié toutes les pièces,¹ je voudrais y verser quelques documents provenant d'un domaine qui m'est familier, en apportant au débat le témoignage de l'épigraphie indochinoise et indonésienne. Ce témoignage tire une certaine valeur du fait que les textes que je me propose d'utiliser, au lieu d'être comme dans l'Inde propre des chartes sur cuivre, c'est-à-dire des documents susceptibles selon M. G. R. Kaye d'avoir été recopiés, altérés et falsifiés, sont des inscriptions sur pierre dont tout un ensemble de faits garantit l'authenticité.

La présence, dans les inscriptions sanskrites de l'Indochine et de l'Insulinde, de mots symboliques présupposant l'emploi des chiffres avec valeur de position n'a pas échappé aux auteurs précités. Le fait que ce mode de numération est attesté dans l'épigraphie de ces pays, avant de l'être d'une façon indiscutable dans l'épigraphie indienne, a conduit M. G. R. Kaye à supposer qu'il a pu être importé de l'Extrême-Orient dans l'Inde propre (loc. cit., p. 480). C'est en partie pour réfuter cette étrange opinion que M. W. E. Clark a recherché dans la littérature indienne des témoignages de l'usage ancien des mots symboliques. Mais ni l'un ni l'autre ne se sont demandés à quelle époque et dans quelles conditions apparaissent pour la première fois, dans l'épigraphie de l'Indochine et de l'Insulinde, les chiffres avec valeur de position et le symbole zéro. C'est sur ce point particulier que je voudrais apporter quelques précisions, dont l'importance n'échappera à personne ; car à moins de prétendre que les chiffres "arabes" et le zéro sont venus d'Extrême-Orient, leur emploi dans les colonies indiennes à haute époque est nettement en faveur de leur existence dans l'Inde à une époque plus haute encore.

Il importe, dans cette enquête, de distinguer entre les inscriptions en vernaculaire, khmèr, cham, malais ou javanais, et les inscriptions sanskrites, presque toujours en vers, qui, par ce fait même, n'ont pas l'occasion d'employer les chiffres pour exprimer les dates.

¹ Cf. notamment : Sukumar Ranjan Das, "The origin and development of numerals," *IHQ.* III, 1927, pp. 97, 356; Bibhutibhusan Datta, "The present mode of expressing numbers," *ibid.*, p. 530.

Au Cambodge, les premières inscriptions sanskrites datées font usage des mots symboliques. En voici l'exemple le plus ancien :

Stèle de Bàyàn (K. 13, ligne 11 = *ISCC.*, p. 36)¹ : *rasodasra-çaraïç çakendravarçe* " dans l'année du roi des Çaka (désignée) par les (cinq) flèches, les (deux) Açvin et les (six) saveurs ", soit 526.

Les inscriptions connues jusqu'à présent fournissent une quinzaine d'exemples de ce système pour le VI^e siècle çaka.

Au Champa, les deux plus anciennes inscriptions sanskrites datées expriment le millésime en toutes lettres, en langue sanskrite :

Stèle de Mi-sôn (C 73 A, ligne 4 = *BEFE-O.*, III, p. 210) : . . . *yut-tareşu caturşu varşaçateşu* " quatre cents ans augmentés de . . . ", soit 4xx.

Stèle de Mi-sôn (C 96 B, ligne 14 = *BEFE-O.*, IV, p. 921) : *nava-saptatyuttara pañcavarşaçatātītaçakāvanīndrakālāparimāṇam* " l'époque du roi des Çaka étant passée depuis cinq cents ans augmentés de soixante-dix-neuf ", soit 579 çaka.

Au siècle suivant, donc plus tard qu'au Cambodge, apparaissent pour la première fois dans les inscriptions sanskrites du Champa les mots symboliques, seuls ou combinés avec les noms de nombres :

Stèle de Mi-sôn (C 87 A, ligne 5 = *BEFE-O.*, IV, p. 926 ; XV, 2, p. 190) : *ānandāmvaraşaçataniyamitāçakabhūbhujān gale samaye* " en l'an des rois Çaka déterminé par six cents, l'atmosphère (zéro) et les (neuf) Nanda ", soit 609 çaka.

S'il n'est pas dû uniquement aux nécessités du mètre, l'emploi de *çata* pour préciser la valeur de *şaç* semble trahir une certaine inexpérience dans le maniement des mots symboliques remplaçant des chiffres avec valeur de position ; en tout cas, dans une inscription postérieure d'un demi siècle, le même nom de nombre représentant des centaines est donné tout nu :

Stèle de Mi-sôn (C 74 B, ligne 10 = *BEFE-O.*, XI, p. 266) : *bhukte rāmārthashaikaiç çakapatisamaye* " l'époque du roi des Çaka étant révolue depuis six, les (cinq) objets des sens et les (trois) Rāma ", soit 653 çaka.

A Java, la plus ancienne inscription sanskrite datée fait usage des mots symboliques :

¹ Les lettres K et C suivies d'un numéro se rapportent à l'*Inventaire des inscriptions du Champa et du Cambodge* par G. Coedès (*BEFE-O.*, VIII, p. 37) réédité à Hanoi en 1923. *ISCC.* = *Inscriptions sanscrites du Champa et du Cambodge*, par Barth et Bergaigne, Paris, 1885 (Not. et extr. des MSS. de la Bibl. Nat., tome XXVII).

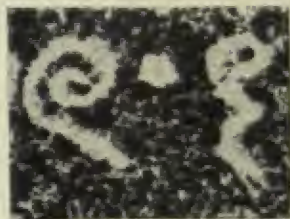
Stèle de Čaṅgal (ligne 1 = Kern, *VG.*, VII, p. 118) : *çākendre tigate çrutindriyarasaṁ aṅgīkṛte vatsare* " l'année du roi des Čaka exprimée en chiffres ¹ par les (six) saveurs, les (cinq) organes des sens et les (quatre) Veda ", soit 654 čaka.

Dans les inscriptions en vernaculaire, l'emploi des mots symboliques eût risqué d'être inintelligible pour le public auquel elles étaient destinées. D'autre part, les noms de nombres indigènes, d'un usage courant dans les énumérations d'objets offerts à un temple, dans l'évaluation des distances ou des superficies, etc., semblent frappés d'interdit dans l'énoncé des dates : c'est là un fait dont la raison n'est pas très claire, mais dont il faut cependant tenir compte. Voici comment les Indochinois et les Indonésiens ont résolu la difficulté.

Au Champa, les dates des inscriptions en langue chame sont exprimées par des chiffres avec valeur de position, suivant le système dont l'origine fait précisément l'objet de la controverse. La plus ancienne date attestée est 735 čaka (Pō Nagar, C 37 = *JA.*, 1891, i, p. 24 ; C 125 = *BEFE-O.*, XV, 2, p. 47).

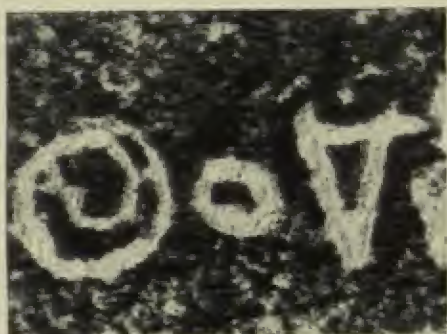
Dans l'Insulinde, les chiffres apparaissent beaucoup plus tôt. Trois inscriptions de Črīvijaya, deux trouvées à Palembang en Sumatra (*Acta Orientalia*, II, pp. 13 et 19) et l'autre provenant de l'île de Banka (Kern, *VG.*, VIII, p. 207), donnent les millésimes 605, 606 et 608 čaka. M. G. R. Kaye ne manquera pas de faire état des réserves formulées par Kern (loc. cit.) et par le Dr Bosch (cf. *Acta Orientalia*, II, p. 12) touchant la valeur du chiffre des centaines, qui diffère sensiblement du chiffre 6 tel qu'il est attesté dans des inscriptions postérieures. Mais le doute a été levé par la découverte de deux fragments de l'inscription de Dinaya de 682 čaka, la plus ancienne inscription de Java qui donne une date en chiffres. En effet, la date exprimée dans la partie anciennement connue (lignes 12-13) l'est en sanskrit, de la façon suivante : *nayanavasurase* " les (six) saveurs, les (huit) Vasu et les (deux) yeux " (*Tijdschrift*, LVII, 1916, p. 411). Or, dans le fragment supérieur de l'inscription retrouvé en 1923 (*ibid.*, LXIV, 1924, p. 227), la même date est répétée en chiffres, et le signe du chiffre 6 est identique à celui qui apparaît 75 ans plus tôt dans les inscriptions de Črīvijaya. Les lectures 605, 606 et 608 sont donc sûres et doublement intéressantes, car en même temps qu'elles apportent un exemple ancien de l'emploi des chiffres avec leur valeur de position, elles attestent l'emploi du zéro, clef de voûte de tout le système.

¹ Kern corrige *aṅgīkṛte* en *ankīkṛte*.



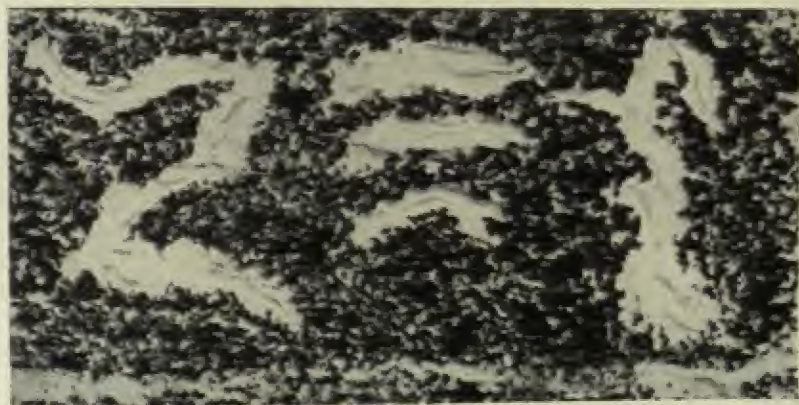
605

INSCRIPTION KHMÈRE
DE SAMBÔR.



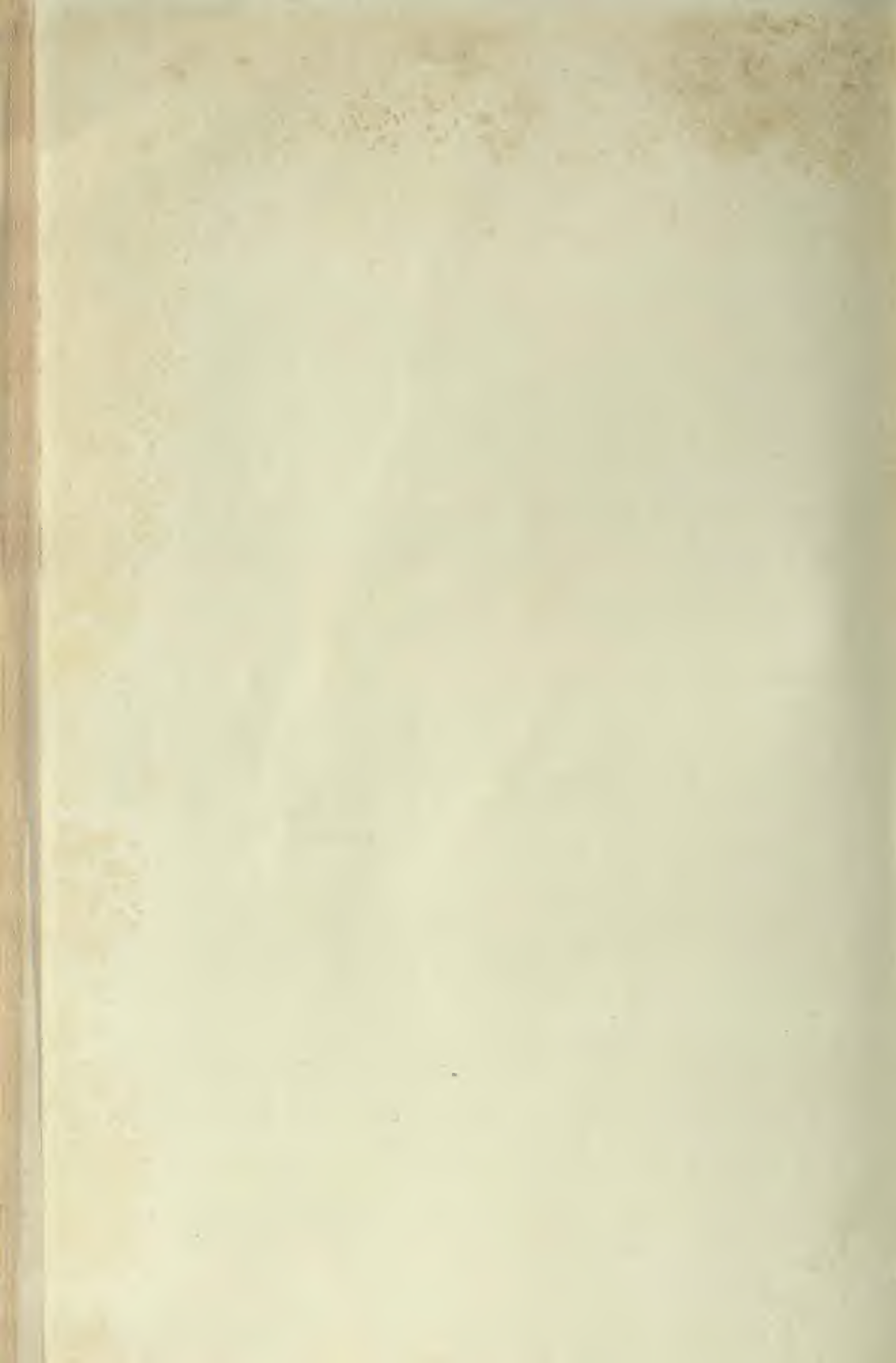
608

INSCRIPTION MALAISE DE
KOTA KAPUR (BANKA).



735

INSCRIPTION CHAME DE PÔ NAGAR.



Le Cambodge présente un cas particulièrement intéressant. La numération n'y était pas décimale, et aujourd'hui encore, malgré l'emprunt des numéraux siamois pour les multiples de dix à partir de trente, et pour cent, mille, etc., elle ne l'est pas complètement : les noms de nombres de six à neuf se disent cinq-un, cinq-deux, cinq-trois, cinq-quatre, et des noms spéciaux pour désigner le nombre quatre et plusieurs multiples de vingt sont encore d'un usage courant. A l'époque ancienne, les Khmèrs ne disposaient pour exprimer les nombres, de quelque grandeur qu'ils fussent, que des noms pour un, deux, trois, quatre, cinq, dix, vingt, et quelques multiples de vingt, et avaient emprunté au sanskrit le mot *çata* pour cent (cf. BEFE-O., XXIV, p. 347). A chacun de ces nombres correspondaient des signes dont les plus anciens exemples sont attestés par les inscriptions de Trapān Thom (K 423 = *Corpus*,¹ LXIII), Loñvāk (K 137 = *Corpus*, LV), Vāt An Khvāv (K 560 = *Corpus*, XXII) et Sambôr datée 605 çaka (K 127 = *Corpus*, XLVII) : Aymonier en a reproduit quelques-uns, tirés d'inscriptions un peu postérieures, dans ses " Quelques notions sur les inscriptions en vieux khmèr " (*JA.*, 1883, i, p. 483). Ce système de notation arithmétique est resté en vigueur à travers tout l'épigraphie cambodgienne pour le décompte des esclaves, des animaux, des objets, l'évaluation des longueurs, etc., mais n'a jamais été appliqué aux dates. Les plus anciennes inscriptions khmères datées donnent le millésime en sanskrit, par exemple :

Prāh Kuhā Lūoñ (K 44, ligne 6 = *Corpus*, IV) : *saṇṇavatyuttara-pañcaçata çakaparigraha* " (l'année) çaka comptant cinq cent quatre-vingt-seize ".

Quelque incertitude a régné jusqu'à présent sur la date la plus ancienne qui ait été exprimée en chiffres dans l'épigraphie khmère. Une inscription de Prāsāt Nāk Buos (K 341 Sud) contient une date de trois chiffres se terminant par 96, dont les autres données se vérifieraient pour l'année 596 çaka (*ISCC.*, p. 380, n. 2), mais qu'Aymonier préférerait restituer 796 (*Le Cambodge*, vol. II, p. 238) : on ne peut en faire état. D'autre part, Aymonier (*ibid.*, I, p. 292) proposait d'interpréter par 784 la date d'une inscription de Cōñ An (K 99) qu'il avait lue 7844 (*sic*). Mais ce que cet auteur a pris pour un 7 n'est qu'un signe ornemental, et la date réelle est 844 çaka, postérieure de plus de trente ans à cette date de 801 qui se lit sur plusieurs inscriptions de Bākó (K 315, 318, 320), qui est confirmée

¹ *Inscriptions du Cambodge* publiées sous les auspices de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, Geuthner (en cours de publication).

par les inscriptions sanskrites du même monument et qui est peut-être la date la mieux attestée de l'épigraphie préankoréenne.

Mais la publication du *Corpus* a révélé une date en chiffres qui est plus ancienne de deux siècles, et contemporaine de la plus ancienne inscription de Çrivijaya : c'est une inscription de Saṃbôr (K 127 = *Corpus*, XLVII) qui donne la date 605 çaka, avec les chiffres en valeur de position et le zéro.

En résumé, dans les inscriptions sanskrites, l'usage des mots symboliques est attesté pour la première fois au Cambodge en 526 çaka (A.D. 604), au Champa en 609 (A.D. 687) et à Java en 654 (A.D. 732). Dans les inscriptions en vernaculaire, les chiffres avec valeur de position et le zéro apparaissent simultanément en 605 çaka (A.D. 683) à Sumatra et au Cambodge, précédés dans ce dernier pays d'une période pendant laquelle les dates étaient exprimées en langage sanskrit ; au Champa, ils ne sont pas attestés avant 735 (A.D. 813).

Le résultat de cette enquête ne semble pas favorable à la théorie qui assigne une origine indochinoise ou indonésienne à l'emploi de mots symboliques sanskrits, car les plus anciens exemples en sont fournis par le Cambodge où la numération indigène n'était pas décimale ; et au Champa, ce système a été précédé par un autre qui faisait usage des noms de nombres sanskrits. Au Cambodge, l'emploi des chiffres est, de même, précédé par celui des noms de nombres sanskrits. De toute façon l'apparition des chiffres avec valeur de position et du zéro dans l'épigraphie indochinoise et indonésienne est nettement liée à l'expression des dates de l'ère çaka, dont on ne saurait contester l'origine indienne. Quelle que soit l'origine ultime de ce système de notation arithmétique, il n'est pas sans intérêt de le trouver attesté en Indochine et dans l'Insulinde dès le VII^e siècle A.D., c'est-à-dire au moins deux siècles plus tôt que dans l'Inde propre, si l'on adopte les vues pessimistes de M. G. R. Kaye sur les témoignages de l'épigraphie indienne.

Quant à la forme même des chiffres indochinois et indonésiens, elle est pour plusieurs d'entre eux très différente de celle des chiffres indiens : il y a là un nouveau problème dont l'étude contribuerait peut-être à résoudre l'origine exacte des chiffres " arabes ".

Les grands rois du monde

Par GABRIEL FERRAND

M. PAUL PELLIOU a récemment publié dans le *T'oung-pao* (t. XXII, mai 1923, pp. 97-125), un article intitulé : "La théorie des quatre fils du Ciel," où ont été réunies les informations de source chinoise et quelques textes arabes sur ce sujet. La présente note n'est qu'une addition à son article.

1) Le plus ancien texte chinois qui fasse allusion aux grands rois du monde est le *K'ang che wai kouo tchouan*, "Relation des pays étrangers par M. K'ang." Ce K'ang, plus exactement K'ang T'ai, fut envoyé, avec Tchou Ying, en ambassade par la cour de Chine, dans l'Océan Indien, vers 245-50 de notre ère. "D'après la *Relation des pays étrangers*, dit un extrait de ce texte, aujourd'hui perdu, on dit dans les pays étrangers que sous le ciel il y a trois abondances : l'abondance des hommes en Chine, l'abondance des bijoux au Ta-ts'in (Orient méditerranéen), l'abondance des chevaux chez les Yue-tche."¹

2) Le *Che eul yeou king* qui a dû être mis en chinois en 392 par un religieux des "contrées occidentales" appelé Kālodaka, rapporte ce qui suit : "Dans le Yen-feou-t'i (Jambudvīpa), il y a 16 grands royaumes, avec 84.000 villes murées ; il y a huit rois (*kouo-uang*) et quatre Fils du Ciel (*t'ien-tseu*). A l'Est, il y a le Fils du Ciel des Tsin (= Chine) ; la population y prospère. Au Sud, il y a le Fils du Ciel du royaume de T'ien-tchou (Inde) ; la terre y [produit] beaucoup d'éléphants renommés. A l'Ouest, il y a le Fils du Ciel du royaume de Ta-ts'in (Orient Méditerranéen) ; la terre y abonde en or, argent, bijoux, jade.² Au Nord-Ouest, il y a le Fils du Ciel des Yue-tche (Indoscythes) ; la terre y [produit] beaucoup d'excellents chevaux."³

3) Dans l'introduction de ses *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales* achevés en août 646, Hiuan-tsang parle des quatre continents, du Jambudvīpa avec ses quatre fleuves issus du lac Anavatapta, puis continue ainsi :—

"L'âge actuel n'ayant pas de 'roi à la roue' (*cakravartin*) qui réponde à l'ordre cosmique, sur le territoire du continent Tchan-pou (Jambudvīpa) il y a quatre souverains. Au Sud-Est [est] le 'seigneur des éléphants' ; [son pays] est chaud et humide, et favorable aux

¹ Pelliot, pp. 121-2.

² Pelliot, p. 98, n. 2 : "Le traducteur a dû rendre par *jade* le nom d'une pierre plus ou moins semblable au jade, mais de toute autre nature. . . ."

³ Pelliot, pp. 97-8.

éléphants. A l'Ouest, [est] le 'seigneur des joyaux'; [son pays] est proche de la mer et abonde en joyaux. Au Nord-Est [est] le 'seigneur des chevaux'; [son pays] est froid et rude, et favorable aux chevaux. A l'Est [est] le 'seigneur des hommes'; [son pays] est tempéré et agréable, et la population est nombreuse.

"Aussi, dans le royaume du 'seigneur des éléphants', les habitants sont-ils d'une nature impétueuse, diligents à l'étude et spécialement adonnés aux sciences occultes. Comme vêtement, ils [portent] un morceau d'étoffe [enroulé] horizontalement et laissent l'épaule droite découverte; comme coiffure, ils nouent au haut de la tête leurs cheveux, qui retombent de tous côtés. Ils habitent par tribus dans des cités, et leurs maisons sont à étages.

"Dans le territoire du 'seigneur des joyaux', il n'y a ni rites ni justice, et on fait grand cas des richesses. [Les vêtements] y sont taillés courts, et on les y boutonne à gauche. [Les gens] se coupent les cheveux et ont de longues moustaches. Ils habitent dans des villes murées, et tirent profit des transactions commerciales.

"Pour ce qui est des coutumes chez le 'seigneur des chevaux', [les habitants] y ont un naturel cruel et violent; leurs sentiments tolèrent le meurtre. [Ils ont] tentes de fentre et 'huttes à coupole'; ils s'assemblent [et se dispersent] comme des corbeaux en faisant paître [leurs troupeaux].

"Sur le sol du 'seigneur des hommes', les coutumes ont pour mécanisme la sagesse; la bienveillance et la justice brillent avec éclat. [Les gens] y ont le bonnet et la ceinture, et boutonnent [le pan de leur vêtement] à droite; les chars et les vêtements y ont des [distinctions suivant les] rangs. La population y est attachée au sol et difficile à déplacer; les professions y sont classées.

"Dans les coutumes de trois des 'seigneurs', c'est l'Est qui a la prééminence. Les habitations [de leurs peuples] ouvrent leurs portes à l'Est; au soleil levant, on y salue tourné vers l'Est. Sur le territoire du 'seigneur des hommes', c'est le côté Sud qui est honoré. Pour ce qui est des mœurs locales et des coutumes diverses, tel en est l'essentiel. . . ."¹

¹ Pelliot, pp. 106-8. M. Pelliot ajoute plus loin (p. 109): "'Tao-siuan (voir 4)) expose, lui aussi, la théorie des 'quatre seigneurs', en des termes voisins de ceux de Huan-tsang, mais bien plus résumés, et insiste ensuite sur la différence entre les Hindous et les Hou. L'originalité de Tao-siuan, en ce qui concerne les 'quatre seigneurs', est qu'il précise les équivalences que Huan-tsang avait laissées dans le vague, et dit que le 'seigneur des éléphants' répond à l'Inde (Yin-tou), le 'seigneur des joyaux' répond aux Hou, le 'seigneur des chevaux', aux Turks (Tou-kiue), le 'seigneur des hommes', à la Chine (Tche-na). . . ."

4) Dans son *Siu kao seng tchouan*, rédigé entre 645 et 667, où le chapitre IV est consacré à la biographie de Hiuan-tsang, Tao-siuan dit : " Dans ce pays-là [= dans l'Inde], on avait la tradition que le seul Jambudvîpa est gouverné par quatre rois. L'Est s'appelle Tehe-na (Cina, Chine) ; son seigneur est le roi des hommes. L'Ouest s'appelle Po-sseu (Perse) ; son seigneur est le roi des joyaux. Le Sud s'appelle Yin-tou (Indu, Inde), son seigneur est le roi des éléphants. Le Nord s'appelle Hien-yun (= Hiong-nou, ici Turks, etc.) ; son seigneur est le roi des chevaux. Tous disent que les quatre royaumes se servent de ces [avantages spéciaux à chacun d'eux] pour gouverner. Aussi en parla-t-on de suite [à Hiuan-tsang]."¹

5) Les textes arabes connaissent cette théorie à relativement haute époque. Le marchand Sulaymân dont la relation est de 851, s'exprime ainsi :—

" Les gens de l'Inde et de la Chine sont d'avis unanime sur ce fait que les [grands] rois du monde sont au nombre de quatre. Celui qu'ils citent comme le premier des quatre est le roi des Arabes, [c'est-à-dire le Khalife de Bagdâd]. Indiens et Chinois sont d'accord à cet égard, sans contredit, que le roi des Arabes est le plus grand des rois, le plus riche et le plus magnifique ; que c'est le roi de la grande religion (l'Islâm), au-dessus de laquelle il n'est rien. Le roi de la Chine se place lui-même au second rang, après le roi des Arabes. Viennent ensuite le roi de Rûm (Byzance) et le Ballahrâ, le roi de ceux qui ont les oreilles percées. . . ."²

6) La relation précédente est suivie dans le même manuscrit d'un commentaire qu'y a ajouté, vers 916, un certain Abû Zayd Ḥasan de Sirâf, inconnu par ailleurs. Celui-ci rapporte qu'un koreichite appelé Ibn Wahab fut reçu par l'empereur de la Chine à Si-ngan-fou, vers 872/5. Ibn Wahab raconta que, au cours de l'audience, le roi lui posa certaines questions et lui dit ensuite : " Comment classez-vous les rois [de la terre] ? " L'arabe répondit : " Je ne sais rien à ce sujet. " Le roi dit à l'interprète : " Dis à Ibn Wahab que nous, Chinois, nous comptons cinq rois. Celui qui possède le royaume le plus riche est le roi de l'Irâk, parce que l'Irâk est au centre du monde et que les autres royaumes l'entourent. En Chine, on le désigne sous le

¹ Pelliot, p. 125.

² *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymân en Inde et en Chine, rédigé en 851, suivi de remarques par Abû Zayd Ḥasan (vers 916) traduit de l'arabe par Gabriel Ferrand, Paris, 1922, in 8°, p. 47. Sur ce texte arabe et son auteur, cf. également mes " Notes de géographie orientale ", dans *Journal asiatique*, janvier-mars, 1923, pp. 21-35. J'y reviendrai ultérieurement. Le passage ci-dessus a été utilisé par M. Pelliot.*

nom de 'roi des rois'. Après lui, vient le roi de Chine que nous désignons sous le nom de 'roi des hommes', parce qu'il n'y a pas de roi qui, mieux que lui, ait établi les bases de la paix, qui maintienne mieux l'ordre que nous ne le faisons dans notre royaume et dont les sujets soient plus obéissants à leur roi que les nôtres. C'est pour cela que le roi de Chine est le 'roi des hommes'. Vient ensuite le 'roi des bêtes féroces': c'est le roi des Turks (des Toguz-Oguz), qui sont nos voisins. Puis, c'est le 'roi des éléphants', c'est-à-dire le roi de l'Inde. On l'appelle aussi en Chine 'le roi de la sagesse' parce que la sagesse est originaire de l'Inde. Vient ensuite le roi de Rûm (Byzance) que nous appelons 'le roi des beaux hommes' (rex virorum), parce qu'il n'y a pas sur terre un peuple aussi bien fait que celui des Byzantins, ni qui ait plus beau visage. Tels sont les principaux rois de la terre; les autres rois ne leur sont en rien comparables."¹

7) Abū'l-Kāsim Sā'id bin Aḥmad bin Sā'id l'Espagnol est né à Almeria en 420/1029 et mourut à Tolède en 462/1070. Il publia de nombreux ouvrages qui sont aujourd'hui perdus ou qu'on n'a pas encore retrouvés. Il ne nous reste d'une production que nous savons avoir été considérable que son *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam* "les catégories des peuples". Edité par le Père Louis Cheikhō (Beyrouth, 1912, in 8°), ce texte arabe, contient une notice sur l'Inde qui, autant que je sache, n'a pas été encore traduite; je la donne ci-dessous intégralement:—

LA SCIENCE DANS L'INDE

"(p. 11). Le premier des peuples dont il est question ici est celui de l'Inde. C'est un peuple qui possède d'abondantes richesses et des ressources considérables, qui comprend de puissants royaumes; la sagesse lui a été reconnue; dans toutes les branches de la science, la prééminence lui a été reconnue par tous les peuples anciens et les générations passées.

"Les rois de la Chine² disaient [sic] que les rois du monde sont au

¹ G. Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand arabe*, p. 87. Également cité par M. Pelliot.



² Ce passage et quelques autres du texte sur l'Inde ont été textuellement reproduits par Jamāl ad-dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī bin Yūsuf bin Ibrāhīm bin 'Abd al-Wāḥid as-Saybānī al-Kifī (né à Kifī en Haute-Egypte en 568-1172, mort en ramadān 646 = décembre 1248) dans son *Tārīḫ al-ḥukamā'* "Histoire des sages." La notice où se trouvent ces extraits est consacrée à un sage indien appelé كاك Kanka qui débute ainsi: "Kanka l'indien; parfois on dit كاك Kabka . . ." (éd. J. Lippert, Leipzig, 1903, in 4°, p. 265). Le *Fihrist* rédigé en 877/988 (éd. G. Flügel, publiée par J. Roodiger et A. Müller, t. I, p. 270 *infra*, et t. II, p. 125 *infra*), a كاك Kankah avec les variantes كاك Kankana et celle de Cassiri كاك Kalkah. En deux lignes, le *Fihrist* ne cite que les titres de ses ouvrages. Dans son histoire

nombre de cinq et que le reste des hommes sont leurs sujets. Ils disent que ces cinq rois sont : le roi de la Chine, le roi de l'Inde, le roi des Turks, le roi des Persans et le roi de Rûm (Byzance). Ils appellent le roi de la Chine 'le roi des hommes' parce que les Chinois sont les plus obéissants à l'autorité royale et les mieux disposés à se laisser conduire par le gouvernement. Ils appellent le roi de l'Inde 'le roi de la sagesse' à cause de l'extrême application des Indiens pour les sciences et de leur primauté dans toutes les connaissances. Ils appellent le roi des Turks 'le roi des bêtes fauves' à cause de la bravoure des Turks et de leur grand courage. Ils appellent le roi des Persans 'le roi des rois' à cause de la puissance et de la grandeur de son royaume, de la supériorité de sa puissance et de l'énormité de sa force, car ce royaume domine les rois au centre de l'œcoumène et s'étend sur le plus beau des climats, à l'exclusion des autres rois. Ils appellent le roi de Byzance 'le roi des beaux hommes' parce que les gens de Rûm ont les plus beaux visages humains, les plus beaux corps¹ et la constitution la plus vigoureuse.

" Parmi tous les peuples, l'Inde est le pays qui, dans la succession des siècles, a été le pays d'origine de la sagesse et la source de la justice et de la science du gouvernement ; pays des gens de pensées supérieures et d'opinions sublimes, des sentences universelles, des produits extraordinaires, des mérites merveilleux. Quoique leur couleur les classe dans la première catégorie des Noirs, ils n'en font pas moins partie par là de l'ensemble des Nègres ; mais Allah le Très-Haut les a exemptés des mauvaises qualités des Nègres (p. 12), de la vilenie de leur caractère et de la sottise de leur pensée ; il a donné aux Indiens la supériorité sur bien des peuples parmi les bruns et les blancs.

" Certains savants en astrologie prétendent attribuer cela à une cause : ils prétendent que Saturne et Mercure se partagent l'influence sur le caractère des Indiens. L'influence de Saturne sur leur organisme a consisté à noircir leur couleur ; celle de Mercure a épuré leur

des médecins, Ibn Abî Uşaybia' qui vécut de 600/1203 à 668/1270 (éd. A. Maller, t. II, p. 32), lui consacre quelques lignes sous la rubrique *Kankah l'indien*. Wüstenfeld (*Geschichte der arabischen Aerzte und Naturforscher*, Göttingen, 1840, p. 3, n. 1) a imprimé *Kankah*.

Autant que je sache, *Kankah* et ses variantes n'ont été rapprochés d'aucun nom indien. M. Sylvain Lévi me suggère la très heureuse explication suivante : il n'y aurait qu'à lire  à la persane, c'est-à-dire  *Garga* = skr. *Garga* et il s'agirait de *Garga* qui vivait dans les premiers siècles de notre ère, l'auteur de la *Gārgī saṁhitā* ou "collection gargique" contenant un passage célèbre sur l'histoire des invasions étrangères (Yavana, Śaka, etc.).

¹ Cf. à ce sujet, Pelliot, pp. 119-20.

intelligence, a adouci leur caractère, tandis que Saturne contribuait à la sûreté de leur raisonnement et à leur éloignement de l'erreur. Et c'est ainsi qu'ils ont à ce point la pureté des vertus et la sûreté du jugement. Ils diffèrent en cela de tous les autres Noirs, c'est-à-dire des Zangs (ou Nègres de la côte orientale d'Afrique), Nubiens, Abyssins et autres. C'est ainsi qu'ils sont adonnés à la science des nombres et à la formation de la géométrie. Ils ont acquis la connaissance la plus parfaite et la plus grande maîtrise dans la connaissance des mouvements des étoiles et des secrets de la sphère, et dans les sciences exactes. En outre, ce sont les plus savants des hommes dans l'art de la médecine, les plus experts dans la connaissance de la force des médicaments, les caractères des éléments et les particularités des choses créées. Leurs rois ont une noble conduite, des principes de gouvernement louables, une administration parfaite.

“ Quant à la science divine, ils sont tous d'accord à cet égard pour croire à l'unité divine d'Allah puissant et fort, et à écarter de lui tout associé. Mais ils ont plusieurs espèces de monothéisme : il y a parmi eux des Brahmanes et des Sabéens.¹ Les Brahmanes sont une classe d'hommes peu nombreuse ; ils ont une loi de noblesse héréditaire. Il y en a parmi eux qui professent l'impermanence et d'autres la permanence. Mais ils sont tous d'accord pour déclarer les prophéties inexistantes,² interdire les sacrifices d'animaux et défendre qu'on fasse souffrir les animaux. Quant aux Sabéens, c'est la masse des Indiens et ils constituent la plus grande partie de la population de l'Inde. Ils professent la permanence du monde qui a pour cause l'essence de la cause du monde, laquelle est le Créateur puissant et fort, et la prééminence des astres. Les Sabéens donnent aux astres des formes auxquelles ils obéissent et auxquelles ils font toutes sortes d'offrandes en rapport avec ce qu'ils savent de la nature de chacun de ces astres, de façon à se rendre par là leurs forces favorables et à utiliser dans le monde inférieur l'influence de ces astres, selon leurs convenances. Ils donnent des noms à chacune de ces formes. Sur les époques de la précession des équinoxes, sur les circuits et les révolutions des astres

¹ Sur les Sabéens, cf. *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, sub verbo *ṣābi'ā*. Mais il s'agit ici, d'après une des phrases suivantes, de tous les autres Indiens, en dehors des Brahmanes. Naturellement, les véritables Sabéens sont hors de cause et l'expression est impropre. M. Sylvain Lévi m'informe que les textes grecs, sanskrits et palis emploient fréquemment l'expression : *brahmanes* et *śramanes* (*śramaṇa*) pour désigner les Indiens. C'est cette division à laquelle fait allusion le présent texte, où les *śramaṇa* sont représentés par les pseudo-sabéens.

² Cf. à ce sujet, *Journal asiatique*, avril-juin, 1930, p. 216.

et sur la corruption de toutes les choses créées provenant des quatre éléments au moment de chaque réunion qui se produit pour les astres dans le tête du Bélier et sur le rétablissement des choses créées à chaque révolution, ils ont des opinions nombreuses et des doctrines diverses, ainsi que nous l'avons exposé dans notre *Livre sur les doctrines des adeptes des religions* (p. 13) et des sectes.¹ L'éloignement de l'Inde de notre pays (l'Espagne) et l'isolement du royaume de l'Inde par rapport à nous rendent rares pour nous les ouvrages qu'ils ont composés. Il ne nous est parvenu que des fragments de leur science ; nous n'avons que des bribes de leurs doctrines et nous n'avons appris que bien peu de chose de leurs savants.

“ En ce qui concerne les doctrines de l'Inde au sujet des sciences astronomiques, ils en ont trois qui sont bien connues : la doctrine du *Sindhind*,² celle de l'*Arjbar* ³ et celle de l'*Arkand*.⁴ Il ne nous est parvenu une connaissance précise que ⁵ de la doctrine du *Sindhind*. C'est la doctrine qu'a suivie un groupe de savants musulmans et à l'aide de laquelle ils ont composé des *zīq* (tables astronomiques). Ainsi ont rédigé de telles tables Muḥammad bin Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī,⁶ Ḥabaš ⁷ bin 'Abdallāh al-Bagḍādī,⁸ Muḥammad bin Mūsā al-Ḥuwārizmī,⁹ Al-Ḥusayn bin Muḥammad [bin Ḥamid] connu sous le nom de Ibn al-Ādamī¹⁰ et d'autres encore. La signification de *sindhind* est

¹ كتاب في مقالات أهل الملل والنحل.

² Transcription approchée de *siddhānta* “fin réalisée”. Cf. H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, Leipzig, 1900, in 8°, p. 10, n. e. Le khalife Al-Manṣūr (754-75) fit faire à ses frais la traduction de l'original indien (cf. Oskar Schirmer, *Studien zur Astronomie der Araber, Sitzungsberichte der physikalisch-medizinischen Societät zu Erlangen*, t. LVIII, 1926, p. 46, n. 7).

³ Le P. Cheikho a édité fautivement *الارجر* pour *الارجر*, *Arjbar* étant une transcription assez correcte de *Aryabhaṭa*, le mathématicien qui vivait à la fin du v^e siècle. Cf. *Alberuni's India*, trad. E. C. Sachau, Londres, 1910, in 8°, t. II, p. 305.

⁴ Cf. *Alberuni's India*, t. II, p. 303.

⁵ Je lis منها au lieu de منهم que porte le texte.

⁶ Mort en 160/777. Cf. Suter, *Die Mathematiker*, p. 3, No. 1, et *Alberuni's India*, trad. Sachau, t. II, p. 310.

⁷ Le P. Cheikho a édité fautivement *حبش* pour *حبش*.

⁸ Plus exactement Ahmad bin 'Abdallāh, plus connu sous le nom de Ḥabaš al-ḥāsib (le calculateur). Il aurait vécu plus de cent ans. Il est vraisemblablement mort vers 250-60 = 864-74. Cf. Suter, *Die Mathematiker*, p. 12, No. 22.

⁹ Cf. Suter, *Die Mathematiker*, p. 10, No. 19, et C. A. Nallino, *Al-Battānī sive Albatēnī opus astronomicum*, Milan, 1903, in 4°, t. I, p. 312, n. 4, où il est dit qu'il mourut après 232/846.

¹⁰ Cf. Suter *Die Mathematiker*, p. 44, No. 82.

' perpétuité absolue ' ¹. C'est ainsi que s'exprime Al-Ḥusayn bin al-Ādamī dans sa table astronomique.

" Les partisans du *Sindhind* disent que les sept astres (planètes), leurs *awj* ² et leurs *gawzahar* ³ se réunissent tous dans la tête du Bélier, particulièrement toutes les 4.320.000.000 années solaires et les Indiens appellent cette durée " durée du monde " ⁴; car ils croient que lorsque les astres se réunissent dans la tête du Bélier, toutes les choses créées se corrompent et que le monde inférieur reste à l'état de ruines pendant un long temps, jusqu'à ce que les astres se disséminent dans les signes du zodiaque. Quand il en est ainsi, la vie recommence et le monde inférieur revient à son état premier. Suivant leur doctrine, il en est ainsi éternellement, sans fin. Chacun de ces astres, leurs *awj* et leurs *gawzahar* ont de certaines révolutions en cette durée qui est, suivant leur doctrine, ' la durée du monde '. J'ai rapporté cela dans le livre que j'ai composé sur la correction des mouvements des étoiles.

" Quant aux partisans de l'*Arjbar*, ils sont d'accord avec les partisans du *Sindhind*, sauf sur le calcul de la ' durée du monde '. En effet, la durée après laquelle, suivant eux, les astres, leurs *awj* et leurs *gawzahar* se réunissent dans la tête du Bélier est un millième seulement de la durée [indiquée dans] le *Sindhind* et ils expliquent ainsi [la théorie de] l'*Arjbar*.

" Quant aux partisans de l'*Arkand*, ils diffèrent des deux opinions

¹ الدهر الداهر. Ce n'est pas exactement le sens du sanskrit qui signifie " fin réalisée ".

² اوج, plur. اوجات. " τὸ ἀπόγειον τοῦ ἑχχέρτου, apogeeum Solis, apogeeum excentrici planetarum (nunquam epicycli . . .) dans C. A. Nallino, *Al-Battānī*, t. II, Milan, 1907, p. 322, *sub verbo* ".

³ " Vox جوزهر *jauzahar*, e Persico *gawzahar* گوزهر, significat: 1. circulum paraclypticum (cf. p. 45, adn. 3) Lunae seu orbitam lunarem; 2. nodos orbitae lunaris, et praesertim nodum ascendentem; 3. nodos orbitae cuiuscunque planetae. Probabiliter est vox Zendica *gaoithra* 'semen bovum [servans]' epitheton Lunae in libro *Aceta* inscripto; putabant enim Lunam semen primi bovis servavisse, et ex eo varia armentorum genera procreavisse . . . dans C. A. Nallino, *Al-Battānī*, t. I, p. 250."

⁴ Cf. *Alberuni's India*, t. I, p. 368, où il est dit: " Our Muslim authors call the days of the kalpa the days of the Sind-hind or the days of the world, counting them as 1.577.916.450.000 days (eleven or civil days), or 4.320.000.000 solar years or 4.452.775.000 lunar years . . . ". Birūnī a écrit ses *India* en 1030. L'auteur des *Tabakāt al-awam* est né l'année précédente et mort en 1070, mais nous ne savons pas à quelle date il a rédigé ce livre et s'il a pu utiliser les *India*. Il y a lieu de noter, dans le sens de la négative, que Abū'l-Kāsim transcrit, par exemple ارجبر le nom d'Aryabhata, alors que Birūnī a أرجهد.

précédentes sur les mouvements des astres et sur la durée du monde ; mais la forme exacte de leur divergence ne nous est pas parvenue.

(p. 14) " Parmi celles des sciences indiennes qui nous sont parvenues, il y a, en ce qui concerne la musique un livre appelé en langue indienne *biyāfar*,¹ ce qui veut dire ' les fruits de la sagesse ',² dans lequel il est question des origines des sons et des recueils de compositions mélodiques.

" Parmi celles des sciences indiennes qui nous sont parvenues, il y a, sur l'art de diriger le caractère et de corriger les âmes, le livre de *Kalīla et Dimna*. Burzuyeh,³ le sage persan, l'a apporté de l'Inde à Anūšīrwān ibn Kobad ibn Fīrūz, roi des Persans, et l'a traduit pour ce souverain de l'indien en persan. Ensuite, pendant l'Islām, 'Abdallah bin al-Muḳaffa' l'a traduit du persan en arabe.⁴ C'est un livre de grand profit, aux fins excellentes, dont on tire grand bénéfice.

" Parmi celles des sciences indiennes qui nous sont parvenues, il y a encore le calcul des nombres que Abū Ja'far Muḥammad bin Mūsā al-Ḥuwārizmī a exposé complètement. Cette science, chez lui, est particulièrement condensée, intelligible, accessible et compréhensible ; elle témoigne de la finesse de l'esprit des Indiens, de la beauté de leurs qualités naturelles, de l'excellence de leur faculté d'invention.

" Parmi les fruits, qui sont parvenus jusqu'à nous, de leur intelligence solide, parmi les produits de leur esprit pur et des merveilles de leurs arts excellents, citons le jeu d'échecs. Pour les Indiens, dans les redoublements de nombres qu'ils ont combinés dans les cases de l'échiquier, il y a des règles secrètes qu'ils considèrent comme l'introduction à la connaissance et des mystères dont ils trouvent l'origine dans les forces qui sortent de la nature. Vraiment la belle composition et la merveilleuse ordonnance qui apparaissent dans l'emploi de ces cases suivant l'ordre de leurs parties manifestent un but grandiose et un dessein magnifique ; car tout cela contient un avertissement sur le moyen de se garantir contre ses ennemis et une exhortation à requérir une forme de tempérament qui se purifie des souillures. Il y a là un avantage considérable, un profit éminent.

" Ils nous ont encore communiqué la description qu'ont faite leurs

¹ M. Sylvain Lévi me suggère comme restitution le skr. *vidyāphala* qu'appelle sa traduction arabe " les fruits de la sagesse."

² ثمر الحكمة.

³ Cf. sur ce médecin, la préface de *La version arabe de Kalīlah et Dimnah* du P. Louis Cheikh (Beyrouth, 1905, in 8°) et les auteurs cités ; *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, t. II, p. 737.

⁴ Ibid. et *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, t. II, p. 429.

savants de la forme du monde, de l'ordonnance des sphères et des mouvements des astres, par exemple, Kankah l'indien.¹ Car Abu Ma'sar bin 'Omar al-Balhî a mentionné dans son livre intitulé *Les mille*, que Kankah est le premier en date (p. 15) dans l'astronomie parmi tous les savants de l'Inde de l'ancien temps et nous ne connaissons pas l'indication précise de l'époque où il a vécu, ni rien de son histoire en dehors de ce que nous en avons dit."

8) A une date indéterminée, mais relativement récente, l'histoire des grands rois du monde est passée dans le folklore pur : on la retrouve dans *Les cent et une nuits*.² Un vieillard, qui avait parcouru le monde, arrive à la cour du roi de Perse, Kesra Anuširwân. Introduit au palais, "le chambellan me dit que le roi me faisait demander si je connaissais le plus puissant des rois de la terre. Je répondis qu'il y en a cinq : Celui dont les domaines sont les plus étendus est le roi de l'Irāk (= roi des Arabes), car il est au milieu du monde et les autres rois font cercle autour de lui.—Cela est vrai, dit le chambellan, c'est ce que nous trouvons dans nos livres.—Ensuite, continuai-je, vient le roi que voici (le roi de Perse), et qui est surnommé le roi des gens civilisés. Il est suivi du roi des Turks, qui est surnommé le roi des bêtes féroces, c'est-à-dire des bêtes féroces humaines ; vient ensuite le roi de l'Inde, surnommé le roi des éléphants ; puis le roi de la sagesse³ qui est le souverain de l'Égypte, car c'est de ce pays-là que vient la sagesse ; enfin le roi des Rûms qu'on nomme aussi le roi des hommes, parce que les hommes de son empire sont plus beaux et de plus agréable figure que ceux d'aucun autre pays. Tels sont les principaux rois ; les autres sont au-dessous d'eux."⁴

En résumé, les textes chinois et arabes fournissent les informations suivantes :—

1) En 240-250, K'ang T'ai connaît "trois abondances", c'est-à-dire trois grands pays : la Chine, le Ta-ts'in = Orient méditerranéen et les Yue-tche = Indoscythes.

¹ *Vide supra*, n. 2, p. 332.

² Traduites de l'arabe [d'après quatre manuscrits maghrébins] par M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris, s.d. (1911), in 8°.

³ Variante du manuscrit 3662 : le roi d'Abyssinie.

⁴ P. 70-1. Cf. la note de la p. 71 où ce passage est donné comme un emprunt aux *Prairies d'or* de Mas'ûdi, t. I, p. 314. Cf. également ma "Note sur le livre des 101 Nuits", dans *Journal asiatique*, mars-avril, 1911, pp. 309-18. Je profite de l'occasion pour corriger une erreur de la p. 311 où Hānfū est identifié à Hongkong : c'est Canton qu'il faut lire.

2) Au III^e ou IV^e siècle, le *Che cul yeou king* mentionne quatre Fils du Ciel : en Chine, Inde, au Ta-ts'in et chez les Yue-tche.

3) En 646, Hiu-an-tsang cite quatre souverains : en Inde, chez les Hou = Iraniens et Tokhariens, chez les Turks et en Chine.

4) En 645-67, Tao-siu-an cite quatre rois : en Chine, Perse, Inde et chez les Hiong-nou = Turks.

5) En 851, le marchand Sulaymān connaît quatre rois : celui des Arabes, de la Chine, de Rūm = Byzance, et de l'Inde.

6) Vers 872-5, Ibn Wahab rapporte, d'après l'empereur de Chine, qu'il y a cinq rois : le roi de l'Irāk = roi des Persans, le roi de Chine, des Turks, de l'Inde et de Rūm.

7) Au XI^e siècle (1029-70), Abū'l-Kāsim connaît cinq rois : le roi de Chine, de l'Inde, des Turks, des Persans, et de Rūm.

8) L'auteur du livre des *Cent et une nuits* annonce cinq grands rois et en nomme six : le roi des Arabes, de Perse, des Turks, de l'Inde, de l'Egypte (variante : de l'Abyssinie) et de Rūm.

Qu'il s'agisse de trois, quatre, cinq ou six grands rois du monde, la parenté de ces récits est indéniable : tous les huit énumèrent dans un ordre différent : la Chine, le Ta-ts'in = Hou = Rūm des Arabes, l'Inde, les Yue-tche = Turks = Hiong-nou, le roi des Arabes, le roi de Perse = roi des rois de l'Irāk et le roi d'Egypte. Chacun de ces rois est caractérisé par la richesse ou le produit particulier du pays sur lequel il règne : l'Inde par ses éléphants, le Ta-ts'in par ses joyaux, le pays des Yue-tche par ses chevaux, etc.

K'ang T'ai et les autres textes chinois ne citent pas leurs sources, mais il semble bien qu'ils ont recueilli l'histoire dans l'Océan Indien ou la mer de Chine occidentale ; Hiu-an-tsang, au dire de Tao-siu-an, l'aurait recueillie dans l'Inde (cf. 4)). D'après le marchand Sulaymān (5)), ce récit est courant dans l'Inde et en Chine ; Ibn Wahab (cf. 6) le tient de l'empereur chinois lui-même et Abū'l-Kāsim en attribue l'origine " aux rois de la Chine " (cf. 7)).

Le désaccord des textes à cet égard est évident, mais nous ne sommes pas en mesure de l'expliquer. L'Inde nous donnera peut-être quelque jour le mot de l'énigme.¹

¹ MM. Gaudefroy-Demombynes et Sylvain Lévi m'ont amicalement aidé pour la rédaction de cette note. Je les en remercie très cordialement.

De Kāpīśi à Pushkarāvati

Par A. FOUCHER

NOUS n'apprendrons à personne que les chapitres XXII-XXIII du tome I de la *Cambridge History of India* abondent en faits nouveaux et en convaincantes suggestions. M. le Prof. E. J. Rapson a notamment tiré un admirable parti des monnaies sur lesquelles il a été le premier à lire les noms des deux villes de Kāpīśi et de Pushkarāvati. Non content d'y reconnaître les *devatā* des deux vieilles capitales du Kāpīśa et du Gandhāra, il a su deviner des allusions locales sous les emblèmes qu'elles portent. S'aidant des notes de Hiuan-tsang, il a identifié sur les monnaies de Kāpīśi l'éléphant dont un rocher, voisin de la ville, présentait l'image naturelle — ou, comme l'on disait et dit encore dans l'Inde, *svayambhū*. Avec non moins de sûreté il a rattaché le taureau figuré sur les monnaies de Pushkarāvati au *deva* dont le grand temple, abritant une image miraculeuse, se dressait en dehors de la porte occidentale de la cité. Du même coup l'animal lui a dénoncé le nom du dieu, que tait Hiuan-tsang, mais qui ne peut être que Śiva, et Śiva apparaît en effet, en même temps que son *vahana*, sur les monnaies subséquentes des monarques Kushānas. Symétriquement cela nous donne à penser que la divinité de Kāpīśi, à en juger par son *vahana* l'éléphant, devait être Indra — auquel cas, soit dit en passant, l'image de Zeus ne serait pas si mal choisie pour le représenter, puisque tous deux ont comme attribut le foudre. Désormais la présence sur une monnaie indo-grecque ou "indo-scythe" soit de Zeus-Indra ou de son éléphant, soit de Śiva ou de son taureau, soit encore du dieu et de son *vahana* à la fois, soit enfin (pour épuiser tous les cas qui se présentent) la figuration sur l'avvers et le revers des deux animaux symboliques nous fournira de précieuses indications sur les capitales où régnaient les souverains dont ces monnaies portent le portrait ou seulement le nom. Et voilà par quel enchaînement d'observations précises et de déductions ingénieuses qui s'étaient et se renforcent les unes les autres, M. le Prof. E. J. Rapson a pu rebâtir l'histoire des maisons d'Euthydème et d'Eukratidès, et même de leurs barbares successeurs.¹

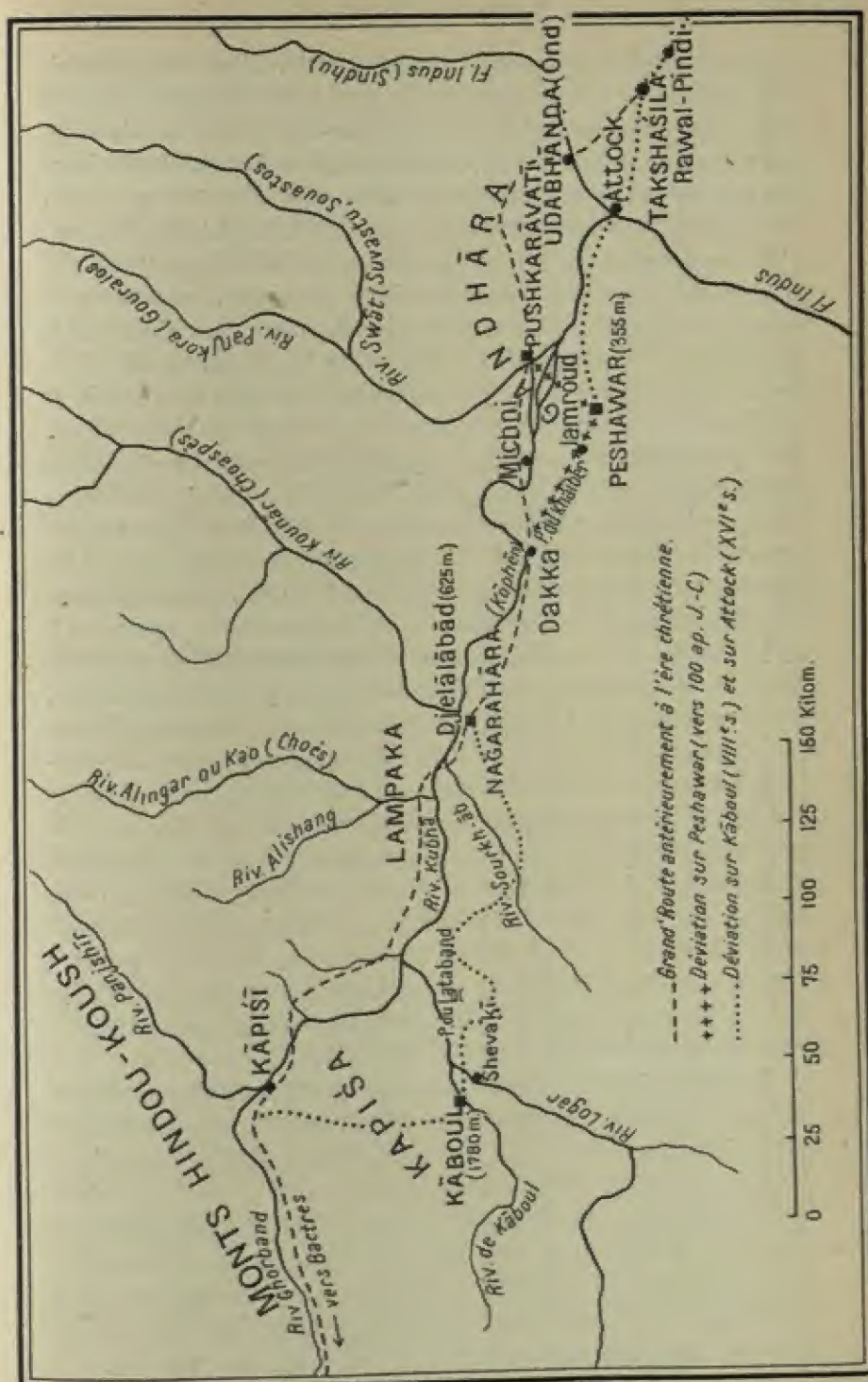
Paulo minora canamus : nous ne voudrions retenir ici que le fait,

¹ V. notamment *Camb. Hist. of India*, t. I, pp. 555-7. Vaut-il la peine de remarquer que le cas des deux villes n'est pas absolument identique ? La monnaie de Kāpīśi représente au revers le dieu-patron de la ville avec son éléphant et sa colline sacrée (cf. *J.A.*, janv.-mars 1929, p. 175) ; celle de Pushkarāvati figure à l'avvers la personnification de la ville et au revers le *vahana* du grand dieu local : mais chacune à sa manière nous fournit en somme le même genre de renseignements.

confirmé par nombre de témoignages, que les deux villes ci-dessus nommées étaient les capitales des deux régions naturelles entre lesquelles se répartit l'*India extra Indum*. Pushkarāvati, située au confluent du Suvastu (Swāt) et de la Kubhā (ou Kubhānā ? = Kōphēn) était le chef-lieu du Gandhāra, c'est-à-dire du district actuel de Peshawar. Kāpīśī, située au confluent des rivières Ghorband et Panjshīr, était le chef-lieu de ce qu'on appelait jadis le Kapiśa et de ce qu'on appelle aujourd'hui le Koh-Dāman (Pied-de-la-Montagne) et Kohistān (Pays-de-Montagne) de Kāboul. Attenantes sur la carte, ces deux contrées sont séparées dans la réalité par une brusque dénivellation de plus de mille mètres. Le Gandhāra n'est que la continuation de la grande plaine indienne, à une élévation d'environ 350 mètres au-dessus du niveau de la mer ; au contraire le Kapiśa occupe, à une hauteur moyenne de 1600 à 1700 mètres, le premier gradin du plateau iranien. On conçoit ce qu'une telle différence d'altitude entraîne aussitôt de changement dans le climat des deux pays comme dans le tempérament de leurs habitants. Si ces deux moitiés d'un même bassin fluvial ont constamment tendu à s'imposer réciproquement le même régime politique, il n'en est pas moins vrai qu'à plus d'une période de leur histoire le maître de l'une n'a pas été — pas plus qu'il ne l'est aujourd'hui — le maître de l'autre. Ceci aide à comprendre comment, sur ce territoire à population clairsemée et relativement resserré entre l'Hindou-Koush et l'Indus, il peut y avoir place à la fois pour deux grandes villes rivalisant d'importance aussi bien au point de vue politique que commercial : l'une située dans le haut-pays, au débouché des passes de la montagne, et l'autre en contre-bas, dans le vestibule même de l'Inde, dont la frontière "climatique" est marquée vers la mi-route par la cote 600. Mais du même coup deux questions se posent, auxquelles nous voudrions apporter un commencement de réponse. Si l'étape médiane de Nagarahāra est toujours représentée de façon très approchée par Djelālābād, la capitale de la plaine s'appelle à présent Peshawar, tandis que celle du Kohistān a nom Kāboul. Quand cette substitution s'est-elle opérée ? Et subsidiairement quels changements a-t-elle entraînés après elle dans le tracé des grandes voies de communication ?

On sait que le site aujourd'hui ruiné et presque désert de Kāpīśī se laisse repérer dans la plaine de Begrām, au pied de sa colline sainte, à douze kilomètres dans l'Est du gros bourg de Teharikār¹ : mais sa

¹ Qu'on nous permette de renvoyer à la carte reproduite dans les *Études asiatiques publiées à l'occasion du 25^e anniversaire de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, I, p. 266.



longue prospérité nous est copieusement attestée. Pline veut qu'elle ait déjà été détruite une fois par Cyrus, ce qui est bien possible. Pāṇini la mentionne en même temps que son raisin — produit de ces vignobles qui font encore l'orgueil et la prospérité du Koh-Dāman. En écrivant son nom au revers de ses monnaies, Eukratidès atteste sa primauté. Comme elle était sûrement toute voisine d'Alexandrie du Caucase, c'est très probablement elle qui se cache sous la " Kalasi dans le district d'Alasanda " que, par suite d'une faute de copiste, les manuscrits pâlis nous donnent comme la patrie de Ménandre. Kanishka en fait sa résidence d'été et celle de ses otages chinois. Enfin, au VII^e siècle de notre ère, Hiuan-tsang la trouve plus florissante que jamais et devenue la métropole de toute la région du Nord-Ouest, depuis Bāmiyān jusqu'à l'Indus. Mais à partir de ce moment tout change, et désormais il ne sera plus question de Kāpiśī ni même du Kapiśa, encore qu'Alberuni paraisse connaître cet ancien nom de ce qui est pour lui le " pays de Kāboul ".¹ Kāpiśī avait-elle été détruite par les premières incursions musulmanes de 652 et 664 A.D. ? Ou simplement avait-elle été jugée trop en l'air, et la capitale ramenée par prudence à 65 kilomètres plus au Sud, derrière un second rempart de collines ? Toujours est-il que c'est à Kāboul — le vieux Kāboul sur le Logar, entre les villages de Shevaki et de Kamari — que les envahisseurs musulmans font prisonnier le dernier roi bouddhiste ; c'est à Kāboul — le Kāboul actuel, à huit kilomètres au Nord-Ouest du premier, sur la rivière dite depuis le Kāboul-roūd — qu'ils établissent leur capitale nouvelle ; c'est Kāboul que Timour prend pour base de son expédition dans l'Inde ; c'est à Kāboul que Bābour règne et qu'il veut être enterré, etc. Et comme si ce n'était pas assez d'avoir totalement dépossédé dans les temps modernes la vieille capitale, c'est toujours Kāboul qui obsède l'esprit de nos archéologues et, au risque de les embrouiller inextricablement dans leurs recherches, tâche d'éclipser rétrospectivement l'antique gloire de Kāpiśī.

Le destin de Pushkarāvati, au fond tout pareil, diffère par les circonstances et par la date. Son déclin commença beaucoup plus tôt et fut apparemment l'œuvre d'un caprice royal plutôt que d'une invasion étrangère. Tous les historiens grecs sont d'accord pour faire de Peukelaōtis la capitale de la Gandaritis et la première ville qu'ait rencontrée Héphestion quand, avec le gros de l'armée d'Alexandre, il marchait vers l'Indus avec ordre d'en préparer le passage. De Purushapura, situé à une vingtaine de kilomètres au Sud-Ouest, il n'est

¹ E. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 259. Cf. ci-dessous, p. 348, n. 1.

fait, et pour cause, aucune mention. Son emplacement, à en croire la célèbre légende locale rapportée par Hiuan-tsang, n'était encore, quatre siècles plus tard, qu'un terrain de chasse fort marécageux. C'est à Pushkarāvātī que règnent les Indo-Grecs, les Scytho-Parthes et les premiers Kushānas. Mais, soit qu'il y ait été conduit, comme l'on nous raconte, par une foi superstitieuse en une prédiction du Bouddha qui était censé le concerner, soit qu'il ait simplement voulu, comme auprès de la seconde Takshaśilā, se bâtir une ville neuve, le shāh-des-shāhs Kanishka décida de transporter sa capitale à Purushapura. Quelle que soit la vraie raison, le transfert est chose certaine : et dès lors, semble-t-il, Pushkarāvātī cède le pas à sa rivale. C'est Purushapura qui nous est désormais donné comme la capitale du Gandhāra ; ce sont ses bazars et ses pagodes qui attirent aussi bien les pèlerins chinois que les marchands. Au VII^e siècle, quand passe Hiuan-tsang, Pushkarāvātī n'existe qu'à titre de bourgade secondaire ; et l'on sait qu'aujourd'hui sa place n'est plus marquée que par de grands tumuli aux abords des villages de Charsadda et de Prang.¹ Comme il est arrivé pour Kāpiśī, la déviation de la grand'route lui a porté le coup de grâce.

C'est qu'en effet les " routes royales " (*rāja-patha*), comme on disait dans l'Inde, passent par les capitales et les suivent par conséquent dans leurs déplacements. Un regard jeté sur le croquis qui accompagne cet article abrègera beaucoup les choses en montrant d'un seul coup d'œil les deux principaux changements de tracé qu'imposa à la vieille route de l'Inde la substitution successive de Peshawar à Pushkarāvātī, puis de Kāboul à Kāpiśī. Le premier se dessine à partir de Dakka. Au III^e siècle avant notre ère, Héphestion² dut continuer tout droit à l'Est par la vieille route encore existante dont le fort de Michni surveille actuellement le débouché, exactement comme celui de Jamroūd monte la garde à la porte du Khaïber. Coupant au court à travers la boucle montagneuse du Kōphēn, il lui fallait traverser une seconde fois cette rivière ; mais en revanche elle abordait le Swāt au-dessus de son confluent avec le Kōphēn et se heurtait à l'Indus à Udabhāṇḍa (aujourd'hui Und), c'est-à-dire à un endroit où l'immense

¹ Voir les cartes publiées dans le *BEFE-O.*, I, 1901, p. 334 et hors texte.

² On se rappelle que celui-ci, avec le gros de l'armée, passa sur la rive droite du Kōphēn en amont de Djelālābād, tandis qu'Alexandre, resté sur la rive gauche, se lança avec des troupes d'élite à travers le Kounār, le Badjaur, le Swāt et le Bounér jusqu'au fameux Aornos si brillamment identifié par Sir Aurel Stein. On trouvera le meilleur résumé de cette campagne de 327-325 av. J.-C. dans G. Radet, *sur les traces d'Alexandre entre le Choès et l'Indus* (*Journal des Savants*, mai 1930).

lit du fleuve était guéable en hiver et ne réclamait de barques qu'en été. C'est le besoin de se rendre à Purushapura qui, à partir du II^e siècle après notre ère, a fait dévier la route vers le Sud-Est, au sortir de Dakka, et a commencé la fortune de la fameuse passe du Khaïber. Les courants établis sont d'ailleurs lents à se détourner. Au VII^e siècle, si Hiuan-tsang passe tout naturellement par Peshawar, il remonte ensuite au Nord-Est pour rejoindre à Pushkarāvati la vieille route traditionnelle ; et au XVI^e siècle Bâbour, d'après ses propres Mémoires, suivait encore le même itinéraire à l'aller comme au retour de la plupart de ses expéditions dans l'Inde.¹ C'est seulement à partir du règne de son petit-fils Akbar que les facilités exceptionnelles présentées à Attock par l'extrême rétrécissement du fleuve pour l'établissement d'un pont de bateaux, en attendant celui de fer, ont définitivement retenu la grand'route sur la rive droite de la rivière désormais dite " de Kâboul ".

Le changement de tracé nécessité par le transfert de Kāpīśi à Kâboul fut dès l'abord beaucoup plus accusé, à cause de la distance plus grande qui séparait les deux villes.² L'ancienne route, ainsi que le spécifie Hiuan-tsang, prenait la direction du levant : la nouvelle pique droit au Sud pour tourner ensuite à angle droit vers l'Est. Tant qu'à être moderne, mieux vaut l'être jusqu'au bout, et c'est pourquoi nous avons indiqué sur notre croquis le parcours actuel de la route carrossable : il ne diffère d'ailleurs de l'ancien chemin muletier que par quelques sinuosités, dont la plus importante a pour but d'éviter la passe mal famée du Lataband. Ce que nous pouvons affirmer par expérience oculaire, c'est que la descente de Kâboul à Djelālābād à travers le Siyāh-Koh ou Montagne-Noire ne présente pas, comme on l'entend répéter à tort, moins d'obstacles naturels que celle de Kāpīśi à Nagarāhāra à travers le Lampaka ou Lamghan. La preuve que nous ne sommes pas seul de cet avis, c'est que la vieille

¹ Il dit en effet (trad. Pavet de Courteille, t. I, p. 286) : " Durant l'hiver on passe à gué le Sind [Indus] au-dessus de son confluent avec la rivière de Kâboul, puis la rivière de Sevad [Swat] et celle de Kâboul. Dans la plupart de mes expéditions contre l'Hindoustan, je me servis des gués. . . " A la vérité Hiuan-tsang ne signale entre Purushapura et Pushkarāvati qu'une seule traversée de la Kubhā et du Suvasatū réunis, tandis que Bâbour paraît dire qu'on traversait successivement ces deux rivières : en réalité ils suivaient toujours la même route, mais il est probable que dans l'intervalle le lit de la Kubhā ou Kōphēn s'était déplacé au Sud et que le confluent se faisait déjà, comme aujourd'hui, beaucoup plus en aval qu'autrefois. Voyez les cartes citées plus haut, p. 345, n. 1.

² Comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, on compte environ 65 kilomètres entre Kāpīśi et Kâboul et seulement 22 entre Pushkarāvati et Peshawar.

route reste toujours préférée par les tribus nomades à l'époque de leurs transhumances de printemps et d'automne entre les plaines de l'Inde et les hautes pentes de l'Hindou-Koush. En fin de compte, le seul tronçon resté immuable et commun au cours des vingt derniers siècles se compose des 68 kilomètres de sable ou de rocaille qui séparent Djelâlâbâd de Dakka.

Ce sont là des constatations de fait comme il est facile d'en relever sur place et qui ne sont pas pour surprendre. Rien de plus banal ni de mieux connu que cette façon qu'ont les villes indiennes de se déplacer ou de se supplanter entre elles. Pour ne pas sortir de la région du Nord-Ouest, le mauvais tour dont Kâpîsî pourrait faire reproche à Kâboul et Pushkarâvatî à Peshawar est exactement celui que Mazâr-é-Shérif a joué au dernier avatâr de Bactres, Attock à Und et Rawâl-Pindi à la troisième — ou plutôt à la quatrième — Takshasilâ. Peut-être cependant la connaissance de ces simples données de topographie historique aurait-elle épargné bien des discussions oiseuses et bien des assertions erronées au sujet de l'itinéraire d'Alexandre ou de Hsuan-tsang. Non que nous nous fassions sur ce point aucune illusion : les vieux préjugés ont la vie tenace ; et l'on aura beau leur brandir sous le nez le texte d'Arrien, les visiteurs du Khaïber continueront avec la même sérénité à y chercher dans la poussière la trace des pas du conquérant macédonien. Mais nous avons voulu soumettre au contrôle de nos confrères orientalistes un essai de coordination des renseignements que nous possédons sur les deux villes dont les travaux numismatiques de M. le Prof. E. J. Rapson ont achevé de nous révéler l'importance exceptionnelle. Ils nous donnent à penser que nous avons peut-être un peu trop négligé jusqu'ici la part considérable que Pushkarâvatî-Peukelaôtis, en sa qualité de capitale ancienne du Gandhâra, a dû prendre à la diffusion de l'influence hellénistique et notamment à l'élaboration de cette école gréco-bouddhique dont les fondations religieuses de Purushapura n'ont fait que recueillir tardivement les fruits. Surtout ils nous mettent en garde contre une propension trop répandue à parler, dès avant le VIII^e siècle de notre ère — des " rois de Kâboul ", de la " route de Kâboul " ou de la " rivière de Kâboul " : car même en ce dernier cas, c'est encore et toujours " Kâpîsî " qu'il faudrait dire. Jetez encore une fois les yeux sur la carte : parmi les multiples branches dont la réunion forme à partir de Djelâlâbâd une rivière enfin navigable, nous n'avons pas le droit — même si nous en avons les moyens — de choisir à notre gré, ou pour des raisons purement physiques de longueur ou de débit, celle

que nous considérerons comme le cours d'eau principal, dont les autres ne sont que des affluents. Que la politique ait ici voix au chapitre, c'est ce que prouve assez le fait qu'au cours des dix derniers siècles le *roûd* de Kāboul a peu à peu étendu son nom à toute la vallée jusqu'à Attock. Anciennement, et pour la même cause, la prééminence devait appartenir au cours d'eau que côtoyait de bout en bout et de plus ou moins près la grand'route et sur lequel étaient sises les deux capitales, celle du haut comme celle du bas pays, Kāpiśī sur sa rive droite et Pushkarāvati sur sa rive gauche. Que ceci non plus ne soit pas une supposition purement théorique, nous en avons par bonne chance conservé la preuve dans un passage d'Alberuni¹ qui, sur la foi de ses renseignements indigènes, fait encore du Ghorband, c'est-à-dire de la rivière qui baigne les ruines de Kāpiśī, l'artère maîtresse de tout le système, depuis sa source dans la montagne jusqu'à sa perte dans l'Indus.

¹ Trad. Sachau, t. I, p. 259 : " Dans les montagnes qui bordent la royaume de Kāyabish, c'est-à-dire Kāboul, naît une rivière qui est appelée Ghorvand à cause de ses multiples branches. Elle est rejointe par plusieurs affluents. . . . Grossi par eux, le Ghorvand est une grande rivière quand il arrive à la hauteur de la ville de Parshāwar [Peshawar] et il se jette dans le Sind [Indus] . . . en aval de Waihand [Ohind, Und]. "

Conjunct Consonants in Dardic

By GEORGE A. GRIERSON

THE correct affiliation of the Dardic languages is a subject regarding which different opinions have been expressed. Some scholars have described them as Eranian languages that have borrowed freely from Indo-Aryan. Others (and probably the most numerous) maintain that they are Indo-Aryan languages that have borrowed from Eranian, and a third (of which I am an unworthy member) suggests that they are neither of these, but that they are descended from a group of Aryan dialects intermediate between those that developed into Eranian and those that developed into Indo-Aryan languages. The latest opinion is that expressed by Professor Morgenstierne, who divides the Dardic languages into two groups. One of these—the Kāfir—has, he considers, some affinities with Eranian, while the other—the “true Dardic”—is “absolutely and unquestionably Indian”. To my mind, at present only one thing is quite certain about them—that they all possess features that remind us of Eranian, and also features that remind us of Indo-Aryan, and that therefore they offer an interesting study to those concerned in the history of Indo-European languages.

In this paper, I do not propose to discuss their origin. My desire is merely to provide a collection of connected facts, the consideration of which, together with other similar collections, may in future times enable scholars once for all to decide the true linguistic history. At present, in spite of the labours of excellent scholars, we have not got together sufficient materials for this. Hitherto investigations have been mostly confined to particular forms of speech. We have accounts of such single languages as Baṣḡalī, Ṣinā, Khōwār, Kāśmīrī, or Aškund, but (except in one work of mine published a quarter of a century ago¹) no comparative study of all the languages of the group has hitherto appeared. It is true that in some descriptions of isolated languages, such as Professor Morgenstierne's admirable account of Aškund,² or my own account of Tōrwālī,³ comparison has been made with other Dardic forms of speech, but these have each been made

¹ *The Pīṣāca Languages of North-Western India*, R.A.S., 1906.

² *The Language of the Aškun Kafirs*, in *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, ii, 1929.

³ Published by the R.A.S. in 1929.

from the point of view of a single language, and not as a general bird's-eye view of the whole group. They must, therefore, necessarily be imperfect, and sometimes even misleading.

What I offer here is a list of such Dardic conjunct consonants as I have been able to collect in the whole group of Dardic languages. I have made no attempt to distinguish between original words and those that I consider to be borrowed from other forms of speech, for the simple reason that, in the present state of our knowledge, it is often impossible to decide whether a word is borrowed or not. The result is that there must always be a tendency (which I myself have experienced) to look upon any inconvenient word as borrowed, if it does not tally with a theory based on other grounds. It is generally impossible to *prove* that any particular word is borrowed—the fact can only be asserted. If I am an advocate of the "Erastian" theory, I am tempted to explain any Indian form that I come across as borrowed from India, while, if I am an advocate of the "Indian" theory, I am tempted to quote the very same form as a specimen of true Dardic, while I claim that forms that remind me of Erastian are borrowed. In the following pages I therefore avoid the question of borrowing altogether, and leave it to my readers to decide in the case of any particular word, each according to his idiosyncrasy. This is not cowardice on my part, or even discretion. It is merely that limits of space compel me to stick to one thing at a time.

If some other student were to take up Dardic vowels and non-conjunct consonants on lines similar to those here followed, we should then have the rough materials for a complete account of Dardic phonetics, and should be in a position to begin a serious discussion of the affiliations of the various languages.

We have no Prakrit¹ with which we can compare Dardic, as we can the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars. The only languages intermediate between the parent speech and the modern Dardic upon which we can call for direct help are that of the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mansehrā inscriptions and the "North-Western Prakrit" so admirably dealt

¹ Let me define what I mean by "Prakrit". I mean only the various Prakrits described by Sanskrit grammarians, and nothing else. As we shall see, Professor Konow uses the term "North-Western Prakrit" in his work on the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions. Here "Prakrit" is used in a different sense, but, as he has so named it, I follow him in using the term for this particular purpose. But this may not be taken as an expression of opinion on my part as to whether this North-Western Prakrit is strictly speaking a Prakrit like, say, Śaurasēnī or Māhārāṣṭrī, or whether we should look upon it as a form of speech allied to them, but differing from them in important points. Here I offer no opinion either way.

with by Professor Konow in his volume on the Kharōshthī Inscriptions (vol. ii, part i, of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*). These, especially the latter,¹ often throw light on obscure Dardic forms, and I shall frequently refer to them. Help can also be found from the Kākaya Paśāci of Varanuci, Rāma Tarkavācaspati, and Mārkaṇḍēya, called Cūlikāpaśācika by Hēmacandra, from Lahndā, Sindhī, and Western Pahārī, the three Indo-Aryan languages of North-Western India, and from their predecessors the Vṛicāḍa and Tākki prakrits; but, as a rule, comparison must be made directly between modern Dardic and Sanskrit or Avesta, and this, of course, opens out a long list of conjunct consonants, that it would be impossible to consider here in much detail. I therefore confine myself to typical examples, and these will be sufficient to show that in the Dardic country conjunct consonants have not developed on the same lines as in India.

The following is a list of the Dardic languages, with the contractions used by me for their names:—

I. Kāfir Group.

Baṣgali (Bṣ.) (Professor Morgenstierne's Katī).

Veron (V.) (Professor Morgenstierne's Prasun).

Waigali (Wai.).

Aškund (Aš.).

Kalāśā (Kl.).

Gawarbatī (Gwr.).

Tirāhī (Tir.).

Pašai (Paš.).

II. Khōwār (Kh.).

III. Dard Group.²

Šipā (Š.).

Kōhistānī dialects, including:—

Gārwi (Grw.).

Tōrwālī (Trw.).

Maiyā (My.).

Kāśmīrī (Kš.).

¹ Professor Konow himself (p. xciv) lays stress on its relationship with Dardic and a perusal of the following pages will show how close it is.

² It may be noted that Šipā and Kōhistānī occasionally agree more closely with Indo-Aryan languages than do the other Dardic forms of speech, e.g. in the change of *st* to *th*. This is most evident in Kōhistānī, which is spoken on the Indian frontier, Lahndā being spoken immediately to its south. Kāśmīrī is in a different position. For centuries it has been subject to Indian literary influence, and it is now really a mixed language, Dardic and Indian forms appearing side by side.

Other contractions used are :—Skr. = Sanskrit ; Av. = Avesta ; Pr. = Prakrit (usually Māhārāṣṭrī unless otherwise stated) ; N.W.Pr. = Professor Konow's North-Western Prakrit ; and Prs. = Persian.

The words quoted from Aṣkund have been taken (with necessary changes of transcription) from Professor Morgenstierne's work already mentioned. Most of the rest are taken from my own collections. When, in the examples a Sanskrit or Avesta word, or both, precedes one or more Dardic words, I do not suggest that the latter are necessarily derived from the former. All that I intend is to show, for comparison with modern Dardic, what I believe to be the most ancient form obtainable. This may, or may not, be the origin.

A. Conjuncts consisting of two class-consonants (excluding nasals).

In Prakrit, the first member of the conjunct is elided, and the second member doubled, the preceding vowel, if long, being shortened. Thus, Skr. *rakta-*, Pr. *ratta-*, red ; Skr. *avāpta-*, Pr. *avatta-*, attained. In Dardic, as a rule, the first member is elided as in Prakrit, but the second member is not doubled, and the preceding vowel, if long, is not shortened. Thus, Skr. *kukkuṣa-*, Grw., Aṣ. *kukur*, Paṣ. *kukūr*, Kṣ. *kōkur*, Wai. *kiukiu* (with the common insertion of *i* before *u*), Grw., Trw. *kugū* (with the resultant *k* voiced, as is common in these two). So Skr. *rakta-*, Pr. *ratta-*, Kṣ. *rat-*, Trw. *ṣed* (with similar voicing), blood ; Skr. *avāpta-*, Pr. *avatta-*, but Kṣ. *wāta-*, arrived ; Skr. *vitta-* ($\sqrt{\text{vid-}}$, *lābhē*), Kṣ. *vet-* (nom. sg. *vyot^u*), possessed of ; Skr. *bhaktaka-*, Kṣ. *bata-*, boiled rice ; Skr. *datta-*, Kṣ. *dīt-* (nom. sg. *dūt^u*), Trw. *dīt*, given ; Skr. *matta-*, Kṣ. *mat-*, intoxicated ; Skr. *udgāta-*, Trw. *ugāt*, gone away ; and so hundreds of others. It will be remembered that the same rule holds in Sindhī, and, to some extent, in Lahndā. It did not, however, obtain in N.W. Prakrit, in which the ordinary Indian rule is followed (Konow, xevii).

Semitatsama words borrowed from Sanskrit or from Indian Prakrit, sometimes follow the *dēśya* Indian custom of inserting a nasal when thus simplifying a double letter. Thus, Skr. *sajjā*, Kṣ. *sanz*, arrangement ; Pr. *majjha-*, Kṣ. *manz*, in ; Skr. *naḍvala-*, Kṣ. *nambal*, a marsh ; Pr. *acchī*, Paṣ. *anc*, My. *ainch*, an eye. So Skr. *nidrā*, Kṣ. *ṇend^{ar}*, sleep, apparently through confusion of the Skr. Ts. *nidrā* and the Pr. Tbh. *niddā*, unless there was some Dardic Prakrit form of which we are ignorant.¹

¹ In regard to this "spontaneous nasalization", see Turner in *JRAS.* 1921, 381 ff. ; J. Bloch in *Cinqantenaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études* ; and Grierson in *JRAS.* 1922, 381 ff. Bloch shows that there were traces of a somewhat similar

In a few cases it is apparently the second, not the first, consonant of a conjunct that is elided. Examples are, Skr. *kubja-*, Pr. *khujja-*, but Kš. *kōb-*, hunchbacked (cf. S. *kubō*, L. *kubā*); Skr., *labdha-*, Kš. *lab-* (nom. sg. *labʰ*), received. Neither of these is convincing. The derivations from, and the connections with the Skr. *kubja-* are very obscure, and the Kš. *labʰ* is evidently formed from the present base *lab-*, rather than, as we should expect, from the Sanskrit past participle.

B. Conjuncts of a nasal followed by a stop are generally treated as in Prakrit (including that of the N.W., Konow, civ), i.e. they are usually retained, but are liable to be weakened to a nasal alone (cf. Pischel, Pr. Gr. §§272 ff.). Thus:—

ṅg. This is usually preserved, but is sometimes weakened to *ṅ*, *ṅg*, or even *g*.

Skr. *ṅguri-*; Bš. *angyur*, Kl. *angurya-k*, Grw. *angir*, Trw. *āṅṅī*, Kš. *anqujʰ*; but Aš. *aṅur*, Wai. *āṅur*, V. *igi*, Š. *agui*, a finger.

Av. *angušta-*, toe, Prs. *angušt-ar*, ring; Bš. *angušti*, Wai. *āguštō*, Kl. *angušt-ar*, Paš. *angōc-ak*, Kh. *puḷ-ungušt*, Grw. *angusir*, V. *wōg-ix*, a finger-ring.

Skr. *āṅgulīyaka-*; Aš. *aṅuriamāk*, a finger-ring. Cf. the preceding.

Skr. *āṅgāra-*, charcoal; Kl. Gwr. Paš. Kh. *angār*, Bš. Trw. *angā*; but Aš. *aṅā*, Grw. *āgār*, My. Š. *agār*, fire.

The weakening to *g* has not been noted by me in the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars.

ṅc. In the one instance in which this has been noticed, Prakrit custom (Pischel, § 273), does not obtain. In Prakrit, when not preserved, *ṅc* > *ṅṅ* or *nn*; Pāli, *ṅṅ*, *nn*, *ṅṅ*. In Dardic, this *ṅc* may > *c*, *š* (cf. Kuhn, quoted in Pischel, l.c.), and is then liable to syncope.

Skr. Av. *pañca-*; Gwr. *pañts*, Kš. *pānts*, Aš. *pañts*, Paš, Grw. Trw. *pañj*, Kl. Kh. *pōnj*, My. *pāz*, Bš. *puc*, Wai. *pūc*, Š. *puš*, *pūš*, *pōi*, V. *uc*, five.

ṅt is preserved in Skr. *√vanṭ-*, divide; Paš. *want-e*, a share, Gwr. *√benṭ-*, divide; but > *t* in Aš. *√maṭ-*, divide, V. *buṭ-og*, Wai. *maṭ-ini*, My. *baṭ-hā*, a share.

nasalization in Vedic times. In the only Prakrit work written in Kaśmīr with which I am acquainted,—the *Mahārtha-maṅjarī* of Mahēśvarānanda,—every word that in Indian Prakrit would contain a double consonant has, in this dialect, a single consonant preceded by anusvāra. Thus the Skr. *ātma-* appears as *ampa-* (not *appa-*). Skr. *kartā* appears as *kamtārō* (not *kattārō*), Skr. *nitya-* appears as *ṇimeca-* (not *ṇicca-*), and so hundreds of others. Regarding *ṇendār*, see, contra, Morgenstierne in "Notes on Torwali" in *Acta Orientalia*, viii, 296.

nd, in the only examples available, > *ṛd*, *n*, a change unknown in the Indo-Aryan vernaculars not of the North-west. The change to *n* is rare.

Skr. *daṇḍa*-; Aś. Wai. *dōṇ*, Bś. *dōn*, Trw. *dan*, a handle.

Skr. *raṇḍa*-, Kś. *ṛaṇ*°, maimed.

Skr. *palāṇḍu*-, Kś. *prān*, an onion.

nt, as in Prakrit (Pischel, § 275), tends to become *nd*. This is liable (as in the modern Indian languages) to be further weakened to *n*. Sometimes, however, *nt* is preserved, and is then (also as in India) weakened to *ṛt*, *tt*, *t*.

Av. *dantan*-, Skr. *danta*-, Prs. *dandān*; Grw. Kś. *dand*, Paś. *dād*, *dāt*, Kl. *dand-ōria-k*, Trw. *dan*, Kh. *don*, Ś. *dōn*, My. *dān*, Wai. *dāt*, Aś. *dont*, Bś. *dutt*, Gwr. *dāt*, V. *let-em*, a tooth.

Skr. *dānta*-, a tamed ox; Kś. *dād*, Kl. *dōn*, Ś. *dōno*, Sindhi *dād*°, a bull. See Turner, *Nepali Dictionary*, Add., s.v. *dāunu*.

Av. *antarə*, Skr. *antar*, Prs. *andar*; Kś. *andar*, Kh. *andr-ēn*°, Trw. *andarē*, Kl. *uōrī-man*, Wai. *attar*, Bś. *atēr*, within; Kl. (?) *hāndū-n*, a house.

Skr. *mantra*-; Kl. *monḍr*, a word; Kś. *māṭr*-, a spell.

nth. This has been noted only in Skr. *panthan*-, Kl. *pon*, Ś. *pōn*, Trw. *pan*, a path.

nd. This may be retained, or may be cerebralized to *ṇḍ*, which is then weakened to *n* or *ṛ*, exactly the reverse of what happened in the case of *ṇḍ*. This well illustrates the facility with which cerebrals (or rather, in Dardic, alveolars) and dentals are interchanged in these languages.

Prs. *lawand*; Gwr. *lawand*, Bś. *loṇē*, Wai. *lavēṛ*, a slave. In Paś. *lawant*, we have not only cerebralization, but the change of sonant to surd.

Kś. *phan*, a snare; cf. Hindi *phand*.

ndh. This becomes *n* in Skr. *andhaḥ*, Kś. *aṇ*°, Trw. *an*, blind.

mb. Skr. *nimbaḥ*, Kś. *ṇemb*°, but in composition *nem*-, Azidirachta Indica.

We observe the reverse process of *m* becoming *mb* after a stress-accent in Av. *kamarā*, Kś. *kambar*, the loins; Prs. *kumak*, Kś. *kōmbak*, assistance; Ar. *raml*, Kś. *rambal*, geomancy; Skr. *padmaḥ*, Kś. *pam*- or *pamb*-, lotus (cf. C. below); Kś. *bum* or *bumb*, eyebrow; Skr. *samakaḥ*, Kś. *samb*°, equal, and so many others. Cf. *pp* > *mp*, in Skr. *yāpyayānam*, Kś. *zāmpāna*, a litter. We find this even in Tatsamas, as in Kś. *amarnāth* or *ambarnāth*, a name of Śiva.

The above are the only conjuncts of nasal preceding mute that I have noted in Dardic.

C. Conjuncts of a nasal following a stop. In Prakrit, the nasal is generally assimilated, but *kma* > *ppa*, *tma* > *tta* or *ppa*, *dma* > *mma* (Pischel, §§ 276-7). Dardic closely follows Prakrit in the following examples.

Skr. *ātman*-¹; Aš. Wai. *tanu*, Trw. *tanū*, Paš. *tani-k*, Grw. *tanī*, Kh. *tan*, My. *tā*; Kš. *pāna*, self. In Š. *tomo*, we have *tm* retained with anaptyxis.

Skr. *padma-puṣpa*-, Kš. *pam-pōś*, a lotus (cf. B. above).

In Prakrit, *gn* > *gg*; but in Kš., Skr. *nagnaḥ* > *ṇṇa*², naked.

In standard Prakrit, *jña* > *jja* or *ṇṇa* (*nna*), but in Māgadhi Prakrit, in Pāśāci Prakrit, and in N.W. Prakrit (Konow, cv), it becomes *ñña*. So also, Skr. *rājñī*, a queen, Kš. *ṛāññā*. On the other hand, Skr. *tajjñānam* is represented in Kš. by *tagun*, to know how.

D. Conjuncts of a consonant (excluding sibilants) with a semivowel.

D 1. If the semivowel is *y* (cf. Pischel, §§ 279-86), it is in Prakrit usually assimilated, the preceding consonant, if it is a dental, being palatalized (so also N.W. Prakrit, Konow, cvi). In Prakrit a preceding *t* is very rarely not palatalized. In Dardic, when dentals are palatalized they usually become *ts* and *z* (occasionally *š* and *ž*), not *c* and *j* respectively.

Skr. *nṛtya-ti*; Paš. *√nāt*-, Š. V. Wai. Kl. Gwr. *√nat*-, Grw. *√nēṭ*-, Bš. Aš. *√nāt*-, Kš. *√nats*-, Trw. *√nāṭ*-, dance, the cerebralization of the *t* and *r* being due to the preceding *r*. Cf. Sindhi *nīṭa* (*nītya*-), but Prakrit *picca*-, always; *ādīt*² (*āditya*-), the sun.

Skr. *adya*; Trw. *aj*, Kš. *az*, Š. *aš*, to-day.

Skr. *vādyā*-, a musical instrument; Kh. *baše-ik*, singing; Kš. *√wasz*-, sound.

Skr. *madhyē* becomes Pr. *majjhē*, which latter has been borrowed by Kš. where it becomes *manz*, in, with insertion of *n* (see JRAS. 1922, 381 ff., and p. 352 above).

In standard Prakrit, *nya* > *ṇṇa* (*nna*), but in Pāśāci Prakrit and in N.W. Prakrit (Konow, cvi) it > *ñña*. So Skr. *dhānya*-, Kš. *dāññē*, paddy; Skr. *puṇya*-, Kš. *pōñ*, a virtuous act, and many others.

Initial *ny* generally appears in Kš. as *ny*, as in *nyāyukh*, quarrel-

¹ Morgenstierne (*Language of the Ashkun Kufirs*, 221) connects *tanu*, etc., with Sanskrit *tanu*- self. As shown in my Törwāll Grammar, § 129, I prefer to connect these words with *ātman*-, Pr. *atta*-, *appa*-, sing. gen. *attaṇṇo*, *appaṇṇo*. In N.W. Prakrit, also, this word became *appa*-, *atta*-. (Konow, cv).

some (*nyāyaka*-); *nyās*, a lintel (**nyāsa*-, see *JRAS.* 1914, 129). But both these may be Tatsamas.

In Prakrit, *ry* > *jj*. After *ī* or *ū*, *ry* > *ra*. It sometimes becomes *ria*, *riya* (so in N.W. Prakrit, Konow, cvii). In Māgadhī Prakrit *ry* > *yy* (Pischel, § 284). In Dardic, *ry* becomes *ri*, with frequent syncope of the *r*. Thus, Skr. *sūrya*-; Kl. *sūri*, Gwr. *suri*, Ś. *sūrī*, Paś. *sur*, My. *swīr*, Kš. *sirī*, Grw. *sīr*, Wai. *sōi*, Bš. *su*, Trw. *sī*, Aš. *so*. None of these changes are met with in the languages of India Proper.

D 2. If the semivowel is *r* (Pischel, §§ 287-95), it is in Prakrit assimilated to the preceding or following consonant, which, if a dental, is often cerebralized. In Shāhbāzgarhī there was a tendency to preserve the *r* unchanged, as in *parakramati*, *agra*-, *avatrāpēyu*, *bramaṇa*, etc. So also in Apabhraṃśa (especially Vṛācaḍa Ap.) and Sindhī and Lahndā. Similarly (except in Ṣiṇā) the *r* is generally retained in Dardic, which in this respect follows N.W. Prakrit (Konow, cvi, ff.). Thus:—

Skr. *kraya*-; Kl. *kre*, purchase.

Skr. *krōḍa*-; Kl. *grō*, breast.

Skr. *grāma*-; Bš. *grom*, Kl. *grōm*, Aš. *glām*, My. *lām*, but Trw. *gām*, a village. Trw. is a frontier dialect.

Av. *fra(pra)* + *√dā*-, Skr. *pra* + *√dā*-, Bš. Wai. *√prē*-, Aš. *√pr̥*-, give; Kl. *prau*, Kh. *prai*, V. *aphlē*, he gave.

(?) Skr. *prēṣita*-; Bš. *√prēṣ*-, but V. *√pēz*-, go; Wai. *prēṣya*, sent.

Av. *brātar*-, Prs. *birādar*, Munjānī *werāi*, Skr. *bhrātṛ*-; Bš. *brōh*, *brā*, Wai. *brā*, Aš. *bṛa*, Kh. *brār*, Gwr. *bliaia*, Paś. *lāi*; but V. *way-ch*, Kl. *bāya*, Kš. *bāy*°, Trw. *bhā*. See also below.

In Kš. the use of *r* after an initial consonant is often optional, as in *brōṭh* or *bōṭh* (<*dvārakōṣṭha*-), before; *grōṇḍ*° or *gaṇḍ*°, a log; *grāgal* or *gāgal*, destruction; *śōṭs*-, purity, *śrōṭsun*, to become pure (<*śuddha*-); *śrāṭh* or *śāṭh*, a sandbank; *trām*, copper (Sindhī *trāmō* <*tāmra*-, ? metathesis); *zṛāḍ*° or *zāḍ*°, a water-hole, and so many others. For Bš. and others we may quote as examples Bš. *trang* (Prs. *tang*), a girth; *√wrēc*- (Hindī *√bēc*-), sell; Bš. *drōn*, Aš. *drō*, Kh. *drōn* (<*dhanu*-),¹ a bow. Tessitori² noted this in Old Western Rājasthānī. One of the examples he quotes is *trābū*, copper. Similarly, in the Western Pahārī of the Satlaj District of the Panjāb, there is a pleonastic termination *ṭau* or *ṭrau* (= Skr. *ṭa*-, Ap. *ṭa*-), as in *utṭau*

¹ Morgenstierne derives this from Skr. *drusā*-, *droṇa*-. (*Lang. of the Ashkun Kafirs*, 254).

² *Notes on the Grammar of Old Western Rājasthānī*, § 30.

or *utṣrau*, high. So in other Western Pahārī dialects we have (Gādī) *bhrukkḥṇā* (Hindī *bhūkhā*), hungry; (Cameāli) *bhēḍḍū* or *bhradd* (Skr. *bhēḍa-* or *bhēḍra-*), a sheep; *aggē* or *hāgrē* (Skr. *agrē*), before; $\sqrt{\text{sikkhr-}}$ (Skr. $\sqrt{\text{śikṣ-}}$). All these Indian dialects are, of course, allied to Dardic. We may compare with these words the striving for distinct utterance shown in the English "groom" derived from Anglo-Saxon *guman*.

With dentals, while the *r* is often preserved, we also find the common Indian change to a cerebral. An interesting example of the preservation is the Greek *δραχμή*, which has survived to the present day in the Kh. *droxum*, silver. Other examples of a dental followed or preceded by *r* are :—

Skr. *putra-*, Av. *puθra-*; Wai. *piutr*, Kl. *pūtr*, Bś. *pūtr*, Gwr. *pult*, Grw. *puṭ*, Paś. *puṭhlē*, My. *pūth*, compared with Sindhī *puṭra*, a son. Lahndā *puṭr*. See also below.

Skr. *trayaḥ*, Av. *θrāyō*; Bś. Kl. Kś. *treh*, Wai. *trē*, Aś. *trā*, Kh. *troi*, Gwr. *θlē*, Paś. *hlē*, Grw. *thā* (compared with Sindhī *trē*), Lahndā *trāe*, three. See also below.

Skr. *trika-*, Kś. *trak-*, the backbone. Cf. Skr. *mantra-*, Kl. *monḍr*, a word; Kś. *mātr-*, Sindhī *manṭra*, Lahndā *mantar*, a charm.

Skr. **andra-* (*āṇḍa-*, *aṇḍa-*), Kl. *ondra-k*, an egg.

In Kś. *hērat-*, for *śivarātṛi*, it is the dental that has been preserved.

As seen above, the change of *tr* to *ṭr* also occurs in Sindhī. The Indian change to *tt* has not been noted.

Av. *mərta-*, Skr. *mṛta-*, dead; Bś. Wai. $\sqrt{\text{mr-}}$, Gwr. $\sqrt{\text{mi-}}$, My. Grw. Kś. $\sqrt{\text{mar-}}$, Ś. $\sqrt{\text{mir-}}$, Kh. $\sqrt{\text{bri-}}$, die; Trw. *mū*, dead; Aś. *mara*, he died.

Av. *kərta-*, Skr. *kṛta-*, done; Bś. *kaṛā*, he did.

Skr. *gardabha-*; Kl. *gardō-k*, Kh. *gardō-γ*, but Wai. Gwr. Grw. *gadā*, Trw. *gadhō* (for **gadadhō*), an ass.

Skr. *hṛdaya-* (for **hardaya-*), Av. *zərəd*, Sarikolī *zārd*; Kś. *reda*, Kh. *herdi*, Gwr. *heṛā*, Paś. *haṛā*, heart.

The conjunct *ṛṇ* sometimes becomes *r*, and sometimes, after the Indian fashion, becomes *n*. Thus :—

Skr. *karṇa-*; Bś. *kōr*, Wai. Kh. *kār*, Paś. *kāṛ*, Kl. *kurō*, *krō*; My. *kān*, Ś. *kōn*, Grw. *kyan*, Kś. Trw. *kan*, the ear. The *n*-words all belong to the Dard Group.

Skr. *svarṇa-*; Kh. *sor-m*, V. *śiū*; Kl. *sūṛā* (i.e. *sūṇā*), Bś. *sūn*, *sōn*, Wai. Gwr. Ś. Aś. *son*, Paś. *sōnā*, Kś. *sōn*, gold.

For the conjunct *rv*, see below (D 5).

D 3. A still more peculiar treatment of the letter *r* in Dardic is probably due to non-Aryan Buruṣaskī influence.¹ This is the frequent interchange in writing of *r* with a palatal letter, especially with *c* or *ṣ* or with *j* or *ṣ*. This is found not only in Dardic, but also in the Balti form of Tibetan spoken close to the Buruṣaskī country. Thus, the standard Tibetan *mgrom*, Purik Tibetan *grun*, becomes the Balti *ṣun*, a feast. This change, so far as Dardic languages are concerned, is most often to be found in Ṣinā, spoken immediately south of the Buruṣaskī country and immediately to the west of Baltistān, but traces of it are met with in other Dardic languages also. It is well known that the speakers of Dardic formerly extended over an area much wider than their present habitat. There are, at the present day, isolated Dard colonies in Tibet and in Northern and Eastern Afghanistan, and at least one Eranian language—the Ōrmuṣi of Waziristān (*LSI*. x, 123 and Grierson, *Memoirs ASB.* vii (1918), 1 ff.)—has been strongly influenced by an old Dardic language now extinct. The Western Pahārī of the Northern Panjāb, although in its basis Indo-Aryan, also shows many traces of an early Dardic substratum. In all these localities we find examples of this exceptional treatment of the letter *r*. The change is probably in all cases, at least originally, to a cerebral *ç* or *j*, but these sounds have themselves been identified only in Buruṣaskī, in Ṣinā, and (by Morgenstierne) in Tōrwālī, and, as there is no character corresponding to them either in the Persian or in the Nāgarī alphabet, they (or their variants) are represented in different ways in different languages. Thus, *ç* is represented by *tṣr*, by *tr*, by *ṣ*, by *gr* and so forth, and *j* (or *ṣ*, with which, in Ṣinā, it is interchangeable) by *jr*, *džr*, *ṣ*, and so on. Moreover, in Ṣinā itself, *c* and *ç*, and *j* and *j* are sometimes dialectically interchangeable, and this adds to the uncertainty. Thus, in the standard Ṣinā of Gilgit, the word for "woman" is *cāi*, but in Gupis and Darel it is *çāi*.

Taking the letter *r* standing alone, we find it occasionally interchanged with *ṣ*, or even with *c*. Thus, standard Ṣinā *ro*, he, becomes *ṣo* in the Dras dialect (*LSI*. VIII, ii, 193). Similarly, we may compare the Lahndā *dhī*, a daughter, with Ṣinā *dī*. In the former, the pl. nom. is *dhīr-ī*, and in the latter, the declensional base is *dīj-*. So,

¹ There does not appear to be any trace of this treatment in N.W. Prakrit. We may perhaps, however, note the fact that, in it, intervocalic *d*, *ḍ*, *t*, and *d* are often written *dr*, *dhr*, *tr*, and *dr*, respectively. Konow (page c) suggests that this was done to indicate a fricative sound.

Lahndā √*rāṭṭ*-, cry out, Bš. *rāṭā*, or *žāṭṭ*, noise; Hindī *talhār*, Bš. *tarwāj*, a sword; Skr. *madhura*-, Š. *mōro*, Bš. *macī*, sweet.

Here, however, we are directly concerned with conjunct consonants, and in them we observe the same phenomenon. Thus:—

Skr. *putra*-; Š. Trw. *pūç*, Grw. *puc* (probably *puç*), a son, in addition to the forms given above.

Skr. *strī*, Waxī *strēī*; Aš. *istrī*, Kš. *triy*, but Š. *cāi* or *çāi*, as above, Trw. *çī*, Grw. *ši-gāli*, Paš. *mā-šī*, a woman.

Skr. *trayaḥ*, Av. *θrāyō*, Munjānī *šarai*; Š. *çā*, Trw. *çā*, My. *cā*, V. *chī*, Ōrmurī *šrē*, three, in addition to the forms given above.

Skr. *kṣētra*-; Š. *çēç* a field.

Skr. *jāmāṭṛ*-, Av. *zāmātar*-; Š. *jāmūço*, a son-in-law.

Kh. *drō*, Bš. *dru*, žu, Aš. *dro*, V. *zui*, hair.

Skr. *dirgha*-; Š. *jigo* (through **drīgha*-), Trw. *jīk*. Ōrmurī *cig*, long.

Skr. *dravya*-; Š. *jap*, property.

Skr. *drākṣā*; Š. *jaç*, Trw. *daş*, a grape.

Skr. *ardra*-; Š. *ājo*, Trw. *ōž* (? *ōž*), wet.

Skr. *haridrā*, Pr. *haliddā*, turmeric; Š. *haliço*, yellow.

Skr. *udra*-; Š. *ūju*, Burušaskī *uju*, an otter.

Skr. *bhrātṛ*-, Av. *brātar*-; Š. *jā*, My. *žā*, Grw. *jā*, a brother, in addition to the forms given above.

In Šiṇā and Tōrwālī these changes, so far as examples have been identified, are confined to *tr*, *dr*, and *br*, but, in Ōrmurī, the corresponding sound, written *šr*, represents not only *tr* and *dr*, but also *kr*, *çr*, *gr*, *pr*, *mr*, and *sr*. In that language, it does not seem to represent *br*.

It must be remembered that *ç* and *j* represent other originals besides conjuncts containing *r*. Thus *ç* also represents an original *kṣ*, as in *çēç*, *jaç*, above (see E 4), and *j* may also represent an intervocalic *ṣ*, as in Š. *manūjo*, for Skr. *mānuṣa*-, a man.

It will be observed that this change, so far as observed, is most common in Šiṇā, which is geographically situated in the immediate neighbourhood of both Baltī and Burušaskī.¹ A similar change is also found in Western Pahārī, which also immediately adjoins the tract in which Dardic is spoken. Thus, WPh. *caun* or *cīn*, three (*triṇi*); *cāmbā*, copper (cf. Kš. *trām*); *cīs*, water (Kš. *trēs*, thirst, a drink of water); *piciā*, a paternal uncle (*pitṛvya*-); *khēc* or *khēs*,

¹ It is perhaps worth noting that, in Chinese, the sound which in Southern Mandarin is pronounced like an English *r*, is in Peking pronounced as *ʃ* (Mateer, xviii).

a field (*kṣētra-*); *rāc*, night (*rātri*); $\sqrt{jōc-}$, plough (Hindī $\sqrt{jōt-}$, cf. Skr. *yōktra-*); *caurā* (? cf. Hindī *thōṛā*), a little.

Two Dardic languages substitute *ṭhl*, *θl*, *l*, or *hl* for *tr*. Thus, Gwr. *ṭhlē* (? *θlē*), Paś. *hlē* (? *θlē*), three; Gwr. *pult*, Paś. *puṭhlē* (? *puθlē*), a son. The exact spelling of these words is, however, doubtful. There is a similar change to *ḍhl*, etc. in the Bhadravāhī and connected dialects¹ of Western Pahārī. Here *bhr* and *dr* > *ḍhl* or *ḍh*, *gr* > *ḍl*, and *tr* > *l*, *ṭhl* or *ṭl*. Bhadravāh is on the eastern border of the Dard country, and not far to its North-East there are dialects of Western Tibetan. The following are examples:—

Hindī *bhūkhā*; Gā. *bhrukkhā*, Bhad. *ḍhlukkhō*, Pan. *ḍhukhā*, hungry.

Bhad. *bhrā* or *ḍhlā*, a brother.

Skr. *babhru-*, Pan. *bhrabbū*, Bhad. *ḍhlabbū*, a red bear.

Skr. *bhēḍa-*, *bhēḍra*; Cur. *bhēḍdū* or *bhradḍ*, Bhaḷ. *ḍhlēḍḍ*, a sheep.

Skr. *vyāghra-*, Kuḷ. *barāg*; Bhad. *ḍhlāhg*, Bhaḷ. *ḍlāg*, a leopard.

Bhad. *Bhaḍhlā*, Bhadravāh.

Skr. *grāma-*; Bhad. *ḍlāū*, Bhaḷ. *ḍlāu*, a village.

Skr. *trayaḥ*; Bhad. *trāi* or *lāi*, Pan. *lāi*, three.

Skr. *kṣētra-*; Bhad. *ṭhēṭhl*, a field.

Skr. *trika-*, Kś. *trak-*; Bhad. *ṭhliggō*, the back.

Skr. *strī*; Bhad. *ṭhlī*, a woman.

Bhad. *ketrū* or *keṭṭū*, how many?

The change of *bhr* to *ḍhl*, and of *gr* to *ḍl* has parallels in the dialects of Western Tibetan (which lies directly to the North-East of Pangī). In them, the change of *br* and *gr* to *dr* and thence to *d* is common (*LSI*, II, ii, pp. 54 and 70), so that these changes of *bhr* > *ḍhl*, and of *gr* > *ḍl* are probably due to Burušaskī, conveyed to Western Pahārī, through Western Tibetan. The geographical line from Burušaskī to Western Tibetan, and thence to Pangī is direct, and there are no other intervening languages.

D 4. If the semivowel is *l*, in Prakrit it is usually assimilated (Pischel, § 296). Similarly in Dardic we have Skr. *phālguna-*, Kś. *phāgun*, the name of a month. But sometimes it is the *l* that assimilates the other consonant, as in Skr. (Vedic) *galda-*, speech; Kś. *gaḷ*, a

¹ These are Bhadravāhī (Bhad.), Bhaḷāsi (Bhaḷ.), and Pangī (Pan.). Other Western Pahārī dialects which do not fall under this group are Curāhī, Gādī, and Kuḷai (Cur., Gā., Kuḷ.). These are quoted for purposes of comparison. It will be noted that in these the letter *r* is inserted, as in other Dardic languages mentioned above.

shout, Bš. *giñi*, a word, speech (with regular change of *l* to *j* before *i*), Trw. *gal*, abuse, cf. Panjābī and Lahndā *gall*, a word; Skr. *bilva*-, Kš. *bel* (so Ardhamāgadhī Prakrit *billa*- or *bella*-), Aegle Marmelos; Prs. *śalyam*, Bš. *śalam*, a turnip.

D 5. If the semivowel is *v*, in Prakrit it is generally assimilated, but *tea* and *deva* tend to become *ppa* and *bba*, respectively (Pischel, §§ 298-300, and J. Bloch, *F. L. Marathe*, 133 ff.). In Dardic we occasionally come across, in the Dard group, instances of assimilation, as in Skr. *sāvea*-, general, Kš. *sār*^u (but Pr. *savva*-), but Kh. *sauf*, all; Skr. *pūrva*-, Kš. *pūr*^u, east. But far more often the conjunct becomes *p* (cf. Cūlikāpaśācika change of *b* > *p*, the Gīrnar Pāli *te* > *tp*, and the similar change *te* > *pp* in N.W. Prakrit, Konow, 66). Thus:—

Skr. *pakva*-; Kš. *pap*^u, but Bš. *pagī*, ripe. Kh. *pōcī* is from the Skr. *√pac*-.

Av. *ccant*-, V. *pseh* (for **cpeh*), what?

Skr. *catvāraḥ*, Gīrnar *catpārō*; Av. *catvārō*, Waxī *tābūr*, Ossetic *tsippar*; V. *cipu*, four. Others *što*, *štā*, *cār*, *cau*, etc.

Skr. *dravya*-; Š. *jap*, property.

Skr. *√care*-; Kš. *√tsāp*-, chew.

But:—

Skr. Av. *dvar*-, a door; Bš. *bar*, V. *be*. Aš. *bēkū*, Wai. *ber*, Kh. *bēri*, etc. outside, but V. *tar-ekh*, a house; Kš. *bar* or *dar*, Trw. *der*, a door.

In Skr. *naḍvala*-, Kš. *nambal*, a marsh, *ḍv* has become *b*, with inserted nasal (see above, p. 352).

In Prakrit, *hv* > (*b*)*bh*, but in Dardic we have *b* or *p*, as in Skr. *jihvā*; Kl. Paš. Trw. *jib*, Š. *jīp*. Wai. *jīp*. Kš. has *zēv*, and only the semi-Indian Grw. has the Indian *jībh*.

It will be noticed that the change to *p* is most common in the Kāfir group, and especially in the case of V. So also, in V., *v* and *b* standing alone tend to become *p*. Cf. Bš. *ev*, V. *ip-in*, one. Cf. also Shāhbāzgarhī *puḍham* (*bāḍham*).

E. Conjuncts containing a sibilant.

E 1. Sibilant plus tenuis. In Prakrit, the sibilant is generally assimilated, and the tenuis aspirated (Pischel, § 301). This occurs only sometimes in Dardic, as in Skr. *śuśka*-, *śuśkala*-, Av. *huška*-, Kš. *hōkh*^u, dry; but in Kh. we have *cucū*, in which *śk* > *c*, and in Trw. *śugil*, it has become *g*. Again, in Skr. *bhāskarī*, Kš. *bās*ⁱ, a kind of almanac, *śk* > *s*.

sp perhaps > *ś*, not *pph* as in Prakrit, in Skr. *puṣpa-* or (?) *puṣya-*, a flower; Kš. *pōś*, Bš. *pīś*, Trw. *paśu*, but Aš. *pasup*.¹

But *sph* > *sva* (*sō*) in Skr. *sphaṭika-*, Kš. *sōṭhak*^a, crystal, in which the aspiration has been transferred to the *t*. Generally, however, initial *sph* > *ṣ*. Kš. *ph*, as in $\sqrt{}$ *phuṭ-*, burst (Skr. $\sqrt{}$ *sphuṭ-*).

As regards sibilants with dentals, Eranian *št* and Indian *ṣt* both generally follow Eranian custom; usually either preserving both conjuncts as *št* or *ṣt*, or else (rarely) weakening the conjunct to *kh*, *x*, *k*. Occasionally, especially in the Dard, or western, group, the Indian change to (*t*)*th* is observed, but this is rare. Thus:—

Av. *aṅgušta-*, toe; Prs. *angušt-ar*, a finger-ring; Bš. *angušti*, Wai. *āguštō*, Kh. *pulungušt*, V. *wōgix*; but Paš. *angōc-k*, Grw. (Drd.) *angusir*, a finger-ring. Cf. Trw. (Drd.) *anguṭ*, thumb.

Av. *ašta-*, Skr. *aṣṭa-*; Bš. Wai. *ošt*, Kh. *ošt*, Aš. *ōšt*, Kl. Gwr. *ašt*, Paš. *ašt*, V. *aste*, Ṣ. *āṣ*, *aṣt*, *aṣt*; Grw. *aṭh*, Trw. *aṭ*, My. *āṭh*, Kš. *ōṭh* (all Dard), eight.

Skr. *dṛṣṭa-*, seen; Grw. (Drd.) $\sqrt{}$ *liṭh-*, see; Kš. *ḍiṭh-*, Trw. *ḍiṭ-* (both Drd.), seen.

Av. *ušta-*; Bš. *štyur*, V. *ištiur*, Gwr. My. *ūx*, Wai. *ūk*, a camel.

Skr. *uṣṭra-*; Grw. *ūṭh*, Kš. *wūṭh*, K.Kh. *uṭ*, Ṣ. *ūṭ*, Trw. *uṭ* (all, except Kh., belonging to the Dard Group), a camel. Possibly all borrowed from India.

Av. *paršti-*, Prs. *pušt*, Kurdish *pišt*, Balōcī *phut*, Skr. *prṣṭha-*; Aš. *piṣṭi*, Gwr. *piṣṭi*, Kš. *pušt*, Kl. *pištō*; Bš. *pīṭ*, *kīṭ*, Wai. (*yā-*)*paṭi*, Ṣ. *piṭu*, *phati*, Gwr. Kš. *pata*, My. *patō*, Grw. *patā*, Trw. *pat*, behind. It will be noticed that the change *ršt* > *t* already occurs in the Eranian Balōcī.

Similarly, *st* as a rule either remains unchanged or becomes *št* (*št*, *ṣt*). This is sometimes weakened to *θ*, *s*, or *h*, and may then suffer apocope, but the Indian change to (*t*)*th* is rare, and hardly occurs except in the Dard Group. Similarly, *str* is either preserved, or is weakened to *st*, *ts*, *ś*, etc. With the preservation of *st* we may compare the Paisācī Prakrit *kaṣṭa-* for *kaṣṭa-*, the N.W. Prakrit preservation of intervocalic *st* (Konow, cxi), and Shāhbāzgarhī preservation of *st* (*saṃstuta-*) and *str* (*striyaka-*, *istri-*).

Av. *ast-* (GNPE. 81); Kh. *astī*, bone.

Av. *zasta-*, O.Prs. *dasta-*; V. *lust*, Bš. *dušt*, *dui*, Aš. *dōst*, Wai. *došt*, hand.

¹ This form would exclude the derivation from *puṣya-*, as has been suggested above. Cf. N.W. Prakrit *puṣa-* (Konow, cx).

Skr. *hasta-*; Gwr. *hast*. Kh. *host*, Kl. Paš. *hāst*, Paš. also *hās*; (Dard) Š. *hat*, Kš. *atha*, My. *hā*, Trw. *hat*, *had*, *hand*.

Av. *staora-*; Kh. *istōr*, horse.

Skr. *vistṛta-*; Bš. *vištr*, Aš. *viṣṭarā*, Paš. *vastār*, V. *viṣṭar*, great.

Skr. *nasta-*; Kš. *nast*, Paš. *nāšt*; (Dard) Š. *natu*, Trw. *nat*, My. *nath-ūr*, nose.

Av. *star-*; Kh. *istāri*, Bš. *raštā* (metathesis), V. *istī-kh*; (Dard) Š. *tārū*, Kš. *tārak-*, Grw. *tār*, Trw. *tā*, a star.

O. Prs. **ava* + $\sqrt{stā}$ - (cf. GNPE. 84), or Skr. *ut* + $\sqrt{sthā}$ -, Śr. Pr. *utthadi*; Aš. $\sqrt{ōst}$ -. Wai. $\sqrt{ōst}$ -, Bš. $\sqrt{ušt}$ -, Kl. Gwr. $\sqrt{ušt}$ -; but Š. My. \sqrt{uth} -, Ks. $\sqrt{wōth}$ -, Paš. \sqrt{ur} -, arise.

O. Prs. **adī* + $\sqrt{stā}$ - (GNPE. 84), Skr. *adhī* + $\sqrt{sthā}$ -, V. \sqrt{ist} -, Grw. (Dard) \sqrt{it} -, arise.

O. Prs. $\sqrt{stā}$ -, Skr. $\sqrt{sthā}$ -, stand; Gwr. *ṭanaīm*, Trw. *thū*, Š. (?) *hanus*, I am.

Skr. *strī*; Kl. *istri*, Aš. *istrī*, Bš. Wai. *istrī*, V. *westi*, Kš. *triy*, Paš. *ślī-kā*, *hlī-kā*, Gwr. *śi-gālī*, Š. *cāi*, *čāi*, Trw. *čī* (see above p. 359), Grw. *is*, a woman.

In Kš. the word *haṣṭa*ⁱ, an elephant, when it is the first member of a compound word, regularly becomes *haṣṭ*ⁱ, as in *haṣṭ-gaṇ*, N. of a place (*haṣṭi-karṇa*-). Similarly, Skr. *praṣasta-* > Kš. *phrēṣṭa*ⁱ (through **prahasta-*, **phrayasta-*), sg. obl. *phrēṣi*, excellent.

E 2. Sibilant plus nasal.

If the sibilant precedes a nasal, in Prakrit the latter is aspirated, and the sibilant disappears (Pischel, § 312). Thus, *śm* > *mḥ*. But in N.W. Prakrit (Konow, cxi), and in Dardic, on the contrary, it is the sibilant that is preserved.

Thus:—

Skr. **Kaśmīrikā*, Ks. *Kaśīrā*ⁱ, Kashmīr. Through **Kaśvīria*. With this and the next of Ptolemy's *Kaspeira*.

Waxī, *spā*, our (cf. Skr. *asmākam*, **asvākam*); Kh. *ispā*, we, our; V. *asē*, we, *as*, our; Kš. *aṣ*ⁱ, we; Š. *asei*, our; My. *zā*, our.

V. *esmo*, *aso*, I am. Cf. Lahndā *kōsā*, lukewarm (*kavōṣṇaḥ*).

In Māgadhī Prakrit, the *s* is also retained (Pischel, § 314).

So, for a sibilant following a nasal. Arabic *inṣāf*, Bs. *esop*, justice.

E 3. Sibilant plus semivowel.

When a sibilant is united with a semivowel, in Prakrit the semivowel is assimilated (Pischel, § 315), so that *rṣ*, *śy*, *śr*, *sr*, *śv*, *sv*, all > *ss* or Māgadhī Prakrit *śś*. In Dardic and N.W. Prakrit (Konow,

exi), following the general rule of the languages, the sibilant is retained. Cf. Sindhī *vaṭs*^u, a Vaiśya. Thus:—

Skr. *śīrṣa-*; Ṣ. *ṣīṣ*, Kl. My. *ṣīṣ*, *ṣīṣ*, a head.

Skr. *naśyati*, he is being destroyed; Kl. *√nāś-*, die.

Skr. *paśyati*, he sees; Kh. *√poś-*, Ṣ. My. Trw. Kš. *√paś-*, see.

Skr. *āśya-*; Kš. *āśi*, Gwr. *hāsi*, Wai. *āś*, Bš. Kl. *aśi*, V. *iś*, Bš. also *aśi*, Ṣ. (dial.) *āzī*; but My. Grw. *āi*, Trw. *aī*, Ṣ. *āi*, mouth.

Skr. *manuṣya-*; Wai. *manaś*, Gwr. *manuś*, V. *muś*, Ṣ. *muśā*, Kh. *mōś*, My. *māś*, Trw. *māś*, Grw. *mēś*; but Bš. *manōi*, Aš. *mat*, Kl. *mōc*, a man. Ṣ. *manūjo* and Kš. *mahanjo*^u are from *mānuṣa-*.

Skr. *aśru-* (Pr. *aṃsu-*); Kh. *aśrū*, Ṣ. *āśo*, Kš. *aś^u*, Bš. *acu*, tear.

Av. *√sra-*, Prs. *śunūdan*, Skr. *√śru-*; Kl. *√san-*, V. *√nus* (metathesis), My. *√sun-*, hear.

Skr. *śveta-*; Kš. *chyat^u*, white.

Skr. *śvāpada-*; Kš. **śāpat* > *hāpat*, a bear.

Skr. *svaṛṇa-*; Bš. Aš. *sōn*, Ṣ. Wai. Gwr. *son*, Paš. *sōnā*, Kh. *sōr-m*, Kš. *sōn*, V. *siā*, gold.

Av. *span-*, Skr. *śvan-*; Gwr. *śunā*, Kš. *hūn^u*, Ṣ. *śū*, Wai. *tsū*, Kl. *śēf*, Paš. *śur-ing*, a dog.

But, as in the case of *asmākam*, **asvākam* and Ptolemy's *Kaspelra*, above, and also of *kv*, *cv*, *θv*, the *v* often becomes *p* (D 5). So also Shāhbāzgarhī *spasunam* and *spagra-* (= *svarga-*). Thus:—

Skr. *svasār-*; Kh. *ispusār*, Tirāhī *spaz*, Grw. *iśpō*, *śū*, Trw. *śū*, Wai. *sōs*, Aš. Bš. *sus*, V. *siusu*, Gwr. *sase*, Paš. *sāi*, Ṣ. *sā*, a sister.

Av. *aspa-*, Skr. *aśva-*; Bš. *uśp*, Ṣ. *āśpo* or (dial.) *apś*, Kl. *hāś*, a horse.

E 4. The conjuncts *kṣ*, *xś*.

Regarding *kṣ* in Prakrit, see Pischel, §§ 317 ff. It sometimes becomes *cch* and sometimes *kkh*. Pischel believed that when *kṣ* goes back to original *śṣ*, Av. *ś*, it generally becomes *cch*, and that when it is an original *kṣ*, Av. *xś*, it generally becomes *kkh*, but he admitted that there are many exceptions to these rules. I believe that there is also a cross division, according to which in all Prakrit semi-tatsamas every *kṣ* is pronounced *cch*, irrespective of its derivation. This is certainly the case in the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars.

In Dardic, Av. *xś* does not become (*k*)*kh*, but *ch*, *ś*, i.e. exactly contrary to Pischel's rule.¹ As regards *kṣ*, so far as I have noted in

¹ Cf. the doubtful sign for this conjunct, a modification of that for *ch*, in N.W. Prakrit (Konow, ex).

Dardic, it always follows the example of *xš*. I have met only one certain instance of *kṣ* > (*k*)*kh*, viz. Kš. *pākhī*, a bird. This rests solely on the authority of Elmslie's vocabulary, and I have never met it elsewhere. If it is used in Kashmīr, the long *ā* shows that it is a word borrowed from India. Two other words are proper names, *Lakh'mī* for *Lakṣmī*, and *Lakh'man* for *Lakṣmaṇa*. These both occur in the Kāśmīrī *Rāmāyaṇa*, which was originally written in the Persian character, and really represent transliterations of the words *Lazmī* and *Lazman* as they are there spelt. The words *Lakh'mī* and *Lakh'man* occur only in Nāgarī MSS. transliterated from the original.

Skr. *pakṣin*-; Kl. *pachīyek*, Gwr. *pici-n*, Grw. *paṣī-n*; but Kš. *pākhī* (see above), a bird.

Skr. *akṣi*-, Av. *aṣi*-; Ṣ. *aṣi*, (dial.) *abṣhē*, Kš. *aṣh'*, Bš. Wai. *acē*, Aš. *acī*, Kl. Kh. *ec*, Gwr. *itsi-n*, Paš. *anc*,¹ My. *ainch*,¹ V. *iṣi*, Trw. *aṣī*, Grw. *īṭh*, an eye.

Skr. *kṣudhā*; Kš. *chōd*, Kh. *chuī*, hunger.

Skr. *bubhukṣā*; Trw. *buṣ*, My. *būcha*, Grw. *būṭhō* (*bubhukṣu*-), hunger, hungry.

Skr. *ṛkṣa*-; Kh. *orts*, Aš. Bš. *īts*, Wai. *ōts*, Ṣ. *īc*, a bear.

Av. *xšvaš*, Waxī, *šāḍ*, Skr. *ṣaṣ*-; Kh. *choi*, Ṣ. *šā*, Kš. *šah*, Kl. *šōh*, Gwr. My. *šoh*, Grw. *šō*, Bš. *šo*, Wai. *šū*, Paš. *šə*, *xē*, V. *uṣū*, six.

Skr. *kṣīra*-, Av. ? *xšīra*- (GNPE. 802), milk; Kh. *chīr*, milk-white; Trw. *chī*, milk; Bš. *kašīr* (with anaptyxis), white. This last is a truly interesting survival of a very old form.

It will be observed that, in the case of Av. *xšvaš*, Skr. *ṣaṣ*, the Av. *xš*, Skr. *ṣ* is represented in Ṣiṇā by *ṣ*. In all other cases, Skr. *kṣ* becomes *ç* in Ṣiṇā. Other Ṣiṇā examples² are *çēç* (*kṣētra*-, see also p. 359 ab.), a field; *çon* (*kṣana*-), leisure; *daçino* (*dakṣiṇa*-), right (hand); *maçi* (*makṣika*-), a fly; *taçôn* (*takṣan*-), a carpenter. To this Lorimer adds that some people pronounce a final *ç* like *t*, and with this we may compare Grw. *īṭh* (*akṣi*-) and *būṭhō* (*bubhukṣu*-), given above.

To sum up.—The following table shows in a convenient form the results of the preceding investigation into conjunct consonants in Dardic. It shows how widely Dardic differs from the literary Prakrits of India Proper in this respect. Especial notice may be taken of the treatment of *v* (which tends to become *p*), of *ṛ* (which is either

¹ For the inserted *n* see p. 352.

² Taken from D. L. R. Lorimer's *Phonetics of the Gilgit dialect of Shina*, § 65; JRAS. 1924, p. 182.

preserved or becomes a palatal), and of sibilants (in which the conjunct is preserved), when each is a member of a conjunct. Nothing of this sort is observed in Prakrit or in the modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars.

Skr. or Av.	Prakrit.	Dardic.
<i>kk</i> (A)	<i>kk</i>	<i>k</i> , (once) <i>g</i>
<i>kz</i> (A)	<i>tt</i>	<i>t</i>
<i>jj̣</i> (A)	<i>jj̣</i>	(Ks.) <i>nz</i>
<i>tt</i> (A)	<i>tt</i>	<i>t</i>
<i>pt</i> (A)	<i>tt</i>	<i>t</i>
<i>dg</i> (A)	<i>gg</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>bj</i> (A)	<i>jj̣</i>	<i>b</i>
<i>bdh</i> (A)	<i>ddh</i>	(once) <i>b</i>
<i>ng</i> (B)	<i>ng</i>	<i>ng</i> , <i>ñ</i> , <i>ṅ</i> , <i>g</i>
<i>ñc</i> (B)	<i>ñc</i> , <i>ṇṇ</i>	<i>nts</i> , <i>nj</i> , <i>ṇ</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>ś</i> , <i>ī</i>
<i>nṭ</i> (B)	<i>nṭ</i>	<i>nṭ</i> , <i>ṭ</i>
<i>nḍ</i> (B)	<i>nḍ</i>	<i>n</i> , (?) <i>ṇ</i>
<i>nḍ</i> (<i>ndr</i>) (D 2)	<i>nḍ</i>	<i>ndr</i>
<i>nt</i> (B)	<i>nt</i> , <i>nd</i>	<i>nd</i> , <i>ṇ</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>n</i>
<i>nth</i> (B)	<i>nth</i>	(once) <i>n</i>
<i>nd</i> (B)	<i>nd</i>	<i>nd</i> , <i>ṇ</i> , <i>n</i> , <i>n</i> , (once) <i>nṭ</i>
<i>ndh</i> (B)	<i>ndh</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>mb</i> (B)	<i>mb</i>	<i>mb</i> , <i>m</i>
<i>m</i> (B)	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i> , <i>mb</i>
<i>tm</i> (C)	<i>tt</i> , <i>pp</i>	<i>t</i> , <i>p</i> , <i>t-m</i>
<i>dm</i> (B, C)	<i>mm</i>	<i>m</i> , <i>mb</i>
<i>gn</i> (C)	<i>gg</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>jñ</i> (C)	<i>jj̣</i> , <i>ṇṇ</i>	<i>ñ</i> , (once) <i>g</i>
<i>ty</i> (D 1)	<i>cc</i>	<i>t</i> ; (with <i>r</i>) <i>ṭ</i> , <i>r</i> ; (Ks.) <i>ts</i>
<i>dy</i> (D 1)	<i>jj̣</i>	(Ks.) <i>z</i> , (Kh.S.) <i>ś</i> , (Trw.) <i>j</i>
<i>dhy</i> (D 1)	<i>jj̣h</i>	(Ks.) <i>nz</i>
<i>ny</i> (D 1)	<i>ṇṇ</i> (N.W. Pr. <i>ññ</i>)	<i>ñ</i>
<i>py</i> (B)	<i>pp</i>	<i>mp</i>
<i>ry</i> (D 1)	<i>jj̣</i> (N.W. Pr. <i>ri</i>)	<i>ri</i> , <i>r</i> , <i>i</i> , or elided
<i>vy</i> (D 5)	<i>vv</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>kr</i> (D 2)	<i>kk</i> (N.W. Pr. <i>kr</i>)	<i>kr</i> , (once) <i>gr</i> (initial)
<i>gr</i> (D 2)	<i>gg</i> (N.W. Pr. <i>gr</i>)	<i>gr</i> , <i>g</i> , (once) <i>gl</i> , (once) <i>l</i> (all initial)
<i>z-r</i> (D 2)	—	<i>h-r</i> , <i>h-r</i> , <i>r</i> (all initial)

Skr. or Av.	Prakrit.	Dardic.
<i>pr</i> (<i>fr</i>) (D 2)	<i>pp</i> (N.W. Pr. <i>pr</i>)	<i>pr</i> , (once, initial) <i>p</i> , once, (non-initial) <i>phl</i>
<i>br</i> , <i>bhr</i> (D 2)	<i>bb</i> (N.W. Pr. <i>br</i>), <i>bbh</i>	<i>br</i> , <i>bl</i> , <i>l</i> , <i>br̥</i> , <i>b</i> , (once) <i>w</i> ; (Ś.) <i>j̥</i>
<i>tr</i> (D 2, D 3)	<i>tt</i> , <i>u</i> (N.W. Pr. <i>tr</i>)	<i>tr</i> , (once) <i>t</i> , <i>tr̥</i> , <i>lt</i> , <i>thl</i> , <i>θl</i> , <i>hl</i> , <i>t̥</i> , <i>th</i> ; <i>c</i> , <i>c̥</i> , <i>ch</i> , <i>sr̥</i> .
<i>dr</i> (D 3, D 5, A)	<i>dd</i> (N.W. Pr. <i>dr</i>)	(Ś.) <i>j̥</i> ; <i>z̥</i> , <i>z</i> ; (Kš.) <i>nd^{ar}</i>
<i>ntr</i> (B, D 2)	<i>nt</i>	<i>ntr</i> , <i>ndr</i>
<i>ndr</i> , see <i>nḍ</i>	—	—
<i>rt</i> (D 2)	<i>tt</i> , <i>u</i> (N.W. Pr. <i>rt</i>)	<i>r̥</i> , <i>r</i>
<i>rd</i> (D 2)	<i>dd̥</i> , <i>dd</i> (N.W. Pr. <i>rd</i> , <i>d</i>)	<i>rd̥</i> , <i>d̥</i> , <i>r̥</i>
<i>rdr</i> (D 3)	<i>dd</i> , <i>ll</i>	(Ś.) <i>j̥</i> , (Trw.) <i>z̥</i> (<i>t̥ z̥</i>)
<i>rn</i> (D 2)	<i>nn̥</i>	<i>n̥</i> , <i>ṛ̥</i> , <i>r̥</i> , <i>r̥</i>
<i>lg</i> (D 4)	<i>gg</i>	<i>g̥</i>
<i>ly</i> (D 4)	—	<i>l̥</i>
<i>ld</i> (D 4)	<i>dd</i>	<i>l̥</i> , <i>jj̥</i>
<i>lv</i> (D 4)	<i>ll</i>	<i>l̥</i>
<i>rv</i> (D 5)	<i>vv</i> (N.W. Pr. <i>rv</i>)	<i>r̥</i> , (once, Kh.) <i>f</i>
<i>kv</i> (D 5)	<i>kk</i>	<i>p̥</i> , (once) <i>g̥</i>
<i>cv</i> (D 5)	<i>cc</i>	<i>ps̥</i>
<i>tv</i> , <i>θv</i> (D 5)	<i>pp</i> (N.W. Pr. <i>pp</i>)	<i>p̥</i>
<i>dv̥</i> (A, D 5)	<i>dd̥</i>	(once) <i>mb̥</i>
<i>dv</i> (D 5)	<i>bb̥</i>	<i>b̥</i> , <i>d̥</i> , (once) <i>t̥</i>
<i>hv̥</i> (D 5)	<i>bbh̥</i>	<i>p̥</i> , <i>b̥</i> , <i>v̥</i> , (once) <i>bh̥</i>
<i>ṣ̥</i> (D 3)	<i>s̥</i>	(Ś.) <i>j̥</i>
<i>ṣk̥</i> , <i>ṣk</i> (E 1)	<i>kkh̥</i> (N.W. Pr. <i>ṣk̥</i>)	<i>c̥</i> , <i>k̥h̥</i> , <i>g̥</i>
<i>sk̥</i> (E 1)	<i>kkh̥</i>	(Kš.) <i>s̥</i>
<i>ṣp̥</i> (E 1)	<i>pph̥</i> (N.W. Pr. <i>ṣ̥</i>)	<i>ś̥</i>
<i>sph̥</i> (E 1)	<i>pph̥</i>	(initial) <i>ph̥</i> , (once, Kš.) <i>sō</i> (<i>sva</i>)
<i>st̥</i> , <i>st</i> (E 1)	<i>tt̥h̥</i>	<i>st̥</i> , <i>st̥</i> , <i>st̥</i> , (once) <i>st̥</i> , <i>st̥</i> , (Ś.) <i>st̥</i> or <i>ṣ̥</i> , (once) <i>s̥</i> , (once) <i>x̥</i> , (once) <i>c̥</i> , (Ś. dial.) <i>ṣ̥t̥</i> ; (both Dard group) <i>th̥</i> , <i>t̥</i>
<i>ṣtr̥</i> (E 1)	—	<i>st̥</i> , <i>x̥</i> , <i>k̥</i>
<i>ṣtr̥</i> (E 1)	<i>tt̥h̥</i>	<i>th̥</i> , <i>t̥</i> , <i>ḍ̥</i>
<i>rṣ̥t̥</i> , <i>rṣ̥t̥</i> (E 1)	<i>tt̥h̥</i>	<i>st̥</i> , <i>st̥</i> , <i>t̥</i> , <i>t̥</i>
<i>st̥</i> (E 1)	<i>uth̥</i> (N.W. Pr. <i>-st̥</i>)	<i>st̥</i> , <i>s̥</i> , <i>st̥</i> ; (Dard group) <i>th̥</i> , <i>θ̥</i> , <i>t̥</i> , elided

Skr. or Av.	Prakrit.	Dardic.
<i>str</i> (D 3, E 1)	<i>tth</i>	<i>str, śtr, st, tr, śl, hl</i> , (Ś., Trw.) <i>ç</i> , (Ś.) <i>c, ś, s</i>
<i>śm</i> (E 2)	<i>mh</i>	<i>ś</i>
<i>sm</i> (E 2)	<i>mh</i> (N.W. Pr. <i>sv</i> , <i>s, m</i>)	<i>s, sm</i> , (once) <i>z</i> , (Kh.) <i>sp</i>
<i>śy</i> (E 3)	<i>ss</i> (N.W. Pr. <i>śś</i>)	<i>ś</i>
<i>sy</i> (E 3)	<i>ss</i> (N.W. Pr. <i>śś, z</i>)	<i>sⁱ, ś, ž</i> , (Ś. dial.) <i>z</i> , (Ś. Grw. Trw. My.) (final) elided
<i>śr</i> (E 3)	<i>ss</i> (N.W. Pr. <i>ś</i>)	<i>śr, ś</i> , (once) <i>c</i> , (Ś.) <i>ś</i>
<i>śr</i> (D 2)	—	<i>śr</i> or <i>ś</i>
<i>sr</i> (E 3)	<i>ss</i>	<i>s</i>
<i>śv</i> (E 3)	<i>ss</i> (N.W. Pr. <i>śp</i>)	<i>ś, chy, s, sp, śp, h, ts</i> , (once) <i>pś</i>
<i>sv</i> (E 3)	<i>ss</i>	<i>só, so, su, siu, s, sp, śp, s</i>
<i>ns</i> (E 2)	—	(once) <i>s</i>
<i>rś</i> (E 3)	<i>ss</i> (N.W. Pr. <i>ś</i>)	<i>ś</i> , (Ś.) <i>ś</i>
<i>kś</i> (E 4)	<i>kkh, cch</i>	<i>ch, c</i> , (once) <i>kh, ś, ts</i> , (Ś.) <i>ç</i> , (Kōhistānī) <i>th</i>
<i>kś, ś</i> (E 4)	<i>kkh, cch</i>	<i>ch, c, ts, nch, nc, ž</i> , (Ś.) <i>ç</i> , (Ś. dial.) <i>tsh</i> , (Kōhistānī) <i>th</i>
<i>kś, xś</i> (E 4)	<i>kkh, cch</i> (N.W. Pr. ? <i>kś</i>)	<i>ch</i> , (Trw.) <i>ch</i> , (Bś.) <i>k-ś</i>
<i>xśv</i> (Skr. <i>ś</i>) (E 4)	—	<i>ś, ch, x</i> , (Ś.) <i>ś</i>

Hindu Salutations

By E. WASHBURN HOPKINS

ACCORDING to the description in the *Land of the Lamas*, the Tibetan salutation consists in sticking out the tongue, pulling the right ear, and rubbing the left hip, while making a slight bow at the same time. Nothing quite so picturesque is to be found in India, but the etiquette of salutation is nevertheless not without interest. Moreover, the subject is treated gravely by the native law-makers and deserves more attention than it has hitherto received. The matter too is not unsuitable for a volume dedicated to the salutation of one who is *lokaprapūjita*, and to whom, in common with many, I extend herewith the greeting :

balam tavā'yuś ca cirāya vardhatām.

But because of the limitation of space I shall confine myself to epic data and give but an outline of approved ceremonial.

The simplest and oldest form of salutation between men seems to have been that expressing "reverence" in its literal sense of fear, instinctively exhibited by shrinking and bending, which becomes the formal bow, for which there is no general Indo-European word, though this *namas* is familiar from the earliest Vedic period, and *fra-nam* in Avestan indicates that the bow was still earlier. In the epic this bow is united so closely with the later *añjali* that they make one gesture. The *añjali*, also called *udagranakha*, is formed by placing the cupped hands, with fingers up, against the forehead, while the head at the same time is bent, sometimes even to the feet of the revered person. The cupping of the hand is implied not only by the earlier use (drinking water with the *añjali*, Manu 4.63, etc.) but by the phraseology employed in describing the *añjali*, *kṛtāñjalipūṣa*, *baddhāñjalipūṣa*, *baddhvā karapūṭāñjalim*, *kṛtvā* (or *ādhyāya*) *śirasya añjalim* (R. 5.33.2; 36.32; 64.5). As an attitude of propitiation it is assumed to avert wrath, *sā ca prahvāñjalir bhūtvā śirasā caraṇāu gatā* (R. 7.25.39)¹; or in desperate entreaty, as when Dame Death bows to Brahman, *kāyena vinayopetā mūrdhno'dagranakhena ca* (7.54.6; cf. 3.64.68, *vinayāvanatā sthitā*, followed by *kuśalam*, etc.); or to win a favour, as when a husband wishes something from his wife, *raktāṅguliprabhaḥ*

¹ In K. (South Indian recension) 4.18.3 (not in B.), *sa tu mūrdhny añjalim kṛtvā bhaginyāś caraṇāu ubhāu*, the accusative is governed by the verbal idea = *añjalikṛtya* "put his hands to his brow (to) his sister's feet".

*padmapātranibhaḥ . . . prasādārthaṃ mayā te'yaṃ śirasya abhyudyato-
'ñjaliḥ* (1.122.29 f.); or merely to show respect before speaking to a superior, *kṛtāñjalipuṭā sarvā* (*Śakram abruvan*, 5.9.18). So the distressed fowler begs for protection from the tree-spirits, *sāñjaliḥ prañatiṃ kṛtvā* (12.143.32). The humility of the bow is explicit, as Arjuna, after meeting and greeting Indra, "stood before him bent like a servant," *abhivādya pādāv prāñjaliḥ . . . bhr̥tyavat prañatas tathāu* (3.166.9; cf. 163.2 f.). Indra, in turn, as a sign of approval as well as of farewell, "touches him, Arjuna, on the head with his two hands" (ibid. 168.62). In epic descriptions, either bow or *añjali* may be ignored, though both are implied, *prañamya śirasā Rāmam evam astv ity abruvan* and *tato'ham abruvam devīm abhivādya kṛtāñjaliḥ* (5.178.71 and 90, respectively).

The *abhivāda(na)* has so far lost its derivative meaning of speech that like the verb it is used of greeting with or without words, thus interchanging with *abhivandana* in usage and occasionally in a varied reading (cf. K. 12.140.17, *śirasā pādābhhivandanam* as v. 1.), *ubhayaor eva śirasā cakre pādābhhivandanam* (3.294.3). Compare the verbal use, *abhivādya tasya pādāu prañamya ca* (3.100.20); *upaspr̥śya . . . abhivādya guroḥ pādāu, kṛtvā cā'pi pradakṣiṇam* (R. 6.85.25 and 29). Lakṣmaṇa, on leaving Sītā, both being rather angry, "bows somewhat" on making the *añjali*, *Sītām abhivādya . . . kṛtāñjaliḥ kiṃcid abhi-prañamya* (R. 3.45.40). This greeting is in itself a wordless gesture. Ambā tells her uncle her tale, *taṃ abhivādayitvā śirasā*, and he lifted her to his lap (an expression sometimes used metaphorically, as in 5.64.27, *aṅke kuruṣva rājānam*) and consoles her, telling her to go to Rāma with an obeisance, *abhivādya ca taṃ mūrdhnā* (5.176.28 and 32). The motion of the head may imply acceptance, as it is said in the next section, "If Bhīṣma had not taken you to Nagpur, Śālva would have taken you with his head," *tvāṃ śirasā grh̥ṇīyāt* (as his bride). On Rāma's appearance, Ambā "stood before him, after revering his feet with her head and touching them with her lotus-hands", *tato'bhivādya caraṇāu Rāmaśya śirasā śubhāu spr̥ṣtvā . . . pāñibhyām agrataḥ sthitā* (5.177.10 and 24).¹ The "fair feet" are sometimes pressed with the head, *mūrdhnā caraṇāu pratyapīdayat* (R. 5.62.39), instead of with the hand (*nipīḍya pādāu* in 1.191.20, etc.). Instead of "take

¹ B. has *śirasāu* (for K.'s *śirasā*), which NIL explains as the two excellent (feet), *śreṣṭhāu* (*pūṃstvam ārgam*!). Compare 7.112.10, *tavā'jāṃ śirasā gr̥hya*, "taking thy orders on my head (I go)." The phrase *caraṇāu abhivādya* is so constant (5.132.1, etc.) that the dual is used even of a quadruped (1.140.29), though the plural *pādas* follows.

thee", the phrase "take thy feet with his head", *te caraṇāv ubhāu śirasā grahīṣyati*, is used in the same meaning, perhaps indicating added respect, as the speaker grimly adds *girā mama*, "because I tell him" (to do so; 5.178.6).

Incidentally, with the unusual respect paid to a girl in this ballad may be compared the unusual mark of affection shown a daughter, when Mātali on leaving home walks the deasil around his wife and "kisses his daughter on the head", *kanyām śirasā upāghrāya* (5.97.21). Usually, in law and epic, only a male relation is thus saluted by the sniff that passes for a kiss, as in R. 1.77.5; 2.20.21 and 25.40, where a father and mother kiss (so to speak) their son's head. Compare R. 7.71.12, where Śatrughna is addressed: *upāghrāṣyāmi te mūrdhni, snehasyāi'ṣā parā gatiḥ*, and (Mbh.) 8.71.32 f., where Arjuna bows his head, *śirasā prapataḥ*, and takes Yudhiṣṭhira's feet in his hands and Yudhiṣṭhira raises him, embracing and sniffing at his head, and 12.55.21 f., where Yudhiṣṭhira takes Bhīṣma's feet and Bhīṣma sniffs at the former's head and says *niṣīda*. As I have already published a paper (JAOS. 28.120) on this form of greeting, these examples may here suffice. It is naturally accompanied by other forms, as when Yudhiṣṭhira gives Bhīma, his favourite brother, this greeting and with it his good wishes, *āghrātaḥ ca tathā mūrdhni śrāvitaḥ cā'śiṣaḥ śubhāḥ* (7.127.13). The verb appears to have lost its original meaning, for even fishes "kiss the lips" of half-drowned Cyavana, *upājighranta tasyo'ṣṭham* (13.50.10). The later word *cumb* is used in H. 8745 of a real kiss but in Mbh. itself only of heroes "kissing" or touching the conch-shells they are blowing: "the two best of men with their two best mouths touched the two best conch-shells and blew together" (8.94.59). The *pari-cumb* of R. Gorr. 3.79.17 is not in the Bombay edition.

To continue with the silent greeting involving hand and foot, the bow alone when offered to Kṛṣṇa ensures salvation, *Kṛṣṇapraṇāmī na punarbhavāya* (12.47.91). Reverence is shown also by a simple touch of the hand, as when the *parivrāt* ascetic meets the great seers and *abhiḡamya yathā nyūyaṃ pāṇisparsam athā'carat*, greeted them with the hand-touch (13.93.72). One is left to imagine whose hand, but presumably the ascetic's hand touched the seers' feet, as in *nipīḍya pādau*, but in other cases the hands meet as if in a hand-shake, like that of 3.262.25, *kareṇa ca karaṃ grhya Karṇasya mudito bhṛṣam*, "greatly delighted he seized Karṇa's hand with his own," indicating joy, as again in 3.238.24, *tataḥ praharṣitāḥ sarve 'nyonyasya talān daduḥ*, "they shook hands in their delight," or in 9.32.44, *te'nyonyasya*

talān daduh, all shook hands in their joy. The same gesture under the name of *pāṇi-pradāna* and *pāṇisaṃgrahaṇa* is used in giving a pledge or promise, as in friendship, R. 4.5.11 (*agnisākṣikam*) or marriage, *pāṇibandha*, 12.267.36; cf. in joy, H. 15741, *talān dattvā parasparam . . . hāṣāya samavasthītāḥ*). The king is told to wail and "seize the arms", plural; but *bāhū* must be read, "extend his two arms." He should also "extend an arm" and cry out 'the enemy are beaten', *pragrhya bāhuṃ krośeta bhagnā bhagnā 'pare iti* (12.100.48; 102.38, v.l. *hanta bhagnā*). These are royal tricks. Compare the somewhat incoherent advice of 12.140.17, *añjaliṃ śapatham sāntvaṃ śirasā pādavandanam, aśruprapātanaṃ cā'va kartavyaṃ bhūtiṃ icchatā*, with the v.l. *aśrumārjanam* and *praṇamya śirasā vadet*. To touch "hand with hand" is customary when one comes as a guest, though social rank may determine this. When Rāma visits Yudhiṣṭhira, "all rose and saluted Rāma and Y. touched R.'s hand with his own hand," *abhyavādayan . . . taṃ kare pasparśa pāṇinā* (5.157.22).

When two courteous wrestlers meet before actually embracing, *samāśliṣya*, limb to limb, they "seize each other's hands and make obeisance" to each other, *karagrahaṇapūrvam tu kṛtvā pādābhivandanam* (2.23.11; in 4.22.58 the *saṃśleṣa* is without this preliminary courtesy). A voiceless applause, called "speaking by hand", is the equivalent of our hand-clapping, which appears on occasion to have been a more or less artificial exhibition by those called *pāṇivādakas* and *pāṇisvanikas*. Compare *vijahruḥ . . . utkṣṭatalanādītāḥ* (*mahānā-dātāḥ*, 1.221.60). Wringing the hands is of course a sign of anger or grief, *vidhuvānā karāu muhuḥ*, of an angry woman (3.278.41). One form of greeting is noteworthy, since apparently it is like the salute of the American Indian and the Fascist, namely that given by raising the right arm: *ṛṣiṇ abhyarcayām āsuḥ karān udyamya dakṣiṇān*, " (the kings) saluted the seers by raising aloft their right hands" (12.53.26). When "the righteous king" heads a procession, he "receives the salute of joined hands, raised on all sides, by bringing out (elevating ?) from time to time his right arm", *dakṣiṇam dakṣiṇaḥ kāle sambhṛtya svabhujam tadā . . . śāikṣam . . . pragrhyann añjaliṃ nṛṇām udyatān sarvato diśaḥ* (6.97.28; Nil. *sambhṛtya* = *samuddhṛtya śāikṣam*). The expression *dakṣiṇam pāṇim uddharet* means extend in such a rule as that of 12.193.20: "In a temple, among cows, in Brahmanic rites, *kriyāpathe*, and in studying, one should extend the right hand." In wrath one seizes the left hand, R. 3.57.16.

In most of the scenes of greeting and parting, words are exchanged

as well as these unvoiced salutations. But Kṛṣṇa's visit to Prthā is pathetic in its simplicity. When he called upon her, his paternal aunt, *pitṛsvasr*, "she began to lament, putting her arm about his neck, remembering her children." *kaṇṭhe gṛhītvā* (5.90.1 f.), even before he was *kṛtātithya*, that is, had received the rites of hospitality. The parting benediction of 5.126.12-16 gives a good picture of the courtesies of royal life. It is addressed to one going to see the king: "May the king receive thee with his two hands as thou greetest him with thy head, *abhirūdayamānam tvām śirasā*; may the righteous (king) put around thy shoulder his right arm marked with standard, hook, and banner, *dhvajāṅkuṣapatākāṅkam*, and as thou sittest beside him may he stroke thy back, *prṣṭhaṃ te pāṇinā parimārjatu*, with his hand ornamented with rings and dyed red on palm and fingers, and when saluted by the king's brothers do thou, kissing their heads, greet them with affection," *mūrdhni tām samupāghrāya premṇā'bhivada*.

When Duryodhana is exhorted to go and greet Yudhiṣṭhira, he is told to "embrace him with both hands", after greeting him; then the king, "out of goodness of heart shall seize thee with both hands" (*pariśvajā*; *pratigṛhṇātu*, 5.138.14 f.). Apropos of the embrace, it is somewhat remarkable that when a herald is sent to give a belligerent but courtly message (5.30.14 and 35 f.), he is told to "touch with the hand the feet" of this and that man, to make kindly inquiries as to the welfare of each member of the family visited, to give special messages to the servants, to salute the old ladies and other ladies, saying "are you blameless in conduct, do you behave properly toward your fathers-in-law?" and finally to "embrace the girls", *kanyāḥ svajethāḥ*, asking after their health and wishing them handsome husbands, jewellery, etc. The herald's farewell is here couched in stereotyped form: *āmantraye tvām, naradevadeva, gacchāmy aham Pāṇḍava, svasti te'stu*, to which the "god of the gods of men" replies, *anujñātaḥ . . . svasti gaccha*, and, in response to a hint given by the herald that the king and his brothers should look with "kindly eye" on the message he has been forced to deliver (*śivaṃ sukhaṃ vaḥ, sāumyena mām paśyata cakṣusā nṛpāḥ*), the King says *na naḥ smarasya apriyaṃ jātu, vidvan*. An eye that is not kindly, *sāumya*, is dangerous, for in 3.263.35 we read: *Vāsudevapārāyaṇāḥ kruddhās te nirdaheyur vāi tulāraśmim iva'nalaḥ*, and just before (32), *mā'smān adhakṣur dṛṣtvāi'va Pāṇḍavāḥ krūrācakṣuṣā*. Consuming wrath was believed in literally, and it will be remembered that Gāndhārī's anger burned Yudhiṣṭhira's toe. A preceding passage also illustrates the politeness of special

inquiry as to the health of every member of the guest's family, after the host has stated that he himself is in good health: "Welcome! I am very glad to see you and know you are well. I am very well, too, as are my brothers. And how are all the family? are they free from illness and pain?" (*kaccid ete 'py arogāḥ* (and *avyalīkāḥ*, 5.23.6 f., 14).

But before passing on to the conventional verbal salutations, already illustrated by the *svāgatam*, *priyāmahe te vayan darśanena*, *svasti*, and *kuśalam* of these scenes, there are still a few remarks to make concerning the feet. The deep bow of respect ends with "falling with the head at the feet" of the respected person, in 3.217.7, for example, of parents. But to be "at one's feet" may imply more. Urvaśī is requested to let Arjuna be "at her feet", that is, be her lover, *tava pādāv adya prapadyatām*, but Arjuna, full of *gurupūjā*, says to her *abhivādāye tvam śirasā preṣyas te 'ham upasthitāḥ, gaccha mūrdhnā prapanno 'smi pādāu te*, "it is as thy slave I greet thee with my head," *tvam hi me mātṛvat pūjyā* (3.45.13 and 46.20 and 47). A saint will put Viṣṇu's feet on his head (3.188.133; cf. 204.4). Viṣṇu himself says that "priests and one's own feet should be revered" as a daily rite (13.126.3, *nityā 'bhivādya vipreṇḍrā, bhuktrā, pādāu tathā'tmanāḥ*).

To "see the feet" is to get audience (cf. *pādamūlan*). Thus: "Sire, Vidura has arrived and wishes to see thy feet. Tell me what he is to do," *draṣṭum icchati te pādāu, kiṃ karotu praśādhi mām* (5.33.4; the king replies that he is "not indisposed to see him", expressed by *asya nā'kalpo jātu darśane*, *ibid.* 5). A peculiar situation, in view of the characters, is revealed by Sañjaya's report as to his visit on Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna: "I saw K.'s feet on A.'s lap and A.'s feet held up from the foot-stool, *pādapiṭha*, in the laps of Kṛṣṇa and Satyabhāmā" (the heroes were both drunk, *madhvāsavakṣībāu*, 5.59.5 and 7).

The armed soldier, who acts as warden at the palace door, on announcing a visitor, first "bows with the head", and then "on his two knees" gives his message, *jānubhyām, bhūtale sthitaḥ śirasā vandānyam tam abhivādya jāneṣvaram* (7.82.31). But the complete prostration seems to belong only to the later epic. Thus Nārada says to Samañja (12.287.3): *urase'va praṇamase, bāhubhyām tarasī'va ca*, "thou bowest as if (prone) on thy chest; with two arms (alone) thou crossest (life's river), as it were."

Other allusions to the feet are, so to speak, the converse of those above. Thus the foot to the head is the opposite of *pādābhivādana*: *tvam ākramiṣye padā mūrdhnā*, "I will trample on thy head with my foot" (5.163.36); *mā vo mūrdhni Dhanañjayaḥ pādāṃ kṛtvā*

'*pnuyāl lakṣyam*, "may A. not attain his object by putting his foot on thy head" (7.75.15). "Kicking the head" of a decapitated enemy (K. 7.77.21, *padbhyāṃ pramathitā'si tvam*) is a varied reading adding to Subhadra's anticipated pleasure; the B text has "you shall hear that his head has been taken off and cast out". To touch with the left foot aggravates an insult, as Bhīma touched Duryodhana *vāmena padā* (9.59.5; also R. 5.26.8). Compare, as to the left, 2.71.12: *Drūpadyāḥ prekṣamāṇyāḥ saṃyam ūrum adarśayat*, and 16.3.20, *nirdiśann iva sāvajñāṃ tadā saṃyena pāṇinā*, "indicating disrespect by pointing with the left hand." To be on tip-toe is to be eager: *agrapādasthitam ce'mam viddhi rājan vadhūjanam*, "Know that all the women-folk are eager to go" (15.22.17). Finally, foot-washing, though performed as worship by a devotee,¹ is ordinarily a sign of servitude: *na kuryāṃ pādadhāvanam*, says Damayanti (3.65.68). It is also for that reason a sign of defeat, like eating grass, so that Sudhanvan grants Virocana his life only on condition that the latter, "in the presence of the girl (who made the trouble) shall wash S.'s feet," *pādaprakṣalaṇam kuryāt kumāryāḥ saṃnūdhāu mamu* (5.35.38).

The whole subject of the silent salutation given by bowing is brusquely disposed of by Duryodhana, when he refuses to bow to the king. He says that for himself he is willing to bow to Law and to the priests, but as to bowing to a mere man (such as a king), he will not; citing in defence of this view an old warrior-precept: "One should strive upwards and not bend downwards; manliness is in up-striving alone." Up-striving is exertion and the meaning is merely that one should not bow to misfortune but meet it bravely, though the angry prince chooses to take it in the sense that a brave man should not bow to a king (*udyacched eva na named udyamo hy eva pāuruṣam*, 5.127.19). There is also an equally futile discussion of the use of the word "thou", which may be mentioned here before turning to verbal courtesies. It seems that the theory of "thou" being an insult is well established, as a theory, since it is referred to more than once, although in practice the two methods of addressing a superior (only superiors are involved in the discussion) are used interchangeably and even the same sentence confuses the two. But on one occasion the ever-fiercy Bhīma said he would kill his brother the king and when he repented immediately afterwards he found himself in a dilemma. If he killed Yudhiṣṭhira

¹ The washing of the feet (of priests) is as religiously fruitful as is the gift of a cow; "it pleases the Manes, as the word 'welcome' pleases Agni, and a seat for a guest pleases Indra, and as food given the guest pleases Prajāpati" (3.200.66 f.).

he would sin and if he broke his word he would sin. It was then suggested to him that by calling his brother "thou", instead of saying "your honour", he would escape from his dilemma, since "thou" is equivalent, being an insult, to slaying, without its practical disadvantage. It is (it is argued) an Atharvan Śruti that "thou" is equal to killing, *vadha*, when applied to a superior (*guru*; 8.69.83 and 70.51). This precept, *gurūṇām avamāno hi vadhaḥ*, is found again in 13.163.53, *na jātu team iti brūyād āpanno 'pi mahattaram, tvamkāro vā vadho ve'ti vidvatsu na viśiṣyate; avarāṇām samānānām śisyāṇām ca samācaret*; and also in 12.193.25, *tvamkāraṃ nāmadheyaṃ ca jyesthānām parivarjayet, avarāṇām samānānām ubhayeṣāṃ na dīṣyati*, a variant which makes the use of the proper name, as well as that of "thou", applied to superiors, a misdemeanour rather than a "deadly" insult. But examples given in this paper will show that this was a precept rather than an observance. Compare, for a good example, R. 3.7.6: *Rāmo'ham asmi bhagavan bhavantaṃ draṣṭum āgataḥ, team mā'bhivāda*, and ibid. 8.6, *bhavān gacchatu, āgantavyaṃ tvayā tāta punar ev'āśramaṃ mama*, "may your honour go and do thou return again to my asylum" (varied readings change *team* in the first sentence to *tan* and substitute, for *tvayā tāta . . . mama*, the words *ca te dṛṣṭvā . . . prati*). In an earlier scene than that above, Bhīma uses the second person (but without using the word *team*) along with *bhavat*, while Yudhiṣṭhira uses *team* (*na tvām vigarhe*, as contrasted with Bhīma's *kiṃ rājan duḥkheṣu paritapyase, bhavato'navadhanena*, "why sufferest thou? because of your honour's recklessness," 3.33.5 f. and 34.2). *Team* is not really tabooed. Compare 5.23.3 f., where a messenger says to the king: *dīṣṭyā rājāṃs tvām arogaṃ prapaśye*; gives his master's greeting in the words: *anāmayam prcchati tvā'mbikeyaḥ*; and receives the reply: *anāmayam pratijāne tavā'ham*. The seer says to the god, *jñātum icchāmi deva tvām; icchāmi jñātum tvā'ham* (3.188.135 and 139; on the acc., see below).

The verbal greeting is usually an inquiry as to health. Manu and Suvarṇa met each other and "made mutual inquiries as to health, *kuśalapraśnam . . . cakratuḥ* (13.98.5). The courteous man doing this is *sukhapraśnada* (12.116.7). The commonest formula is either with *anāmayam* or *kuśalam*, sometimes with both, as both are also parting benedictions. Kuntī's farewell to Karna is *anāmayam svasti ca* (5.146.27). But epic usage is not in conformity with legal prescription in this regard. Manu (2.127) says that *anāmayam* is a greeting used to a warrior, in distinction from *kuśalam* addressed to a priest, while

ārogyam should be addressed to a Śūdra. But Aṅgada on dying (R. 4.55.12 f.) sends this greeting : *abhivādanapūrvam tu rājā kuśalam eva ca vācyaḥ . . . ārogyapūrvam kuśalam vācyā mātā*. To women in general, *avāidhavyāśiṣaḥ śubhāḥ*, "here is hoping you will not become a widow," is spoken of as a casual morning greeting (perhaps with tragic irony, as Sāvitrī, soon widowed, receives it, 3.296.12). To a king, special greetings with hopes of long life and victory are of course conventional : *kṛtvā jayāśiṣaḥ* (1.146.3) ; *jayāśiṣaḥ prayujya* (1.149.14) ; *āśirbhir jayayuktābhir ānarcus tam* (Rāmam, 3.291.2) ; *distyā jayasi . . . śatrūn, bhava naś tvam mahārājan rāje'ha śarudām śatam* (notice *tvam*, 12.38.11) ; *jīvatu dharmātmā rājā*, "long live our noble king" (R. 2.6.24), etc. His uninvited guests greet Jarāsandha with *svasty astu kuśalam rājan*, and he politely welcomes them with *svāgatam vo'stu . . . āsyatām* (2.21.32-9). More emphatic is *susvāgatam te'stu* (1.76.21). Droṇa visits Rāma and touches with his head the feet of Rāma, bowing to the ground, *śirasā bhumāu pādāu cā'va'bhyavādayat*, as well as giving his own name and lineage, and Rāma says *svāgatam te . . . yad icchasi vadasva me*, without the roundabout approach to be expected (both use the second person here, 1.130.56 f.). As farewell, *svasti te'stu* appears in 1.183.4, and in 2.1.4 it is associated with a phrase which is more conventional than it appears, *kṛtam eva tvayā sarvaṃ, svasti gaccha*, addressed to Maya, on the completion of his work ; but the identical phrase occurs again when Hanumat is bidden farewell by Bhīma, who accepts an offer to do something for him as done : "I accept it as if done for me ; farewell," *kṛtam eva tvayā sarvaṃ mama . . . svasti te'stu . . . kāmaye¹ te'm* (I beg of you) *prasīda me* (3.151.13). One thus accosted goes "with a benediction", *kṛtasvastyajayanah* (2.39.9), as contrasted with *svāgatenārcitas* (*tayā, sukhāśiṇas sukhāśiṇām smṛtapūrvam vaco'bravūt*, 3.45.5). As a slight change in form *sukhāgatam* interchanges with *svāgatam* as "welcome", and "au revoir" is often said to the departing guest, *gaccha te'stu śivaḥ panthāḥ, śighram āgamanam kuru* (RG. 6.82.62 and 70) ; *punar draṅsyāvaḥ* (Mbh. 5.115.15) ; *svasti vo'stu śivaḥ panthāḥ, draṅsyāmi punarāgatān*, "a pleasant journey ! I shall look forward to seeing you again" (K. 4.5.86) ; *agadam vo'stu, bhadam vo, draṣṭāsmi punarāgatān . . . svasti prāpnuhi . . . āpr̥sto'si'ha . . . svasti prāpnuhi* (2.78.21 f. ; cf. 2.3.1 *āpr̥cche tvam gamiṣyāmi, punar eṣyāmi cā'py aham*, "good-bye, I'm going, but I shall return") ; *taś svasti*

¹ Probably, like *āpr̥cche te'm* (below), "I beg your permission to go, be gracious," a conventional good-bye.

vo'stu yāsyāmi svagṛham (7.74.5). Besides such more or less stereotyped formulas, the most frequent of which are *ciraṃ jīva, sukhī bhava, kuśalaṃ pītaṃ brūhi, svasti te'stu, svāgataṃ te'stu, vardhasva* (R. 7.103.8 as greeting; cf. *diṣṭyā vardhāmahe, diṣṭyā vardhase*, 3.262.26), *svasti prāpnuhi gamyatām* ("you may go," 3.149.40); *śivas te'dhvā* and *avighnam (ariṣṭam) gaccha panthānam* (R. 5.40.24 and 3.8.11), there are the occasional "good-morning" and "good-night" salutations; *sukhena vyajanī vyusṭā . . . kacciḥ jñānāni sarvāṇi prasannāni tava*, "I hope you passed a pleasant night and your mind is clear" (7.83.2), both clauses being formulaic (12.45.17, *sukhena te niśā kacciḥ vyusṭā, kacciḥ jñānāni*, etc.); *svapa sukham or supyatām . . . bhadrām te* (7.79.6); *viśramasva tvam avyagraḥ svapa ce'māṃ niśāṃ sukhām*, "rest in peace and sleep well this night" (10.4.12). Cf. R. 2.89.5.

But ceremonious benedictions are in order when extraordinary events take place; one might almost say, extraordinary benedictions. An example or two will illustrate this phase of hyperbole. A traveller is going across the Ganges and into the mountains. The Occidental "good-bye and good luck" appears thus expanded (*svasti te Varuṇo rājā Yamaś ca samitamjayah*, etc., 3.139.14 f.): "May king Varuṇa and Yama, winner of conflicts (an odd epithet), and Ganges and Jumna and the mountains give you weal, and the Maruts and Aśvins and streams and lakes; weal to you on the part of gods and demons and Vasus; O Ganges, daughter of the mountains, shepherd him, *gopāyane'nam*, and give thy protection to this king who is about to penetrate into the mountains" (*pravivikṣato'sya śailān imān chāilasute nṛpasya*); to which is cannily added to the traveller, "take care of yourself," *yatto bhavasva*. A benediction for a hero going into battle (7.94.41 f.) begins with invoking protection from Brahman and proceeds with a long list of potential aiders in a rather curious medley, namely, priests, the best serpents, *sarīsrpas*, royal sages (enumerated by name, Yayāti and others, acting as protecting saints), "creatures with one foot, those with many feet and those with no feet," *apādakas*, Svāhā and Svadhā and Śaci (*svasti kurvantu te sadā*); Lakṣmī, Arundhati, Asita Devala, Viśvamitra, Aṅgīras, Vasiṣṭha, Kaśyapa, Dhātṛ, Vidhātṛ, lokaśa, the Directions and their lords, *digīśvarāḥ*, the six-faced Kārtikeya, Vivasvat, the four elephants of the quarters, earth, sky, and planets, and finally the great serpent that supports the earth, *adhastād dharaṇīm yo'sāu sadā dhārayate nṛpa śeṣaś ca pannagaśreṣṭhaḥ svasti tubhyam prayacchatu*. In the opening clause, K. has (*karatu svasti te*) *Brahmā, svasti kurvantu brāhmaṇāḥ*; C. 3449, *Brahma*,

Brahmā cā'pi dvijātayaḥ; and B., *Brahma, Brahma* (sic) *cā'pi dvijātayaḥ* (also *tava* for *te* after *svasti kurvantu*).

Such blessings, however, though formal are casual and flexible. The ritual connected with the reception of a guest, on the other hand, is rigid and of almost religious significance. It was stereotyped at a very early period in a verse that is preserved complete in the epic and in mutilated prose (obviously reduced from verse and still half-metrical) in the legal Sūtras, thus: *trṇāni bhūmir udakaṃ vāk caturthī ca sunṭā*, in both Manu and epic, with a varied reading, without difference of meaning, following, thus, in Manu, *etāny api satām gehe no'cchidyante kadācana* (3.101); in the epic, *satām etāni geheṣu no'cchidyante kadācana* (5.36.34); in Vas., with the verse (though not marked as such by Bühler) still apparent, *trṇabhūmy-agny-udakavāk sunṭā' nasūyā satām grhe no'cchidyante kadācana* (Vas. Dh. 13.61); in Āpast., [abhāve, scil. annasyā] *bhūmir udakaṃ trṇāni kalyānī vāg iti, etāni vāi sato'gāre na kṣīyante kadācana* (Āp. 2.4.14, where Bühler keeps *abhāve* as part of a corrupt vs. and reads *trṇā*); in Gāut., merely *trṇodaka-bhūmisvāgatam* (Gaut. 5.35), with the addition of *antataḥ*, that is, the "welcome" should be given, if nothing more. The legal distinction of guests according to caste, learning, and virtue, and of foods to be given of different quality according to the guest, the generous epic ignores, both in the verse cited above and in what follows, where the same verse is repeated, in 3.2.54, with this addition: "To the suffering should be given a couch; to him weary with standing, a seat; to the thirsty, water; to the hungry, food; (to the guest) one should give an eye, give his mind, give kind words, rise up and give a seat; this is the eternal law; arise and approach the guest and honour him according to rule" (*cakṣur dadyān mano dadyāt*, etc., 3.2.55-6).

So much for the law and the general epic rule. The epic scenes show how strictly the rule is followed, always in spirit and generally in detail. An adventurer stumbles on a palace in the northern mountains and calls out "let the people here know that a guest has come", *atithim samanuprāptam abhijānantu ye'tra vai*. Out come seven fair maidens ("whichever he looked at, stole away his mind") and said "Enter, my lord". He went in and found an old woman there to whom he said *svasti* and she rose up and said "Take a seat", afterwards offering him more. So when Duṣyanta calls at the hermitage and cries in a loud voice, "Who is here?" Śakuntalā, "sweetly speaking, kindly smiling," *madurabhāṣiṇī cāruhāsinī*, appears and says *svāgataṃ te* and welcomes him with a seat, water for the feet, and the

arghya (honey-mixture), and inquires after his health, *anāmayam kuśalam ca papracche*, and, smiling a little, said *kim kāryam kuryatām*, "what may I do for you?" He replies "I have come to wait upon, *upāsītum*, Kaṇva. Who art thou and whose (daughter)? I wish to know thee" (1.71.4-13). With *icchāmi tvām ahaṃ jñātum*, cf. the same *tvām* above, as contrasted with Damayanti's *jñātum icchāmī te* (Nala 3.20) and *tvām jñātum* in 3.188.135, 139, R.G. 3.23.34.

Instead of water alone, the weary guest may be presented with water and also with butter for his feet, *pādodakam* and *pādaghṛtam*, as well as a light, food, and a resting-place, together with a shampoo (in its literal sense of rubbing), which is, in fact, said to be a more acceptable attention than the gift of a cow, which was also an early form of gift to a guest. No one ever slays a cow for a guest (as *goghna*), in law or in epic narrative, though beef-eating is not unknown. But the tradition of giving a cow to a guest has survived and the gesture is still made, so that when Bhīṣma hears that Rāma has entered his territory, he goes to meet him with a retinue of priests headed by a cow (*gām puraskṛtya*, 5.178.26), which Rāma (*Jāmadagnya*) accepts as an expression of honour or worship, *pūjā*. Śalya visited the Pāṇḍus and "accepted *pādyam*, *arghyam*, and a cow" (5.8.26), with the customary *kuśalam* (said twice). Even Indra as host, after the guest Agastya has said *diṣṭyā vāi vandhate bhavān*, says "Welcome, I am pleased to see you; accept water for the feet and for rinsing the mouth, a cow and the *arghyam*" (*pādyam ācamanīyam ca gām arghyam ca pratiṣṭha me*, 5.17.4). The shampoo, which goes with the *pādaghṛta* in the passage above (3.200.23 and 25), is called *gātrasaṃvāhana* and does not necessarily imply the use of water or butter; most of the passages indeed exclude any meaning save that of a gentle rubbing of the feet or legs, as when, for example, the servitude of Devayāni's rival is manifested by the *pādasamvāhana* she gives her mistress (1.81.7). The irritable ascetic Cyavana demands this attention from the king and queen, who are his unwilling but servile hosts, and they perform this office in person, although, on the guest's first appearance, the king merely brought a golden jug of water for Cyavana's feet "and caused (others) to perform the rites" (*prarghya bhṛṅgāraṃ pādyam nyavedayat, kārayām āsa kriyāḥ*). But Cyavana said *saṃvāhitavyāu me pādau*, and then the king and queen rubbed him (13.52.14 and 31).

Something must always be offered to a guest. "There is nothing worse than to say I have nothing. One who goes away thus dis-

appointed, *hatāśaḥ*, destroys the family " (5.115.9). Especially is this true if the guest be a poor man ; it is better to give to the poor than to those who are well-off :

*śrotṛiṃyāya daridrāya gṛhasthāya 'gnihotriṇe
putradārābhībhūtāya tathā hy anupakāriṇe
evam viddheṣu dātavyā na samiddheṣu, Bhārata (3.200.27).*

If this passage be compared with Hit. 1.10, *daridrān bhara, Kāunteya, mā prayacche'svare dhanam . . . dātavyam itī yad dānam dīyate 'nupakāriṇe*, where Kāunteya alone suggests the epic, it will be seen that it is a reflex from the Mbh., which is probably the *dharmasūtra* from which this group of Hit. verses is ostensibly cited. The first of these has Pāṇḍunandana, whereas Kāuravanandana appears in the epic verse advocating the same pity for others (13.116.20); then Hit. *prāṇā yathā 'tmano'bhīṣṭā bhūtānam api te tathā* is identical with 5.39.72; and Hit. *pratyaḥkhyāne ca dāne ca . . . ātmārupamāyena puruṣaḥ pramāṇam adhigaccati* is identical with 13.113.8-9; not to speak of Hit. *na samśayam anāruhya* being identical with 1.140.73, in the earlier part of this same Hit. section, and *ijyādhyayanadānāni* identical with 5.35.56 f. This by the way; but it suggests that the expression *anyasmād granthād ākṛṣya likhyate*, in the Hit. prelude, refers to Mbh.

References, by way of similes, to the guest-law merely indicate its universality, adding nothing new : " like guests delighted getting to a hospitable house," *ātithyaṃ gṛhaṃ prāpya* (7.110.23 f.); " smiling he welcomed his foes, as one receives guests with water and a seat " (7.110.23 and 24). The " best food " is to be offered a guest after the foot-water and rinsing-water, which follow the *svāgatam te'stu* (the verb is often omitted); but probably this is in the case of a very respected guest only, as in 3.260.14, which of course usually means a priest, who is called " the guest of all creatures ", *sarvabhūtānām atithiḥ* (13.63.22, an expression used also of Agni, 3.313.66) and *prasṭāgrabhuk*, especially in the didactic passages devoted to the gift of food to priests, where " food is (said to be) life, all depends on food ", and the giver of food, as life, to a priest receives eternal life as his reward (Ānuś. *ibid.*). Elsewhere it is said that a priest by caste, even if not by occupation, should still be treated " as a dear guest ", although he may really be living an evil life, and be unchaste, a thief, a cruel man, a drinker, a causer of miscarriage, a seller of the Veda, *śrutivikrayakaḥ*, or be by profession an arrow-maker or a physician. Moreover a guest of the third estate should be cared for

by one's servants. If the guest is a *sādhu*, the master of the house must bow, offer a seat, *pīṭha*, *āsana*, bring water, and have his guest's feet washed; and then ask about the guest's welfare, *sukham prṣṭvā*, and having done so, speak of his own state of health; after which comes the offer of refreshments and of a cow, which the guest must accept. The youthful householder, who is instructed in these matters, is told that his life-breath is liable to leave him if he fails to rise and greet his guest, and when a guest leaves the house the host should follow behind him (instructions in 5.38.1 f., the same verse in 13.104.64 and Manu 2.20). Much stress is laid on the rising. "Because of his devotion and love, Arjuna never neglected to rise in the presence of Kṛṣṇa, offering him a seat; but he did not himself think of sitting" (till told to do so, *bhaktiā premnā ca . . . na cā'sane svayaṁ buddhiṁ vyadadhāt* (7.80.3 f.). But if the guest be the superior and is calling on his inferior, then it is the guest who says "take a seat" to his host (2.46.3 f., *diṣṭyā vardhasi āsyatām* is said by the guest after the *pādya* and *āsana* are offered). The formula of departure is *āprcche tvāṁ gamiṣyāmi* (*pūjito'smi*, *ibid.*, repeated in 17 as *svasti te'stu gamiṣyāmi*), to which in this case the host responds by a respectful salutation and the *upasaṁgraha* or touching of the feet offered to a Guru, *abhivādyo'pasaṁgrhya pītāmahaṁ athā'bravīt* (*ibid.* 7). This is the gesture of Manu 2.72 (cf. Gaut. 1.46; the person as object instead of *caraṇāu*, 1.139.15, etc., here a gesture of farewell). The phrase *pratipūjya tām pūjām* interchanges with *pratigrhya* as a v.l. in the scene of 3.214.14-16, where the son of the family receives a visitor and announces him to the parents waiting within. It is they who "honoured the priest with welcome", *svāgatam (vipram) arcayām āsatuḥ*. The priest returns the compliment, asks if all is well at home with sons and servants, and if all are in good health. They reply "All is well with us; and has your honour had a comfortable journey?" "Quite so," said the priest (*kaccit tvam api avighnena saṁprāpto bhagavann iti, bādham iti*). The reading of K. adds *sukham* to B.'s *kusalam grhe anāmayaṁ ca vām*, which is unnecessary (*vām* is dative; usually the object is gen.). It must be added in conclusion that often the only attention a guest is said to receive consists in *pādyam* and *arghyam*, foot-water and a drink of scented or sweetened water (3.183.48); but the greeting and other attentions are probably to be understood, as far as circumstances permit. The farewell in RG. 4.10.34 is *siddhārtho gaccha*.

A few ejaculations serve as salutations of a religious nature, *svāhā-kārāḥ . . . dvijān dāivatāni sevase* (3.30.11); and *sādhu, sādhu*

("good!") answers to bravo!, a general shout of approval in battle. Also there are some universal salutations, which are found outside of India and need only be mentioned here, such as the *āyusām abhinandanam* or greeting to those who are ill (expressing the hope of recovery), with which are joined "a blessing in the case of those who have sneezed" *kṣute* or *kṣutānām abhinandanam*, which the commentator says is in the form *śataṃ jīva*, "live a hundred" (years), and a "luck-bringing" expression used when one has been shaved, which is quaint if not unique, *śmaśrukarmaṇi (saṃprāpte) maṅgalyam* (13.163.52 and 12.193.23, which latter adds "on bathing and eating also one should use the *āyusām abhinandanam*," the "long life to you" formula, which, in epic phrase and elsewhere, is *āyusmān bhava*). The same passage in Śānti says that priests should be greeted "evening and morning", and "one should ask about health every time one meets another", *darsane darsane nityaṃ sukhaprasnam udāharet* (ibid. 19). As well known, Buddha objected to the superstition involved in a blessing upon sneezing, which only shows that it was a common practice in India, as it was in Persia (SBE. 24.265, etc.). Compare on this point, Cullavagga, 5.33 (a *dukkata*), the *Contemporary Review*, May, 1881, and *Proceed. Am. Or. Soc.*, May, 1885.

NOTE: With *krośed bāhū(n) pragrhya*, cf. R. 3.61.2, *prākrūṣya pragrhya bhujāu* and ibid. 3.18.24. In R. 2.45.27 and 62.12 the Commentator understands an *aṣṭāṅgapraṇāma*, but the suppliant merely falls or kneels, with the usual *śirasā yāce* of R. 4.10.10; 26, 20; G. 5.89.21, etc. An unusual farewell is "go to hell," *narakam gaccha*, R. 2.74.4.

Sind nach dem Sāṅkhya-Lehrer Pañcaśikha die *Puruṣas* von Atomgrösse?

VON HERMANN JACOBI

IM Yogabhāṣya zu i, 36 findet sich ein anonymes Zitat, das nach Vācaspatimiśra von Pañcaśikha stammt: (*yatrē'dam uktam*): „*tam aṇumātram ātmānam anuvidyā'smī'ty evaṃ tāvat saṃprajānīte*.“ Garbe hat in seinem Beitrag zum *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth* (Stuttgart, 1893) „Pañcaśikha und seine Fragmente“ folgendermassen übersetzt: „Wenn er dieses atomgrosse (*aṇu-mātra*) Selbst erkannt hat, so ist er sich dessen bewusst, was es heisst, Ich bin“, und er bemerkt dazu: „Alle Lehrer von Īśvarakṛṣṇa (s. Kārikā 10, 11) an erklären den Ātman (i.e. *puruṣa*) für alldurchdringend, allgegenwärtig, unendlich gross (*vibhu, vyāpaka, parama-mahant*), und es wird von ihnen geradezu gegen die Theorie, dass die Seele ein Atom sei, polemisiert. Hierin (i.e. in Pañcaśikha's Lehre) ist ein offener Einfluss der Vedānta-Philosophie auf das Sāṅkhya zu erkennen.“ Der Ansicht Garbe's stimmt A. B. Keith (*The Sāṅkhya System*, p. 43) vollkommen bei. J. H. Woods im *Yoga-System of Patanjali*, p. 74, note, scheint Bedenken gegen Garbe's Deutung des Fragments zu haben. Er sagt: „might it not however refer to a particular state only of the self?“ Da der *puruṣa* keine verschiedenen Zustände haben kann, so scheint Woods unter „self“ nicht den *puruṣa*, sondern das *antaḥkaraṇam* verstanden zu haben. Er war, wie sich zeigen wird, der Wahrheit auf der Spur.

Wenn man sich nämlich Pañcaśikha's Ausspruch im Geiste des Sāṅkhya überlegt, so leuchtet ein, dass er mit seinem *ātman* nicht den *puruṣa* gemeint haben könne.¹ Denn das Ichbewusstsein beruht auf dem *ahaṃkāra* und wird nicht durch die Erkenntnis des *puruṣa* (*ātmasākṣātkāra*) oder ein Nachdenken über ihn (*anuvidyā* = *anucintya*, Vācaspati), erzeugt. Durch letzteres könnte allenfalls die *sattvapuruṣaṇyatāḥkhyāti*, die Ursache des *kaivalya*, zustande kommen; jedoch wird dadurch das Ichbewusstsein endgültig aufgehoben.—Wie ausdrücklich, worauf mich Prof. O. Schrader aufmerksam macht, in Kār. 64 gesagt wird: *evaṃ tattvābhyāsān 'nā' smi, na me, nā 'ham' ity aparīṣeṣam | aviparyayād viśuddham kevalam utpadyate jñānam* ||—Die Erörterung von *aṇumātra* stelle ich vorläufig zurück.

¹ Vācaspati erklärt hier *ātmānam* mit *ahaṃkāraśeṣam*.

Die Richtigkeit unserer theoretischen Überlegung wird durch die Erwägung des Zusammenhangs, in dem Pancaśikha's Ausspruch im Yogabhāṣya erscheint, vollends bestätigt. Es sei vorab daran erinnert, dass im Yoga es nicht drei *antaḥkarana*: *buddhi*, *ahaṁkāra* und *manas* gibt, sondern nur eins, das einheitliche *citta*, welches die Funktionen jener je nach der Sachlage ausübt, und dann im Sūtra oder Bhāṣya bald *buddhi*, bald *manas* genannt wird.¹ *Ahaṁkāra* kommt im Sūtra nicht vor, zum Ersatz dient *asmitā*, das im Sāṅkhya unbekannt ist. *Asmitā*, ein reiner Yogabegriff, ist der zweite *kleśa* (*avidyāsmītārāga dveṣābhiniveśāḥ pañca kleśāḥ*, ii, 3) und wird erklärt als die scheinbare Identität von *puruṣa* (*dṛkśakti*) und *citta* (*darsanaśakti*) (*dṛgdarśanayor ekātmatē 'vā 'smitā*, ii, 6). Der im Samsāra Befindliche hält sein *citta* für eins mit dem *puruṣa*, und so entsteht in ihm die irrige Vorstellung, dass er ein selbständiges Ich sei. Es handelt sich nun im Bhāṣya zu i, 36, um eine echte Yogalehre, zu deren sachlichem Verständnis uns Vācaspati's Erklärungen verhelfen. Doch auch hier werden zum Teil Sāṅkhya-Termini statt der dem Yoga angemessenen gebraucht. Der Yogin soll sein *citta* in dem mystischen Herzlotus lokalisieren, der sich beim Ausatmen (*recaṇa*) aufwärts wendet. Dort verharrend, wird das *citta* von der Vorstellung des Glanzes von Sonne, Mond, Sternen oder Edelsteinen erfüllt, d.h. es wandelt sich in der Form je des einen oder anderen um. Wenn aber das *citta* sich vereinzelbigt (*samāpanna*) mit der *asmitā*, dann ist es wie die glatte Oberfläche des Ozeans, ruhig, unendlich, es ist *asmitāmātra*. Zu dieser Vorstellung von *asmitāmātra*, die dem Sāṅkhya fremd ist, wird nun aus ihm als Parallele (weil es dazu kein genau entsprechendes Gegenstück geben kann) der obige Ausspruch Pancaśikha's angeführt. Wenn man auch *asmitā* mit *ahaṁkāra* parallelisieren könnte, so kann mit *asmitāmātra*, dem damit vereinzelbigten *citta*, nur der innere Sinn, das *manas*, das aus dem *ahaṁkāra* hervorgegangen ist, auf eine Linie gestellt werden. Zur Funktion des inneren Sinnes gehören die Vorstellungen. Hier handelt es sich aber um eine Vorstellung ohne jeden objektiven Inhalt (wie Glanz der Sonne etc.). Die allgemeinste Vorstellung, die über allen inhaltlich bestimmten steht, ist das „ich bin“. Die Reflexion über das Denken (*anuvīdyā*), so könnte man sagen, führt also zu dem Satze: *cogito ergo sum*. In dieser Konsequenz des Sāṅkhya, dem „*asmi*“ findet das Bhāṣya eine Parallele zum *asmitāmātra*. Pancaśikha meint also das *manas* mit dem *anumātra ātmā*.

¹ Siehe meine Abhandlung „Über das ursprüngliche Yoga-system“: SPAW. 1929, p. 587.

Das *manas* wird nämlich ausdrücklich im Sāṅkhya Sūtra, iii, 14, als *aṇuparimāṇa* bezeichnet (*aṇuparimāṇam tat, kṛtiśruleḥ*). Zwar ist dem Sāṅkhya die Atomistik fremd, aber die Vorstellung von *paramāṇu* und *paramamahat* ist Sāṅkhya- und Yoga-Autoren geläufig, so spricht Gaudapāda zu Kār. 7 und 22 anstandslos von *paramāṇus*, und im Yogasūtra, i, 40, werden *paramāṇu* und *paramamahat* nebeneinander genannt. Allerdings gilt im Sāṅkhya Sūtra *aṇu* (= *paramāṇu*) nicht als unteilbar: *na nirbhāgatvaṃ, tadyogād ghaṭādivat*, v, 71. Aniruddha beruft sich, zu dieser Stelle, darauf, dass auch die Atome aus Teilen bestehen: *ṣaṭkena yugapad yogāt¹ paramāṇūnām sabhāgatvasiddhiḥ*. Also konnte Paucaśikha das *manas* mit *aṇumātra ātmā* bezeichnen. Wahrscheinlich gebraucht er die Bezeichnung *aṇumātra ātmā* für das *manas* im Gegensatz zur *buddhi* als dem *mahān ātmā*. Denn dass der Name *Mahān*, masc., aus *mahān ātmā* entstanden oder dazu zu ergänzen ist, steht wohl fest: die Bezeichnung *mahān ātmā* im Sinne der *buddhi* des Sāṅkhya ist mehrfach belegt im *Mahābhārata*, xiv, 40, 1 ff.

Nach unserer Erklärung des fraglichen Ausspruches Paucaśikha's darf man sich auf ihn nicht dafür berufen, dass auch im Sāṅkhya die Seelen als unendlich klein angesehen worden seien. An sich wäre das nicht unmöglich, jedenfalls wäre es verständlicher als Īśvarakṛṣṇa's Lehre und die aller folgenden Sāṅkhyalehrer, dass alle *puruśas* unendlich gross (*vibhu*) seien. So sagt auch A. B. Keith an der oben genannten Stelle: „it is clear that with an infinity of spirits the doctrine of their infinite extent is difficult.“ Wenn er aber diese Lehre für ein Anzeichen von Vedānta-Einfluss halten möchte, so ist mir dies nicht wahrscheinlich. Denn im Vedānta ist die Seele zwar unendlich gross (*vibhu*), insofern sie identisch mit *brahma* ist (Śāṅkara zu BS., ii, 3, 29); es gibt aber nicht *unendlich viele* Seelen von unendlicher Ausdehnung, die zugleich denselben Raum einnehmen. Dagegen stimmt die Lehre des Sāṅkhya genau überein mit der des Vaiśeṣika, wonach der *ātman* (wie der *ākāśa*) unendlich gross ist, weil er mit allen materiellen Dingen in Verbindung steht (*vibhavāt*).²

Da nämlich das *adṛṣṭa* (*dharma* und *adharma*) eine Eigenschaft des *ātman* ist, so könnte es nicht in äusseren Dingen eine Tätigkeit hervorrufen,³ wenn der *ātman* nicht mit ihnen in Verbindung stände,

¹ Die vollständige Zeile lautet *ṣaṭkena yugapad yogāt paramāṇūnām ṣaḍaṇśatā*. Aus Vasubandhu's *Vimśatikā*, v, 12. Siehe *Nyāyavārttika*, p. 521.

² *FD.*, vii, 1, 22: *vibhavān mahān ākāśa, tathātmā*.

³ Vgl., *FD.*, v, 2, 2.13.17. Für die Erklärung von Naturvorgängen wird vom Vaiśeṣika *adṛṣṭa* vielfach in Anspruch genommen.

oder mit anderen Worten bis zu allen Dingen reichte und sie in sich umfasste. Nun lehrte aber das Vaiśeṣika,¹ dass es viele Seelen gäbe. Somit ergab sich durch Systemzwang die ungeheuerliche Vorstellung, dass alle die zahllosen Seelen den ganzen Raum erfüllten und doch gesondert nebeneinander (*prthak*) beständen. Dieselbe Annahme galt ja schon hinsichtlich *ākāśa*, *kāla* und *dīś*, wo sie eher denkbar ist; von da aus mag ihre Übertragung auf die Vielheit der *ātman*s weniger bedenklich erschienen sein. Dieses Vaiśeṣika-Dogma hat, wie ich glaube, Īśvarakṛṣṇa übernommen, ebenso wie er die Darstellungsmethode des Vaiśeṣika nach *sādharmya* und *vaidharmya* nachahmt und dadurch seinen Lehrstoff auf die knappste Form zusammen-drängt.² Ob vor Īśvarakṛṣṇa im Sāṅkhya die Frage nach der Grösse der *puruṣas* überhaupt erörtert worden sei, ist mir zweifelhaft. Es brauchen ja nicht alle Probleme, die aufgestellt werden können oder im Laufe der Zeit diskutiert wurden, schon von Anfang an aufgetaucht zu sein. „Zeit“ und „Raum“ waren im ursprünglichen Sāṅkhya auch noch nicht nach dessen Prinzipien erklärt, und erst spät versuchte man, diese Lücke im System auszufüllen.³ So mag auch die Frage nach der Grösse der Seelen zuerst von den Vaiśeṣikas erörtert und dann erst von den Sāṅkhyas samt ihrer Lösung aus dem Vaiśeṣika übernommen worden sein.

¹ VD., iii, 2, 20 l.: *vyavasthāto nānā; śāstrasāmānyā ca.*

² Über das ursprüngliche Yogasystem, p. 588, n. 3.

³ A.a.O., p. 620.

Note sur l'inscription Andhra de China

By G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL

L'INSCRIPTION de China est d'une importance extrême pour l'histoire du pays des Andhras et de la dynastie des Śātavāhanas. Cette inscription se trouve au Musée de Madras ; mais d'où vient-elle ? —de China.

Je crois que personne n'a eu jusqu'à présent la curiosité de chercher China sur une carte. Ce serait inutile : China n'existe pas.

Au Musée de Madras, on ne possède aucun renseignement, et la pierre est présentée comme venant de China.

Dans *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. i, page 95, Bühler, éditant cette inscription de Gotamīputa Siriyāṇa Satakaṇi écrivait :—

"The subjoined inscription is incised on a stone, which was originally found on the sea-shore, south of the Krishna river close to the village of China in the Kistna district, and is now deposited in the Madras Museum."

Les indications "near the sea" et "south of the Kistna river" sont très vagues.

J'ai donc fait des recherches dans des publications datant de l'époque de la découverte de cette pierre. Il n'est pas douteux d'après ces documents que le nom du village ne doive être écrit : Chinn Ganjām.

Voici ces textes :

List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras, by Robert Sewell, vol. i, Madras, 1882, pages 82 et 83 :

"Chinna Gañzām.—24 miles south-west of Bāpaṭla. A salt station. Part of an inscribed marble from a Buddhist tope was lately found here (see Kollitippa)."

"Kollitippa.—20 miles south-west of Bāpaṭla, a piece of high ground between Kadavakuduru and Chinna Gañzām, east of the Kadavakuduru swamp, and to the west of the old coast road. Here was lately found half of an inscribed marble, presumably from the Buddhist Tope at Amarāvati. The inscription is in the Amarāvati character and is in Pāli. The other portion of the inscription was found lying near a temple in the village of Chinna Gañzām."

A Manuel of the Krishna District, by Gordon Mackenzie, Madras, 1883, page 206 :

"Fragments of stone with Buddhist carvings and Pāli inscriptions

lie near Chinna Ganzām and in the Kollitippa swamp. On the coast is Mōtupalle, now an insignificant fishing village, but identified as the port where Marco Polo landed in A.D. 1290 (see Yule's *Marco Polo*, ii, 295, 272, 357). It was much used as a landing place for stores for the French troops at Guntūr a hundred years ago."

From Mr. A. Rea, M.R.A.S., First Assistant to the Director-General, Archaeological Survey of India, dated Camp, Amarāvati, 3rd April, 1888, No. 160 (G.O. No. 703, Public, 14th July, 1888, page 11) :

"The Chidambarasvami temple in Chinna Ganjam is that in which had been placed the inscription stone from Kollitippa. The people are very suspicious of the marble, and will say nothing as to where it came from, asserting that it has been there from time immemorial. I heard, however, from another source, that it was found at Kollitippa along with the inscribed stone now in the Bezvāda library.

"Mr. Streynshan Master, in the journal of his journey along the coast in 1679, mentions some stones with inscriptions which lay in the way to Franguludinne. These would probably be those then at Kollitippa. The pillar just dug up is partly rubbed on one side, as if it had been exposed for long time, and then covered up. It may have been one of those referred to by Mr. Master, and the other lately removed—one portion to Bezvāda and the other to Madras—may have been another."

From Dr. E. Hultzsch, Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of Southern India. Dated Bangalore, the 26th May, 1888, No. 128 (G.O. No. 745, Public, 27th July, 1888, page 4) :

"At Madras where I stayed from the 19th to 24th April, I drew up a list of the copper plate grants at the Government Central Museum and copied a fragment of an Andhra inscription, to which Mr. R. Sewell had kindly drawn my attention. This inscription is engraved on a marble slab, which must have formed part of a pillar and which was found south of the Kistna river near the sea some years ago. It is dated in the 27th regnal year of the Andhra King Gotamīputa Sīriyaṇṇa Satakāṇi, who receives here the epithet Araka, i.e. Arhat, while he is called Sāmi, i.e. Svāmin, in other inscriptions. The inscription seems to have recorded a dedication by some 'chief of saints' (Araka-Mahataraka), whose name is lost together with all further details through the mutilation of the pillar at the bottom."

De ces textes il ressort qu'une pierre, ayant des inscriptions analogues à celles d'Amarāvati, se trouvait près du temple de Chinna Ganjam, vers 1882, et avait attiré l'attention de Sewell.

Cette pierre avait été transportée au Musée de Madras avant le mois d'avril 1888.

C'est donc très certainement cette même pierre que Sewell a indiquée à Hultzsch et dont l'inscription fut copiée en Avril 1888, sous le nom mutilé de China, le véritable nom étant Chinna Ganjām.

Dans ces documents on laisse supposer que la pierre de Chinna Ganjām venait de Kollitippa. Ce n'est pas certain : peut-être a-t-il existé un stūpa à Chinna Ganjām, car le pays était fort riche en monuments bouddhiques. Mr. Rea a découvert les restes de 3 stūpas en trois endroits situés à deux ou trois milles seulement de Chinna Ganjām : Bogandanidibba, Sakaladanidibba et Kollitippa.

Ces monuments étaient à peu de distance de la mer et on peut en conclure qu'un riche port se trouvait sur cet endroit de la côte, à l'époque de Gotamīputa Siriyaña Satakaṇi.

De nos jours il n'y a plus qu'un petit port qui est situé à 2 miles de Kollitippa et Chinna Ganjām, c'est Mōtupalle.

Les noms anciens de cette ville sont Mukūla et Vēlanagara. Une importante inscription (n° 600, de 1909) se rapporte aux commerçants étrangers du port de Mōtupalle en Ś. 1166.

Au XVIII^e siècle c'est à Mōtupalle que les Français débarquaient pour aller à Kondavīdu qui est sur la route d'Amarāvati. Il est probable qu'au II^e siècle de notre ère, Mōtupalle était le port d'Amarāvati, parce que l'embouchure de la Krishna est généralement pleine de sables mouvants. Les bateaux, dans le port de Mōtupalle étaient à l'abri des courants marins.

Il est intéressant de trouver le nom de Siriyaña, à la fois au bord du golfe du Bengale et, au bord de la mer d'Arabie, dans le chaitya de Kaphēri. Ces Sātavāhanas qui régnaient sur les bords de deux mers devaient avoir une flotte puissante qui avait la maîtrise de l'océan. C'est ce que nous prouvent les monnaies ayant comme emblèmes "Ujjain symbol on the reverse" et "ship with two masts on the obverse" qui ont été étudiés par le Professeur E. J. Rapson dans son célèbre ouvrage (*Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, page 22).

En résumé, l'inscription de Siriyaña Satakaṇi provient de Chinna Ganjām, c'est-à-dire des environs de Mōtupalle qui était probablement le plus grand port du pays des Andhras au II^e siècle de notre ère.

The Doctrine of the Buddha

By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

WHEN we contemplate the extraordinary diversity of doctrine which has developed from the teaching in the sixth century B.C. of the Buddha, it is perhaps the most natural conclusion that it is really impracticable to discover with any precision the doctrine which in fact he expounded. This view, however, is naturally disappointing, and it is easy to sympathize with the energetic efforts of Professor Stcherbatsky in his works on *The Central Conception of Buddhism* and *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa* to ascribe to the founder of the faith a definite system, inspired by an intelligible philosophy, which again can be regarded as arising naturally from the spiritual ferment of his time among the non-brahmanical¹ classes of India. Incidentally we may doubt the restriction of the ferment to these classes and believe that the Brahmins played, as they have normally and regularly done, a leading part of this activity, though we need not claim that their speculations powerfully affected the Buddha. In fact, Professor Stcherbatsky elsewhere² admits that in the Buddha's time the Brahmanical community was mentally alert. True the most orthodox retained a belief in the performance of sacrifice and in reward in heaven, but others had come to favour a monistic view of the universe and interpreted the reward of supreme bliss as the dissolution of the personality in an impersonal all-embracing Absolute, while later on some Brahmanical circles developed the idea of an eternal individual soul which, after having been bound up in many existences, would return to its genuine condition as a pure spirit as a reward for accumulated merit. Side by side with these thinkers were others, apparently non-brahmanical, who preached the doctrine of materialism, denying any survival after death and retribution or reward for evil or good deeds. We need not doubt the existence of this materialism, but there seems no reason to hold that it was necessarily non-brahmanical.³

The Buddha, we are to believe, was eagerly seeking for a theoretical basis on which to establish morality, and he was willing to accept from the Eternalists the doctrine of a gradual accumulation of spiritual merit through a series of progressing existences, but he was averse to

¹ *Nirvāṇa*, p. 60.

² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³ Cf. L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Nirvāṇa*, p. 16.

their doctrine of an eternal spiritual principle. He was, it seems, deeply impressed by the contradiction of assuming an eternal principle which must have been, for incomprehensible reasons, polluted by all the filth of mundane existence in order later on to revert to its original purity. He was thus led to the denial of any permanent principle and to regard matter and mind as split in an infinite process of evanescent elements (*dharmas*), the only ultimate realities, besides space and annihilation. The idea of an impersonal world process was probably prepared by the conception in the Upaniṣads of an impersonal unique substance of the world, and the analysis of the world into its elements of matter and mind may be due to Sāṃkhya influence. His originality consisted in denying substantiality altogether and converting the world process into a concerted appearance of discrete evanescent elements. He thus established a system of the most radical Pluralism as opposed to the Monism of the Upaniṣads and the Dualism of the Sāṃkhya. Such a metaphysical construction, however, offered serious difficulties, as a basis of a theory of morals, and the Buddha could reconcile his ideas only by the adoption of the view that quiescence was the highest bliss, the universe thus appearing as an infinite number of separate evanescent entities in a state of beginningless commotion, but gradually steering to quiescence and to annihilation of all life. This condition of annihilation he styled *Nirvāṇa*, borrowing a term which in the Brahmanical philosophy denoted the dissolution of the individual in the universal whole. The idea of the Buddha, therefore, differed from that of the materialist in effect only in that the final annihilation, the *summum bonum*, was to be attained only after a long series of efforts in virtue and concentrated meditation. It is, therefore, not surprising that even Indian minds did not regard the solution as satisfactory, and that five hundred years later there evolved from the dissatisfaction felt in the faith itself a quite new religion, reposing on a quite different philosophic foundation.

It is significant that the theory compels us to believe that the Mahāyāna represents a complete change of philosophical outlook,¹ and a deliberate desertion of the Buddha's own point of view. That is by no means fatal to the theory, but it would be more natural to find that the Mahāyāna was really less vehemently in opposition to

¹ Op. cit., p. 61; emphasized p. 36, where the very implausible view is asserted that the absence of the image of the Buddha is explained as showing the annihilation of the saint in *Nirvāṇa*. Cf. Pouassin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*, pp. 252 ff.

the founder of the faith, and the question inevitably arises whether the doctrine ascribed to the Buddha can fairly be extracted from our evidence, and whether in itself it is plausible. It must be seriously doubted whether the position ascribed to the Buddha is intelligible. We are to believe that he was deeply concerned to find a theoretic basis for morality, which was doubtless menaced by the materialism which denied retribution, thus running counter to the doctrine of Karman; but it is difficult to imagine a more completely unsatisfactory basis than he is held to have devised. The popular religion offered as an incentive to a virtuous life and obedience to the rules of religion a blissful existence in heaven, the Eternalist doctrine promised merger in the Absolute for the individual spirit, both intelligible ends. The Buddha, however, offered annihilation as a reward of virtue and concentrated meditation in a long series of efforts. It is difficult to see what cogency such an offer could have in comparison with materialism which assured its adherents of annihilation at the close of life, and thus saved them from the tedium of the practice of virtue or of meditation. It seems impossible to explain the appeal supposed to have been made by a doctrine of this kind. Nor certainly is it easy to suppose that the metaphysical doctrines believed to have been held by the Buddha would secure wide appreciation. To reduce the world into the concerted appearance of discrete evanescent elements regarded, together with space and annihilation, as the ultimate realities is clearly no great intellectual feat. The fact of concerted appearance renders the description of the elements as discrete and evanescent illogical, and the discussions of the Buddhist schools affords abundant evidence of the difficulty of attaching any intelligible meaning to such a construction.

If *a priori* the hypothetic philosophy of the Buddha presents such an unattractive incoherence as hardly to be that actually held by him, the impression is strengthened by consideration of the texts. There are two points here to be distinguished. In the first place, what assurance have we that the Pāli Canon, on which Professor Stecherbatsky relies for his conception of the views of the Buddha, really presents these views with any approach at accuracy? If it were his view that the Canon was drawn up shortly after the Buddha, the case would be different, but he appears¹ to acquiesce in accepting the third or the second century B.C. for the Canon, which allows more than ample time for the teaching of the Buddha to have been changed

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

in vital matters. We need only remember the difficulties presented by the Aristotelian view of the doctrine of Plato to realize how hopeless it is to expect that oral views of, say, 500 B.C. would be faithfully reproduced in 200 B.C., even if, for the sake of argument, we concede that the Pāli Canon can claim so much antiquity. We may, if we will, overlook this fundamental obstacle to any certain knowledge of the doctrines of the Buddha, but it exists. In the second place, even when we accept the Pāli Canon as authoritative, it is not only possible, but probable, that it suggests a very different doctrine of the evolution of the Buddhist doctrine, and justifies us in ascribing to the Buddha views more simple, more in accord with the trend of opinion in his day, and more calculated to secure the adherence of a large circle of followers.

The first and most obvious point which arises is the nature of the Nirvāṇa which the Buddha offered as the end of human strivings. We need not doubt that the term was taken over from older speculation, and on Professor Stcherbatsky's view in Buddhism the dissolution of the individual in the Absolute becomes a complete dissolution, since there is no absolute reality. The divergence between these two points of view from the ethical standpoint is greatly diminished by the view of Professor Stcherbatsky that the absolute of the Brahmanical view is impersonal,¹ for it may not unfairly be held that there is not much practical difference between offering a man annihilation and absorption into what is unpersonal. Thus the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika doctrine, which in his view is old, frankly admits that its Nirvāṇa is nothing better than the condition of space, or, as some would insist, than that of a stone. But whatever the view really held by the original school of Nyāya or the Vaiśeṣikas,² it is not seriously possible to regard these schools as representing opinion of a period contemporary with the Buddha, and the essential point is the view taken of the Absolute in the Upaniṣads. There is not the slightest ground for describing that as impersonal as is claimed by the author. Whatever we may think of their consistency in so holding, the fact is clear that the Absolute to the Upaniṣads was not merely existent but was thought and, what is vital, bliss. To describe such a substance as impersonal can have no meaning. The dissolution of the individual soul in the Absolute was not a destruction of personal existence on merger in an impersonal. It was the attaining by a finite individual

¹ Op. cit., pp. 3, 54.

² Keith, *Indian Logic and Atomism*, pp. 263-6.

of a full expansion of personality by the departure of the fetters which bound the pure spirit; these removed, the spirit expands into the nature of perpetual thought and bliss and true being.¹ The Nirvāṇa, therefore, of the Upaniṣads was something very much more attractive than the negation of the Buddhist doctrine on the theory set out. It was a state of beatitude, and it is most important to remember that the Brahmanical schools were not alone in promising beatitude to those who consented to follow their directions and strive after virtue and mental concentration. The Jains, whose views, though like those of the Buddhists attested long after the death of Mahāvīra, are clear, insist that the end of the soul when liberated is bliss,² and it is extremely dubious whether we can really suppose that the Buddha promises annihilation in lieu of the bliss which the rival schools so generously held out as an incentive.

Moreover, apart from probability, there is the fact that the Canon uses terms freely which promise as the end immortality. Thus, when Çākyamuni becomes enlightened, he declares that he has attained immortality and opened the gates therefor,³ and Çāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, dissatisfied with the teaching of Sañjaya, make compact that he who first discovers the immortal will declare it to his friend.⁴ This reminds us of the anxiety of the Brahmins in the later Brāhmaṇa texts and in the Upaniṣads to avoid the constant repetition of death and to find something abiding. We may well believe that it was this desire of the Indian mind that the Buddha was deeply concerned to meet. So again, when the Buddha pronounces on the disappearance of Dabba, the son of Malla, he says nothing of annihilation⁵; one knows not whither goes the fire which slowly dies, nor can one say where go those saints who have won deliverance and attained abiding bliss. The simile adduced is inconsistent with the conception of extinction; the thought of the Upaniṣads⁶ recognizes that the disappearance of flame is not its destruction, but its return to an invisible condition. The saint passes away from all contact with mortality, but that does not mean that he is annihilated absolutely. On the most important occasion of all, the passing away of the master himself, the texts are silent as to any declaration by him

¹ Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, ii, 519-21.

² Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, i, 332.

³ *Mahāvagga*, i, 6, 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 23.

⁵ *Udāna*, viii, 10.

⁶ Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 65, 66; Poussin, *Nirvāṇa*, p. 146.

that he passes into annihilation ; what we are told is that he passes from the sight of gods and men alike, and ceases to be in touch with them.¹ Again, just as the aim of the Brahman is to avoid a return to earth, the formula on attaining the rank of Arhant is " Birth is exhausted for me ; my duties are performed ; I have done what was to be done ; there is no return here " or " There is no further birth ". This carries us absolutely no further than the Brahmanical doctrine, and is sufficient evidence to prove that the Buddha, if he taught annihilation, was extremely careful to conceal the fact from those desiring to become Arhants. Nirvāṇa again, precisely like the Brahmanical Absolute, is happiness (*sukha*), though there is absence of ideation and sensation (*saṃjñā-vedita-nirodha*). In the Brahmanical Absolute also there disappears all trace of empirical thought, the distinction of subject and object, and therewith the possibility of ideation and sensation. But the Absolute is not on that account annihilation. There is abundant evidence² of the reality of Nirvāṇa ; it is the immortal abode of the *Dhammapada*, the place without age or death or suffering, where there is supreme rest and peace, and so forth. Whatever the secret thoughts of the Buddha, it is abundantly clear that he promised something eternal to his disciples, something not born, not made, not conditioned. But it is also clear that the Buddha differed from the Brahmanical conception by regarding Nirvāṇa as the end of striving, and not as the foundation of existence, the Absolute. In his teaching the conception thus took on a definite tinge, which accords with the specialization of the term.

The refusal of the Buddha to deal with matters of metaphysics as not essential to his purpose is sufficiently attested by the famous list of issues upon which he is recorded as having refused to give any answer to inquiries.³ The issues involved include the question whether the world has or has not a beginning in time, whether it is or is not infinite in dimension, and above all whether the Tathāgata exists after death. Or again is the vital principle (*jīva*) the same as the body or is it not ? Various reasons have been given in the scholastic texts and in modern criticism for his attitude of negation. We cannot, of course, be certain that he actually declared his refusal to deal with these points ; this assertion may be a product of later speculation. One point, however, in the traditional enumeration suggests strongly

¹ Poussin, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 150 ff. ; *La morale bouddhique*, pp. 15-21.

³ Poussin, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-129 ; Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-46.

that the list is later than the Buddha himself. The question as to survival is posed, not, as one would expect, regarding the monk in whom the roots of desire are extirpated, but regarding the Tathāgata himself, which suggests that the question was framed after the Buddha had passed away, and when in the congregation the issue arose as to whether he was absolutely extinct, or still remained in existence. This need not preclude us from the belief, in itself perfectly probable, that the Buddha was not a metaphysician, and that he was content with teaching a way of salvation which would lead to the cessation of rebirth with its attendant certainty of misery.

Professor Stcherbatsky's view¹ of the silence of the Buddha is very different. We are invited to remember that we are not dealing with a period of thought in which obscure magic alone could exist, but one in which was produced the grammar of Pāṇini, one of the greatest productions of the human mind. With all respect to Pāṇini, and accepting the date implied, for the sake of the argument, it is wholly impossible thus to rate his grammar, and still more impossible to argue to achievements in philosophy from what was attained in grammar. Moreover, even those who value highly the philosophy of the Upaniṣads may point out that the Buddha was not a Brahman, and, even discounting the suggestion that he was a Mongol, may have lacked the subtle intelligence of the Brahmans, among whom the great Pāṇini was numbered. One might on this line of reasoning suggest that the confused and popular character of the thought of the Buddha is reflected in the inferior character of his language as compared with the Brahmanical Sanskrit, while from living in the eastern lands he failed to come into contact with the best type of Brahmanical mind.² It is impossible on the strength of the milieu to postulate that the Buddha's silence can only be explained by the fact that he regarded the pith of reality as incognisable, a doctrine which doubtless is often found later as in the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* of the Mahāyāna and the Upaniṣad tradition of the answer of silence thrice repeated to the inquirer after the nature of the Absolute. The difficulty of this theory is obvious. It is doubtless impossible to express in any sense an Absolute, whether Buddhist or Brahmanical, but on the view accepted the nature of Nirvāṇa could easily enough

¹ Op. cit., pp. 22, 23.

² Poussin, op. cit., p. 56, rightly insists on the Brahmanical milieu of Buddhism, but that is not to say that the best forms of Brahmanical activity prevailed in Magadha.

be explained as annihilation. Nor is it at all convincing to find the description of Nirvāṇa as the "immortal place" explained¹ as meaning a place where there is neither birth (i.e. rebirth) nor death (i.e. repeated death), that is a changeless, lifeless, and deathless condition. People, it is added, disappear for ever in Nirvāṇa by being extinct. It means a place where there is no death; it does not mean a place where there is eternal life. But there is adduced no authority for this version, and it seems clearly illegitimate. The Brahmins feared that after death they would again die and be born again; the immortal place is one in which this fear is ended; in it one neither dies nor is born again. We know that in the time of Asoka² the Buddhist teaching of the day impressed on the average man the duty of piety for a reward in heaven; the higher doctrine of the Buddha seems clearly to have been a discipline which secured for the disciple something above the temporary joys of heaven, an immortality which did not pass away.

We cannot doubt that the Buddha held the doctrine of retribution, and, this being admitted, it becomes impossible logically³ to believe that he held the doctrine of the denial of the Ātman as it is presented in the Pāli texts. Had he adopted this doctrine he could not with the least consistency have remained silent on the fate of the Tathāgata after death, and the history of the schools confirms the view that he was not the author of the creed of Nairātmya. Had he evolved it, he must have at the same time set forth some doctrine, however unsatisfactory, for the purpose of reconciling the denial of the self with the doctrine that the doer of the deed reaps the fruit, a principle which the Buddhists doggedly accept, and we should not find in the early schools the two very distinct doctrines of the Pudgalavāda⁴ and the Santāna. The former seems much more probably in the line of the thought of the Buddha than the other, though it has been evolved under the influence of the doctrine of Nairātmya. It recognizes in the Pudgala something, an entity (*dravya*), but the relations between it and the Skandhas, which make up empirical life, is inexpressible. It is not other than the Skandhas, for it is not known apart from them, but it is not identic with them, for then it would be subject to birth and death. In fact, it accomplishes deeds, transmigrates,

¹ Op. cit., p. 120.

² Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*, pp. 120 f.; V. Smith, *Asoka*, pp. 63 ff.

³ Poussin, *Nirvāṇa*, pp. 30 ff., 131 f.

⁴ Walleser, *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus*, pp. 60 ff.

eats the fruit of its acts, and enters Nirvāṇa. This suggests to us very strongly that the Buddha simply accepted the doctrine of transmigration, and that it was only later that the school began to develop the view that the self must be negated. The motive for such negation is not difficult to guess. The Buddha was certainly anxious to check human desire as the source of misery, and there can be little doubt that it came to be felt that nothing was so hostile to the extinction of desire as the belief in the existence of a permanent self. In a famous passage of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*¹ Yājñavalkya instructs Maitreyī in the doctrine that the love of wife and child, of Brahmanical honour or warrior state, of wealth, of heaven, of gods, and other creatures, is ultimately nothing but self-love. We may admit that the apparent egoistic character of this pronouncement is to be mitigated by remembering that the individual self is ultimately identical with the absolute, but it can hardly be said that such a doctrine is well adapted to extinguish desire. More simply the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*² declares that nothing is dearer to one than one's own self, and we may justly suspect that the Buddhists came to feel that the belief in a permanent self opposed a grave barrier to the effort to extinguish desire, and that accordingly they came to stress the doctrine that the self was unreal. More logical than the Pudgalavādins, who endeavoured to retain the traditional Pudgala, the Pāli Canon adopts the doctrine of the series³ self, which accords excellently with the analysis which it also accomplished of the individual into the Skandhas. This scholastic doctrine of the Skandhas and the Dharmaś we have no ground for ascribing to the Buddha himself. It is neither naïve nor truly philosophical, nor even moderately intelligible, and, as noted already, it ignores the essential problem of explaining the movement to quiescence of discrete evanescent entities which have existed in a beginningless commotion. The doctrine of the Santāna is an endeavour to rescue from utter shipwreck the scheme of retribution, but, if it succeeds at all, it is at the cost of the general conception of the Dharmaś. That early Buddhism could have been built up on such foundations as a living religion is clearly incredible.

¹ ii, 4, 5; iv, 5, 6; Oldenberg, *Die Lehre der Upanishaden*, p. 197; Formichi, *Indian Studies in Honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman*, 1929, pp. 75-7.

² i, 75.

³ Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 169-76; Poussin, *Nirvāṇa*, pp. 38 ff.; *La morale bouddhique*, pp. 197 ff.

In the same way we cannot accept as representing primitive Buddhism the doctrine of an extinct Buddha corresponding to a lifeless Nirvāṇa. Professor Stecherbatsky himself admits¹ that the tendency to convert the Buddha into a superhuman eternally living principle manifested itself early among his followers and led to a schism. We have, in fact, no reason whatever to hold that the Buddha believed that on death he was extinct or that Nirvāṇa was lifeless. What we do know is that the Buddha appears to have given clear instructions for the paying of veneration to his relics, and the Pāli Canon² represents him as claiming for himself more than mere humanity. How far he felt himself to be the embodiment of the Mahāpuruṣa, heir of a long line of Buddhas, we cannot say. It is possible that it was later tradition which invested him with a legendary divinity, and that he himself claimed to be no more than a teacher who had achieved enlightenment on the needs of suffering mortals. But in this light he is not revealed even in the Pāli Canon, and it may be that the Mahāyāna preserves more of the original doctrine than it is usual to believe.

It may be added that a primitive Buddhism of the kind indicated accords well with the character of Jainism as a doctrine produced in the same region and at the same time. Here³ we find the defiling elements of illusion, desire, aversion, etc., represented as a kind of subtle matter which flows into the body through the pores of the skin and fills it up as does medicine when absorbed, or as sand fills a bag. By taking vows, by meditative and ascetic practices, the entrance to the body is shut off, the influx ceases, and the individual is purified. This primitive doctrine remained long current in Jain circles, and the only excuse for its maintenance must be that it was believed to represent, and probably did represent, the actual views of the master, as its primitive character suggests. It is practically incredible to ascribe to a contemporary of Mahāvīra the refined, if unsatisfactory and complex, doctrine of Dharmas; the two conceptions belong to totally different milieus, and we are without any evidence that at this early date the Sāṃkhya had evolved a satisfactory analysis of elements of body and mind. Indeed to the last the Sāṃkhya treatment of the whole issue of Puruṣa and Prakṛti remains extremely obscure and largely unintelligible. There is, therefore, every reason

¹ Op. cit., pp. 45, 61.

² Keith, op. cit., pp. 27 ff. Cf. Poussin, *La morale bouddhique*, pp. 231 ff.

³ Stecherbatsky, op. cit., p. 57; Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, pp. 158 f.

to hold that the doctrines assigned by Professor Stecherbatsky to the Buddha are the product of later scholasticism, and that they were in large measure far removed from his mode of thought. This view receives confirmation when we examine the philosophical doctrines which the Pāli texts themselves represent as contemporary with the Buddha as in the *Brahmajāla Sutta*. They lack entirely the metaphysical subtlety which would be expected in the milieu of the doctrine of the Dharmas as interpreted by Professor Stecherbatsky and Rosenberg.¹ On the other hand, there is sufficient evidence in the texts of the existence of that system which manifestly permeates the practice of Buddhism, the Yoga.² When all is said, it is clear that there is in Buddhism the fundamental principle of Yoga, the practice of ecstasy induced by something in the nature of the hypnotic trance, as well as the belief in transmigration. The Buddha's way is a mean course in which the excesses of asceticism are normally checked; but there is clearly no essential difference between Brahmanical and Buddhist Yoga; nor can the latter claim superiority of intellectual foundation over the former.

Professor Stecherbatsky³ contends that within the plane of Hīnayāna Buddhism there is no place for trivial sorcery, and he objects⁴ to the description of the Buddha as a magician of a trivial and a vulgar kind. But his objection is based on ignoring the actual statement,⁵ which is not that the Buddha was of the character mentioned but that the intellectual standard of the milieu in which the *Dīgha Nikāya* was composed was indicated "by the admission into the Canon of the Pāṭika Suttanta in which the Buddha appears as a magician of a trivial and vulgar kind." It seems impossible to negate this judgment of the character of that text, and it is hardly satisfactory to treat all forms of mysticism alike⁶; the Tantras illustrate this point adequately, and the Pāli Canon itself has some appreciation of the divergence between higher and lower forms. But what is important is that the Nikāyas exhibit so slight a development of philosophical insight as to render it impossible to accept the suggestions of Professors Rosenberg and Stecherbatsky as to the

¹ *Die Probleme der buddhistischer Philosophie*, 1924.

² Poussin, *Nīrvaṇa*, pp. 10 ff.; Senart, *Origines bouddhiques: Das Gupta, Yoga Philosophy*, 1930.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 6, n. 1.

⁵ Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 19.

⁶ Stecherbatsky, *op. cit.*, p. 19, n. 1.

significance of the doctrine of Dharmas. As Professor Walleser points out,¹ the treatment of this issue in the Sarvāstivādin school is utterly naïve; the fifty-seven categories are enunciated without any real attempt to discriminate between content of consciousness, form of consciousness, and subject, and to explain their interrelation, and the *Kathāvatthu*, which post-dates the Buddha by several centuries,² shows a complete inability to develop an intelligent dialectical method. If we ascribe to the Buddha the doctrine of the transitory character of existence, which serves as an incentive to seek Nirvāṇa, we cannot attempt to father on him the later efforts to expound a theory of momentary being. How far we may regard his view of the world as pessimistic³ is uncertain; the history of the schools suggests that his view was not that pleasures *per se* were painful, but that they were to be disregarded as temptations to refrain from seeking the abiding happiness which consisted in Nirvāṇa.

The picture we can thus form of the doctrines of the Buddha himself must be conjectural and uncertain, but it has the merit of being in accord with the probability that his doctrines were far removed from the refinements of the scholastic philosophy as preserved in the Pāli Canon, which presents the appearance of being the product of much discussion by contending schools whose existence tradition emphatically asserts.

¹ *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus*, p. 75.

² Walleser, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-12, now admits this. Cf. Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 ff.; Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*, pp. 135-9.

³ Poussin, *Nirvāṇa*, pp. viii, 123.

Note on a Kharoṣṭhi Akṣara

By STEN KONOW

IN his admirable introduction to the Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan, Professor Rapson has analysed the various compound letters of the Kharoṣṭhi alphabet in such a way that his results will generally be accepted as final. It will no doubt in future be possible to throw fresh light on some minor details, but it is hardly conceivable that any serious objection will be raised against his deductions.

My object in writing these lines is, in the first place, to join those fellow students who wish to give expression to their sincere admiration of Professor Rapson's scholarship and work, and then to bring together some additional material which, in my opinion, will have to be considered in connection with one small detail dealt with in the said introduction, viz. the interpretation of the sign which has been variously transcribed as *tsa* and *tṣa*.

After quoting the opinion of Bühler, Professor Rapson, l.c., p. 314, says: "It must be admitted that the form of this character, as it appears in some of the stone inscriptions, is most naturally explained as consisting of *t* superimposed on *ṣa*. But there can be no doubt that in the Niya documents the reading *tsa* is correct, since the akṣara *tsu* is found in the word *utsuka* in the Buddhist Sanskrit verses of No. 511, the language of which, although containing a few Prakrit forms, is predominantly Sanskritic in its phonology. We may conclude, then, that the same sign has the same value when it occurs in other documents in such words as *saṃvaṭsare* (passim) and *saṃvaṭsi* (inscr. No. 7); and we must suppose that the lower portion represents *sa* written cursively in a manner which effectually disguises its origin, as in the very similar akṣara *ṇsa* which M. Senart has identified in the MS. D. de Rh."

It will be seen that the words mentioned by Professor Rapson are all tatsamas or pure Sanskrit, and as Sanskrit was certainly to some extent known to the Turkestan scribes, it is a priori likely that the sign in question has the same value as in Sanskrit.

If we abstract from the many names and some non-Indian terms, which cannot, at the present stage of our knowledge, be utilized for ascertaining the actual sound, it will be seen that the akṣara is not often used. In addition to the words quoted above, we have

mātsarīṭayā in No. 523, *piṃtsāmanā* in No. 510, and *maṃtsa*, *māṃtsa* in Nos. 252, 358, 514, 635, and 676. Of these *mātsarīṭayā* is Sanskrit, standing for *matsarīṭayā*, and does not prove anything for the Prakrit of the records. *Piṃtsāmanā* occurs in a stanza which, according to Professor Lüders, is taken from the Prātimokṣasūtra. If it stands for *piṃtsamānaḥ* it must probably be derived from the base *paṃs*, to hurt, as proposed by Professor Rapson. *Maṃtsa*, *māṃtsa*, finally, stands for Sanskrit *māṃsa*, flesh, meat.

The two last words accordingly show a peculiar development of *ms* to *nts*, which may represent a phonetic feature of the north-western Prakrit from which the document language is derived. But it is hardly possible to arrive at any certain results with regard to the actual sound from the inscriptions themselves. The use of *ts* in the word *utsuka* is not conclusive. From forms such as *osuka*, Skr. *autsukya*, we can infer that the dialect form was *ussua* or *ūsua*, and it is quite conceivable that *utsuka* represents an attempt at noting the Sanskrit sound by means of an akṣara which was used with a similar, but not necessarily identical, value in writing genuine dialect words.

Since the document language is a Prakrit it may be of interest to recall the fact that *ts* regularly becomes *cc*h in all other Prakrits, with the exception of Māgadhī, where the grammarians enjoin the change to *śc*; cf. the examples in Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākritisprachen*, § 327. A priori it might be maintained that a similar state of things would be likely in the document dialect, and that *ts* might represent a somewhat intermediate stage of development. The dialect, however, differs from other Prakrits in so many features that we are not justified in drawing any such conclusion.

On the other hand, it is in its base practically identical with the north-western Prakrit which we know from the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript and from Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, and it becomes incumbent on us to examine the state of things in that form of speech.

In the MS. Dutreuil de Rhins, which I shall henceforth quote as Dhp., retaining M. Senart's numbering of the folios and lines, Professor Rapson accepts M. Senart's reading of a "very similar" akṣara, which I take to be identical with the letter now under discussion, as *ṇs*. It occurs in the following words: *saṃsara*, Skr. *saṃsāra*, A 2^a; *saṃsana*, Skr. *saṃsanna*, A 3^a; *ahiṃsai*, Skr. *ahiṃsāyām*, A 4^b; *bhaṃsai*, Buddhist Skr. *bhramayinsu*, B 34; *bheṃsiti*, Skr. *bhetsyati*, C^{oo} 3; *maṃsana*, Skr. *māṃsyanām*, C^{oo} xviii^a = C^{oo} 6.

It will be seen that the akṣara is used both where the corresponding Skr. forms have *ṃs*, in which case it would be conceivable that something like *ṃs* might have developed, though the document language, as we have seen, has *ṃts* in similar cases, and also where we have Skr. *ts*, or rather *tsy*, and here it seems difficult to understand how *ṃs* could have developed. M. Senart's comparison of forms such as *bhṃsana* for *bhṃṣaṇa*, with the not infrequent "nasalization before a sibilant", does not help to elucidate the development, because we should then have to make the unwarranted supposition that *ts* might become *ss*, *s*, even where *t* is not final in a prefix, such as is the case in *ussua*, Skr. *utsuka*.

Now M. Senart himself remarks, in commenting on the form *bhṃsiti*, that it might be thought proper to read *ts*, and his reason for not doing so was that he could not see how the reading *ts* was possible in *saṃsara*. Now that such forms have been found in the Kharoṣṭhī documents, it seems necessary to transliterate the akṣara as *ts* throughout in Dhp., i.e. to read *satsara*, *satsana*, *ahitsai*, *bhametsu*, *bhetsidi*,¹ *matsaṇa*.

In Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions the same akṣara is used in the word *saṃvatsara*, which occurs in various slightly differing forms, and perhaps in *saṃtsare*, Skr. *saṃsāre*.

In all these sources we accordingly find the same state of things: the akṣara denotes a sound corresponding to Skr. *ts* or *tsy* and also to *s* after old *n*. But we have not so far found any indication of the nature of the sound.

The use of the akṣara for old *tsy* in *bhetsidi*, Skr. *bhetsyati*; *matsa*, Skr. *matsya*, might a priori be taken as an indication that the *s* was slightly palatalized, and I have already mentioned that the akṣara looks like *t* superimposed on *śa*. There is also another detail which seems to point in a similar direction. A 3¹⁷ and B 21 we find *praśajhadi*, i.e. *praśaṃjhaṃdi*, for Skr. *praśaṃsanti*. In both places *jh* is written as *ja*, surmounted by a horizontal stroke, and this same sign is elsewhere used where Skr. has *dhya*, e.g. in *jhaṇa*, Skr. *dhyaṇa*, B 16. The akṣara, as well as the ordinary *jh*, always seems to denote a voiced palatal and never a voiced *s* in Dhp. We have no right to assume a different sound in *praśajhadi*; and it seems necessary to assume that here we have to do with a voicing of *ts* after a nasal, in

¹ For the distinction between *t* and *d*, *ṣ* and *n*, see my remarks in *Festschrift für Ernst Windisch*, pp. 85 ff.

the same way as *t* has become *d* after *n* in the final syllable of the word, and this would point to the conclusion that our akṣara was actually pronounced *tṣa* or almost *ca*. But it is, of course, possible that *jha* is used to denote *dz*.

There still remains one source which might possibly throw some light on the question about the value of the akṣara *ts*, viz. the Khotanī Saka language. It can be shown that the north-western Prakrit of the Turkestan documents has exercised considerable influence on this form of speech, and I hope to do so in another place. Saka is written in Brāhmī, and the corresponding akṣara is a distinct *ts* and not *tṣ*. It is used in loanwords such as *avātsara*, Skr. *apsaras*, and *saṃtsāra*, Skr. *saṃsāra*, and in some few indigenous words, viz. an unidentified *katsira* (Maitreyasamiti); *ggaṃtsa*, loc. *ggaṃcha*, hole, hollow; *pyaṃtsa*, which is used to translate Skr. *pratimukha*; *haṃtsa*, together with; *tsu*, to go; *tsāta*, rich, and *tsāṣṭa*, peaceful, at rest.

A priori the Brāhmī *ts* seems to decide the question: we have actually to do with *ts* and not with *tṣ*. After having discussed the matter with my friend Professor Georg Morgenstierne, who knows much more about Iranian languages than I do, I have, however, arrived at the conclusion that the matter is not quite so simple as it would appear at first sight.

The etymology of words such as *ggaṃtsa*, *haṃtsa*, *pyaṃtsa* is not known to me. *Tsu* represents an Aryan *cyu*, Avestan *šyu*; *tsāta* corresponds to Avestan *šyāta*, and *tsāṣṭa* is the past participle of the inchoative of the same base, cf. Latin *quietus*. Here we accordingly have a regular development of Aryan *cy* to *ts*, and, in order to arrive at some result regarding the actual sound, it seems advisable to start from such words, where the etymology is perfectly clear.

In Saka Aryan *c* regularly becomes *tc*, just as *j* becomes *js*, and the only question is how these akṣaras should be read. Professor Morgenstierne has pointed out to me that a comparison of the state of things in modern Iranian languages related with Saka, such as Pashto and the Pamir languages, leads to the conclusion that *tc* stands for *ts* and *js* for *dz*; cf. Saka *tcāhaure*, Pashtu *tsalōr*, four; Saka *paṃjsa*, Pashto *piṃdza*, five, etc. And a consideration of the akṣaras themselves would naturally lead us to think of some combination of a dental and an *s*-sound. Moreover, some features point to the conclusion that such was actually the case.

It is a well-known fact that in Saka several consonants are

palatalized through the influence of an ensuing *y*, and in the case of *tc* and *jc* the results of this palatalization are *c* and *j*, respectively : cf. *ūca*, loc. of *ūtea*, water ; *pañjyau*, instr. abl. of *pañsa*, five. *C* and *j*, for which we also find *ky*, *gy*, respectively, certainly have the same sound as in Sanskrit, and it is not easy to understand what depalatalized *c* and *j* could be else than *ts*, *dz*, respectively.

If, now, Aryan *c* becomes Saka *ts*, we should certainly expect *cy* to become a palatalized *ts*, i.e. some sound approaching *c*, and it is evident that Saka *ts* cannot be the affricate *ts* with a dental *s*, but rather *tś*. When this sound is further palatalized, as in *ggamcha*, loc. of *ggamtsa*, *ch* is written, but we have no means of ascertaining what is meant with this *ch*.

From the viewpoint of Saka it, therefore, seems as if the Brāhmi *ts* is an adaptation of Kharoṣṭhī *ts*, and that this akṣara cannot well have been a *ts*, but rather, as the shape of the akṣara would seem to imply, *tś*.

The details drawn attention to above are not conclusive, but I have thought it advisable to put them together, because they may prove of interest for the question about the value of the Kharoṣṭhī akṣara.

À propos du Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa d'Āryadeva

PAR LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN

HARAPRASĀD SHĀSTRĪ a publié dans le *Journal de la Société Asiatique du Bengale*, vol. LXVII, part i, n° 2, p. 175-84 (1898) un petit traité attribué à Āryadeva. Quelques lacunes. Le titre *Cittaviśuddhi* est indiqué dans le dernier vers : indication confirmée par le *Subhāṣitasamgraha* (éd. C. Bendall, Muséon, 1904) qui cite un long fragment : *cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇe āryadevapādair uktam*. C. Bendall n'a pas manqué de découvrir dans le Tandjour (Rgyud, 33, Cordier, p. 136) le *Cittāvaraṇaviśodhana*, d'Āryadeva, trad. par Jñānākara et Thsul-khrims-rgyal-ba, et de constater l'identité des deux ouvrages. Enfin, dans la première partie de ses *Études sur Āryadeva et son Catuṣṣataka*, 1923, P. L. Vaidya a diligemment résumé les doctrines du *Cittaviśuddhi* ou *Cittāvaraṇaviśodhana*.

C'est du Tantrisme très évolué et très complet. Théorie de l'*ekakṣaṇābhisambodhi*, acquisition instantanée de la Bodhi ; identification du sperme et du sang avec les cinq Bouddhas : *pañcabuddhātmakaṃ śukraṃ śoṇitaṃ cāpi tādṛśam* ; identification de l'œil avec Vairocana, du corps avec Heruka, et le reste. Un curieux morceau de polémique contre les bains dans le Gange : si l'eau purifiait, les poissons seraient des saints.

L'auteur est habile à établir des ponts entre le Tantrisme et le Bouddhisme authentique. Les pratiques les plus osées sont justifiées par des considérations morales et philosophiques puisées aux meilleures sources, décalquées des meilleurs traités.

1. D'une part, le Mahāyāna croit que la charité autorise tous les manquements aux règles. Sur ce point, le schéma du Vinaya des Bodhisattvas qu'établit Asaṅga dans *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (deuxième partie du *Yogaśāstra*) apporte toute la clarté désirable : les casuistes du Grand Véhicule précisent les cas où le futur saint doit commettre vol, assassinat, mensonge (Voir *Le Vinaya et la pureté d'intention*, Ac. de Belgique, juin, 1929). On ne peut donc contester l'orthodoxie mahāyāniste d'une formule comme la suivante :

*bodhicittaṃ samutpādyā sambodhau kṛtacetasā |
tan nāsti yan na kartavyaṃ jagaduddharaṇāśayāt ||*

“Celui qui a produit le vœu de devenir un Bouddha, dont la pensée est fixée sur l'Illumination, il n'est rien qu'il ne doive faire dans l'intention de sauver le monde.”

C'est l'intention qui fait la moralité de l'acte : *nāpattiḥ śubha-cetasū*, “Point de péché quand l'intention est bonne.” Et même, *na stūpakhalane doṣaḥ*, “Aucun mal à détruire un Stūpa.” On sait que ce sacrilège est un des cinq *upānantaryas*, un des cinq péchés quasi mortels : c'est détruire le corps même du Bouddha.

2. D'autre part, du point de vue du “vide” ou de la *tathatā*, les distinctions apparaissent comme des créations de l'imagination erronée. Notre auteur dit :

saṃsāraṃ caiva nirvāṇaṃ manyante 'tattvadarśinaḥ |
na saṃsāraṃ na nirvāṇaṃ manyante tattvadarśinaḥ ||

“Ceux qui ne voient pas la Vérité distinguent le Saṃsāra et le Nirvāṇa ; ceux qui voient la Vérité n'ont idée ni du Saṃsāra ni du Nirvāṇa.”

Ils possèdent en effet le *śamatāñjāna*, le savoir de l'égalité ou de l'identité, qui est un des quatre savoirs constitutifs de l'Illumination.

3. Mais de ces principes, les Tāntrikas tirent des conclusions contestables, et rédigées en mauvais style.

yathaiva rajako vastraṃ malenaiva tu nirmalam |
kuryād vijñas tathātmānaṃ malenaiva tu nirmalam ||
yathā bhavati saṃśuddho raṇonighṛṣṭadurpaṇaḥ |
sevitas tu tathā vijñair doṣo doṣavināśanaḥ | . . .
kaṇṭhāj jalaṃ jalenaiva kaṇṭakenaiva kaṇṭakam |
rāgeṇaiva tathā rāgaṃ uddharanti manīṣiṇaḥ ||

“On nettoie un vêtement avec des choses sales, un miroir avec de la poussière ; on enlève une épine avec une épine. . . . De même le sage chasse l'ordure par l'ordure, pratique le mal pour détruire le mal, déracine la convoitise par la convoitise. . . .”

L'intention et le savoir-faire :

lohapinḍo jale kṣipto majjaty eva tu kevalam |
pātrikṛtaṃ tad evānyaṃ tārayet tarati svayam ||
tadevat pātrikṛtaṃ cittaṃ prajñopāyavidhānataḥ |
bhuñjāno mucyate kāmān¹ mocayaty aparān api ||

“Une masse de fer, jetée dans l'eau, coule aussitôt. Modelez-la en vaisseau ; elle flotte, traverse l'eau, et transporte. De même, lorsque la pensée est modelée en vaisseau par la possession de la

¹ Le texte porte *kāmam*.

Science et de l'Intention, on peut jouir du plaisir : on se délivre et on délivre les autres du désir."

Les modernes étudiants du Tantrisme n'ont pas remarqué que le *Sūtrālaṃkāra* de *Maitreya-Asaṅga* (XIII, 11-13, éd. S. Lévi, p. 87) enseigne le *kleśata eva kleśaniḥsaraṇam*, " C'est par le kleśa, passion ou souillure, qu'on peut sortir du kleśa." Le commentaire (*Asaṅga*) cite des fragments de *Sūtra* : *nāham anyatra rāgād rāgasya niḥsaraṇam vadāmi*, " Je le dis : c'est seulement par le désir qu'on peut sortir du désir,"¹ et encore : *avidyā ca bodhiś caikam*, " Ignorance (ou vue fausse) et Bodhi (parfaite intuition), c'est la même chose."

À vrai dire, *Maitreya* n'ordonne pas la pratique du désir en vue de l'expulsion du désir, en vue de la " sortie du désir ". Lorsque le *Bouddha* enseigne : " On ne sort du Désir que par le Désir," il veut dire : " On se délivre du désir lorsqu'on connaît la vraie nature du désir ; lorsqu'on sait que le désir n'existe pas en dehors de la nature même du désir : la nature transcendante (*dharma*tā ou *tathatā*) du mal (*akuśala*) est la nature transcendante du bien (*kuśala*). " Celui qui connaît en vérité le désir et les autres kleśas, est délivré des kleśas ; par conséquent les kleśas, connus, sont la sortie des kleśas : *parijñātās ta eva teṣāṃ niḥsaraṇam bhavanti*.

C'est une vieille comparaison : le poison, mangé suivant les règles, devient de l'ambrosie (*viṣam amṛtāyate*) ; tandis que le *daṭṭhi*, mangé contre les règles, devient du poison (*viṣāyate*). Je manque, toutefois, à la rencontrer dans les sources bouddhiques. Mais la comparaison de la masse de fer et du vaisseau de fer est bien connue. *Vasubandhu* (*Kośa*, VI, p. 205) cite une *gāthā* :

kṛtvābudho 'lpam api pāpam adhaḥ prayāti
kṛtvā budho mahad api prajāhāty anarthaṃ |
lohaṃ jale 'lpam api majjati piṇḍarūpam
pātrikṛtaṃ mahad api plavate tad eva ||

Il faut rapprocher *Milinda*, sur le caillou qui coule et les grandes pierres qui flottent lorsqu'elles sont placées sur un bateau (*Demiéville*, " Versions chinoises du *Milinda*," *BEFEO*, 1924, p. 166) : Si un homme

¹ Ce *Sūtra* m'est d'ailleurs inconnu. Voir les références de Rhys Davids-Stede s. voc. *nissaraṇa*, *nissaraṇāyadhātu* ; en outre *Udāna*, III, 10 ; *Kośa*, II, p. 200 ; III, p. 10 ; VI, p. 239 ; VII, pp. 32, 33, 37 ; et surtout VIII, pp. 140-1. La doctrine est qu'on sort des Rūpas par les Ārūpyas ; qu'on ne sort pas du *bhava* par le *bhava*. Notons toutefois que, d'après les sources de *Nettipakaraṇa*, p. 87 (voir les *Sūtras* cités *Kośa*, III, p. 115), on s'appuie sur le *māna* pour expulser le *māna*, sur la *trṣṇā* pour expulser la *trṣṇā* : le *māna* peut être bon (*kuśala*).

foncièrement mauvais pense une seule fois au Bouddha, il n'entrera pas dans l'enfer, il naîtra en haut dans le ciel. Le petit caillou qui coule est pareil à un homme faisant le mal et ne connaissant pas les Sūtras du Bouddha : après sa mort, il entrera en enfer.

Pour Vasubandhu, il n'est pas question du grave péché que commettrait un sage, *budha*, un homme qui est entré dans le chemin et qui est incapable de grave péché : il est question du grave péché que le sage a commis avant de devenir un sage : son âme est devenue réfractaire à la fructification du péché.

Dans le même ordre d'idées, un morceau de sel sale un verre d'eau mais ne sale pas le Gange (*Āṅguttara*, I, p. 280).

4. La différence de style est grande entre les diverses parties de ce petit ouvrage. Des stances bien frappées à côté de ślokas que soutiennent mal des chevilles entassées. L'auteur a pris son bien dans des Tantras et dans des Śāstras. La chose, du moins, est certaine pour le vers 83 :

yathā prākṛtako loko yogilokena bādhyate |
bādhyante dhīviśeṣeṇa yogino 'py uttarottaraiḥ ||

qui vient de Bodhicaryāvatāra, chap. XI, kār. 3-4. J'ai rencontré dans la version de la *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* de *Hsuan-tsang*, p. 548, et suiv., cette déclaration de Candrakīrti et la doctrine de la multiplicité du *saṃvṛtisatya*, vérité d'apparence, vérité du monde des causes et des effets, vérité de l'ordre contingent.

Il y a une fausse *saṃvṛti* : ce que voit l'homme atteint d'ophtalmie, une vraie *saṃvṛti* : ce que voit l'homme aux bons yeux. À l'eau du mirage s'oppose l'eau véritable. La vraie *saṃvṛti* est la *lokasaṃvṛti*, le *lokasaṃvṛtisatya* : ce qui est admis pour vrai dans le monde, ce que l'expérience (*vyavahāra*) ne contredit (*bādhyate*) pas.

Cette vérité commune ou des hommes vulgaires (*prākṛtaka*) est contredite par la vérité des Yogins : celle-ci est multiple. Certain Yogin reconnaît que la femme est impure ; certain Yogin reconnaît que la femme n'existe pas comme femme, mais n'est qu'un assemblage de *dharma*s (Petit Véhicule) ; certain Yogin reconnaît l'insubstantialité des *dharma*s, qui ne sont que des fantômes irréels, qui n'existent pas en dehors de la pensée qui les imagine, qui ne sont que des aspects temporaires et fictifs d'une immuable et ineffable réalité. C'est ainsi que les Yogins se contredisent les uns et les autres.

Toute *buddhi*, toute pensée intelligible, est, par définition fausse ; mais, pour sortir de la *buddhi* et arriver à l'ineffable réalité, il faut se

servir de l'illusion, de la *buddhi*. Les écoles orthodoxes enseignent un long chemin de l'illumination par l'ascèse morale (*śrāmaṇya*) et l'effort intellectuel (*sāṃkhya*, dirait la *Gītā*). Le "tantricisant" Āryadeva de notre texte veut que le Yogin, le vrai Yogin, dédaigne la contemplation de la *tathatā*, méprise les vieilles règles d'ascétisme. Sa pensée est bien exprimée dans une ligne des Tantras :

sarvāsām eva māyānām strīmāyaiva viśiṣyate

"La meilleure des illusions est l'illusion qui s'appelle femme."

L'Upaniṣad, on s'en souvient, compare l'homme identifié à l'Ātman à l'homme qui, embrassé par une femme, ne sait plus rien ni du dedans ni du dehors. L'antiquité des rites tantriques ne fait pas de doute : sur ce point, un récent article de Chintaparan Chakravarti, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VI, p. 114, est à remarquer. Mais nous sommes mal renseignés sur la date où rites et spéculations de la main gauche furent organisés en Vajrayāna.

On sait que le Sūtrālamkāra d'Asaṅga condamne la doctrine du "Bouddha sans commencement", plusieurs siècles avant toute référence positive à cette doctrine. Faut-il penser que la théorie du *rāga* "échappatoire du *rāga*", comme Asaṅga la formule, vise à corriger, dans le sens de l'orthodoxe ascétisme, une théorie tantrique, la théorie du "lavage dans l'eau sale" que préconise notre Āryadeva ?

Un nouveau document sur le bouddhisme de basse époque dans l'Inde

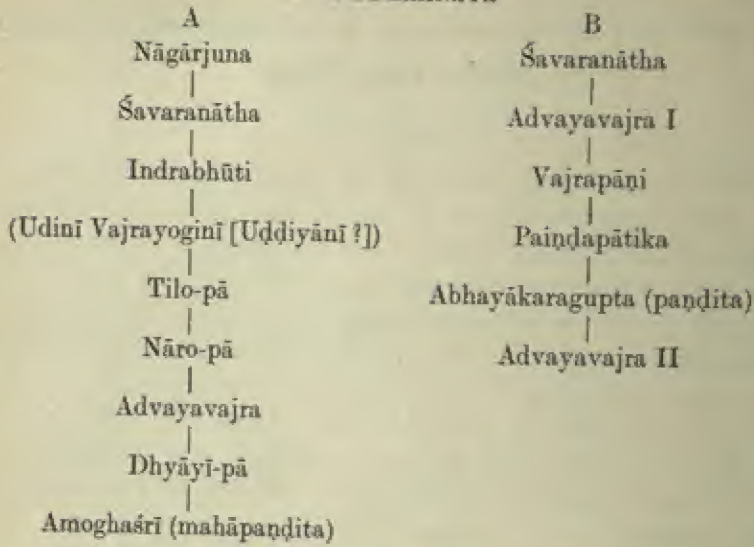
PAR SYLVAIN LÉVI

LORS de mon court passage au Népal dans l'été de 1928, le Général Kaisar Shum Shere, un des fils du maharaja Chandra Shum Shere, m'avait invité à examiner la belle collection de manuscrits qu'il a formée avec autant de goût que de zèle. C'est là que j'ai eu l'occasion de trouver les fragments que je publie ici. Le successeur de Chandra Shum Shere, le maharaja Bhim Shum Shere, qui porte aux recherches scientifiques le même intérêt que son frère aîné, a bien voulu m'envoyer la copie de ces feuillets. L'original, autant qu'il me souvient, est tracé sur des feuilles de palmier de petit format, en belle écriture du moyen âge népalais ; la langue en est généralement assez correcte. Je n'ai corrigé que les erreurs évidentes ; mais j'ai respecté les irrégularités qui peuvent être dues à l'auteur lui-même, et laissé tels quels les passages de sens obscur ou douteux.

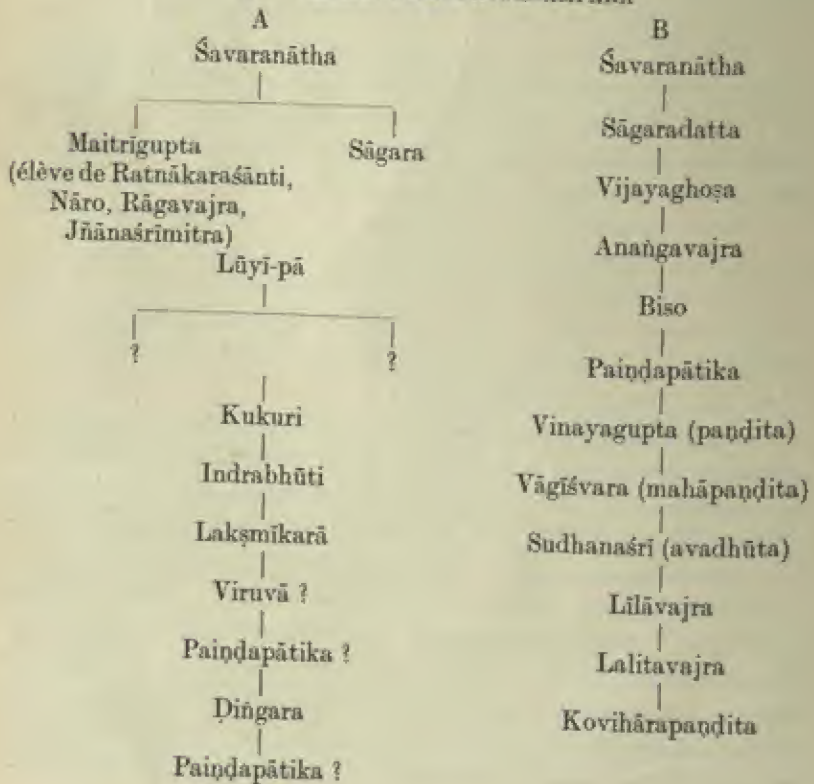
L'ensemble se rapporte au culte tantrique de Vajrayoginī, une divinité encore populaire au Népal ; le village de Sanku, à l'amorce de la route qui mène au Tibet—route qui reste fermée aux Européens depuis près de deux siècles—possède un temple fameux consacré à cette déesse. L'ouvrage dont nous avons ici un fragment donnait l'historique, naturellement légendaire, de ce culte, la transmission de maîtres à disciples, et le rituel. C'est un spécimen curieux des documents qui ont dû servir de base au lama Tāranātha pour ses précieuses compilations en tibétain. Il ne sera pas inutile, en vue des recherches ultérieures, de dresser ici les tables de succession spirituelle fournies par ce texte. (*Voir au verso, page 418.*)

Ces diverses listes se différencient des deux listes de succession spirituelle reproduites par l'éditeur de la *Sādhana-mālā* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, n° XLI), p. xli, l'une d'après le Catalogue du Tandjour (Cordier, II, p. 211 ; Rgyud, XLVI, n° 1-8), l'autre d'après l'éditeur du *Cakrasambhara tantra*. Toutes contiennent pourtant un certain nombre d'éléments communs. Les noms nouveaux, autant que je sache, sont : Dhyāyī, Amoghaśrī, Vijayaghōṣa, Biso, Vinayagupta, Vāgīśvara, Sudhanaśrī. Viruvā peut être Virūpa, qui est l'auteur (entre autres œuvres) d'un *Uddiyānaśrīyoginīsvayambhūsaṃbhogaśmaśānakalpa* Rgyud, XXVI, 63. Ḍiṅgāra peut être le personnage connu par ailleurs sous le nom de Denki (84 Siddhas) ou Tenggi (Tāra-

I. SIDDHĀMNĀYA



II. VAJRAYOGINĪGURUPARAMPARĀ



nātha). Tous les autres figurent déjà dans d'autres textes ; ce n'est pas ici le lieu d'entrer dans le détail de leur biographie ; je me contente d'indiquer brièvement les principales références à : 1° *Sādhana-mālā*, éd. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, Introd. au vol. II (S.) ; 2° Grünwedel, *Tāranātha's Edelsteinmine* . . . aus dem Tibetischen übersetzt, Bibl. Buddhica, XVIII, 1914 (G.) ; 3° *Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus*, trad. Schiefner (T.) ; 4° *Bauddha gān o dohā*, éd. Haraprasad Sastri, Bangiyasāhityapariṣad granthāvalī, n° 55 (B.) ; 5° Shahidullah, *Les chants mystiques de Kāṇha et Saraha*, 1928 (Sh.) ; 6° Grünwedel, *Die Geschichten der Vierundachtzig Zauberer (Mahāsiddhas)*, dans Baessler Archiv. V, 1916, 137 sqq. (Z.).

Abhayākara-gupta : S. xc, n° 1 ; G. 109 ; T. 250-2.

Advaya-vajra : V. inf. à la suite de cette liste.

Anaṅga-vajra : G. 44 ; cf. *Two Vajrayāna Works*, Gaekwad's Or. Series, XLIV, Intr. p. xi.

Indrabhūti : S. xli et xlviii, n° 12 ; G. 40 et pass. ; cf. *Two Vajrayāna Works*, Intr. p. xii ; Z. 185.

Kukuri : S. cii, n° 18 ; G. 104 ; B. 32, n° 23 ; Z. 179.

Jñānaśrimitra : G. 104 ; T. 241 (son prakaraṇa mentionné ici est probablement le Vajrayānāntadvayavivṛti, Tandjour Rgyud LXXII, n° 10).

Lakṣmīkarā : S. lii ; G. 51 ; Z. 219.

Lalitavajra : G. 104 et 73 ; T. 189.

Līlāvajra : G. 104 ; T. 214-5.

Lūyī-pā : G. 20 ; B. 21, n° 1 ; Sh. 18-19 ; Z. 143.

Maitrīgupta ou Maitrīpādāḥ : G. 23 ; T. 248 ; Sh. 30-1.

Naro-pā : G. 74-5, 79 ; T. 239 ; Z. 168.

Ratnākaraśānti : S. cxi, n° 32 ; G. 105 ; T. 235 ; Z. 156.

Śavaranaṅtha (Śavari) : S. xli et cxiv n° 36 ("he seems to have been the originator of the Vajrayoginī cult" ; cf. ib. p. 456, n° 235, colophon : evaṃ nandyaṅvartena Siddha Śavarapādiyamata Vajrayoginyārādhana vidhiḥ) ; G. 19 sqq. ; T. 88 ; Z. 148.

Sāgara (datta) ; G. 24.

Tilo-pā : G. 20 ; T. 226 et n° 5 ; Z. 170.

Vajrapāṇi : G. 27 (un des quatre grands disciples de Maitrī(gupta)).

Le nom d'Advaya-vajra est trop banal pour qu'on puisse identifier avec certitude les deux personnages de nos listes (et de plus un troisième qui paraît être Maitrīgupta lui-même). Mais l'un d'entre eux est bien certainement le même que l'auteur du "Vajrayoginī sukhottara-saṃvaranirṇayasvarthaka maṇḍala" dans le Tandjour Rgyud XIV,

n° 65, et aussi l'auteur des opuscules publiés par Benoytosh Bhattacharya sous le titre de *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, (Gaekwad's Orient. Ser., XL). Le dernier texte de ce recueil a précisément pour objet l'*amanasikāra* auquel se rattachent nos textes (*amanasikārāmnāya* et *amanasikāra yathāśrutakrama*). L'*Amanasikārādhāra* d'*Advayavajra* est une dissertation grammaticale qui tend à préciser les divers sens possibles de ce terme technique, sur lequel on discutait beaucoup (*bahavo vipratīpannāḥ*). *Advayavajra* l'analyse en deux termes : la lettre *a* [prise comme le symbole de l'*anupāda* des dharmas, ou du *nairātmya*, ou du *prabhāsvapada*] + *manasikāra* "activité mentale" ou encore = *svādhiṣṭhānapada* ; c'est le symbole de la doctrine de la *śūnyatākaraṇā* exposée dans les textes du même recueil (cf. Introd. de l'éditeur p. xxxv-vi). Ce n'est pas non plus ici le lieu d'entrer dans la discussion des problèmes chronologiques posés par ces listes. Les synchronismes fournis par Tāranātha pour plusieurs de ces noms suggèrent la période des Pālas, entre le ix^e et le xi^e siècle. Pour Śāvaranātha et Indrabhūti, les indices portent à remonter plus haut jusqu'au vii^e-viii^e siècle.

Le récit, souvent obscur, par la faute ou par la volonté de l'auteur, s'éclaircit sur quelques points par une comparaison avec le Bka' baba bdun ldan traduit par Grünwedel sous le titre de : *Edelsteinmine* ; p. ex. l'épisode de "Ratnamati montré (dans un miroir)" ib., p. 19. Mais dans ces cas-là même, Tāranātha s'écarte notablement de notre texte. Ainsi Śāvaranātha est ici le fils d'un danseur (*naṭa*) nommé Loka et de sa femme appelée Gaurā ; chez Tāranātha Logi et Guni sont les noms des deux sœurs de Śāvari, dont le père est bien un "Tanzmeister". Tāranātha ne nomme parmi les gurus de Maitrīgupta que Ratnākaraśānti, mais il connaît sa visite à Vikramaśīla, où il est, selon notre texte, l'élève de Jñānaśrīmitra. Le voyage de Maitrīgupta en compagnie de Śāgara, à la recherche de Śāvaranātha, se retrouve de part et d'autre ; mais Tāranātha a ici un récit beaucoup plus détaillé.

Le détail le plus important fourni par notre texte semble être l'indication du berceau de Nāgārjuna. Tandis que le plupart des sources se contentent de désigner comme son origine l'Inde du sud ou le pays de Vidarbha, ici c'est la ville de Karahāṭaka qui est nommée désignée comme sa patrie. Karahāṭaka est connu par d'autres textes ; son nom, à peine altéré, survit sous la forme Karhād, officiellement Karād ; la ville est située dans le district de Satara, au sud de Bombay, par 17° 7' N. et 74° 11' E. Elle a donné son nom à une

subdivision de la caste brahmanique. À 3 milles S.O. de la ville se trouve un groupe de grottes bouddhiques "d'un type simple et très primitif". Si Karhad est le berceau de Nāgārjuna, il pourrait être intéressant de reprendre l'étude des grottes de ce point de vue.

À propos de Nāgārjuna, je crois utile de signaler ici une indication fournie par la Rasopaniṣad ; le texte est édité dans la Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, n° XCII, par K. Sambasiva Sastri, qui a recueilli l'héritage lourd à porter du glorieux Ganapati Sastri et qui a réussi à maintenir le niveau de cette belle collection ; il a commencé cette année la publication du précieux commentaire de Skandasvāmin sur le R̥gveda et rend par là un service capital aux études védiques. La Rasopaniṣad qui risque de passer inaperçue contient nombre d'informations précieuses. J'extrait du 16^e adhyāya les vers suivants (10 sqq.) sur la transmutation à la manière de Nāgārjuna.

*Nāgārjunamuniḥ śrīmān dr̥ṣṭayogam idam param
dakṣiṇe Keralendrasya rāṣṭre vanasamākule
nātidūre samudrasya grāme Prītisamāhvaye
tataḥ pippalisaṁsthānāḥ pāṣāṇā hemadhātavaḥ
tān ādāya prayatnena*

"Le muni Nāgārjuna a vu ce procédé : dans le royaume méridional du prince de Kerala (le Malabar) où il y a beaucoup de forêts, non loin de l'Océan dans le village qui porte le nom de Prīti, il y a des pierres en forme de pippali qui contiennent de l'or ; on les prend et . . ." Suit le détail du procédé que je signale à l'attention des alchimistes de bonne volonté, mais qui n'entre pas dans le plan de ce mémoire ; je sais que mon confrère et ami Rapson, à qui je suis heureux de le dédier, me pardonnera de m'arrêter là.

NAMO MAÑJUVAJRĀYA

Mañjuvajram praṇamyādaṁ Nāthapādam anantaram
amanasikārāmnāyaṁ vakṣyate sumahodayam (1)
Sambuddho Bodhisatvās ca siddhās tair anuśāsītāḥ
abhiṣiktās tathety eṣāṁ āmnāyakrama iṣyate (2)
tatradāu dharmacakre 'smin śrāvakaiḥ parivāritaḥ
upatasthe sa Bhagavān diśan pāramitādikam (3)
tatas taṁ samparityajya gataṁ dākṣiṇāpathe
nirmāya dharmadhātuvākhyam maṇḍalaṁ sumanoramam (4)
Niyakāḥ svayam evātra Bodhisatvās ca ṣoḍaśa
nāyakās cābhavaṁ aṣṭau tathāṣṭāv upanāyakāḥ (5)

nāmatas te nigadyante kramato maṇḍalasthitāḥ
 maṇḍalaṁ tu gurūddiṣṭam etad āmnāyasaṅgata(m) (6)
 Maitreyaḥ Kṣitigarbhaś ca Vajrapāṇiḥ Khagarbhakaḥ
 Lokeśvaraś ca Mañjuśrīḥ Sarvanivāraṇas tathā (7)
 Samantabhadraś Candrābhaḥ Sūryābho (') malakīrtinā
 Vimalaprabhaś tathā Dharmodgata Ratnamatis tathā
 Vyomagañjaś ca Sudhano maṇḍalasthā yathākraman (8)
 abhiṣekaṁ tatas teṣāṁ datvā pūramitādikam
 samarpya Śākyasimhena vyākṛtaḥ śāsane 'munā (9)
 ārya Nāgārjuna iti bhaviṣyati mahāmatiḥ
 pravartavyam anenāpi dharmacakrapravartanam (10)
 Dakṣiṇāpathadeśe 'smin pattane Karahāṭake
 brāhmaṇasya kule jaṇma pitā cāsyā Trivikramaḥ (11)
 mātā Savittanāmā sā vyākṛtād aparam matam
 Dāmodareti vikhyāto bhikṣutve Śākyamitrakam
 nāmāparam Ratnamater anugrahaividhan sthitaḥ
 āṅk(?)ādvayavajreti Vajrayoginyadhiṣṭhitaḥ
 sarahaḥsiddhibhāḥ tena tadanugrāhako 'bhavat
 asya cānugrahāt pūrdha tenākāri ca nāma tat
 tataḥ śrutam Hayagrīvam pañcādarśanam . .
 Ratnamatinā ca sārddham Varendryām prasthitaḥ punaḥ
 lekhyaitvā pratichandam ('bimbam ?) Bodhisatvasya dhīmataḥ
 pūjām pratidinam tasya kṛtvā Nāgārjuno 'vasat
 grāme deśe purākhye tu ekāntaḥ susamāhitaḥ
 Loko nāma naṭas tasya Gaurā ca sahacāriṇi
 tayoḥ putras Trīśaraṇa āryamadhye sa tau param
 Ratnamatim darśayati sa tam āha na paśyasi
 jñānakṣaṇena vikalāḥ katham tam paśyasi kṣaṇāt
 tam pratyāha Trīśaraṇas ta[to] me 'nugraham kuru
 yathā paśyāmi tam Nātham jñānacakṣur atīndriyaḥ
 ārya Nāgārjunānujñām prāpya siddhas tadābhavat
 Bodhisatvena ca tato 'nugrāhito yathārthataḥ
 Manobhaṅga Cittaviśrāmau caryāsthānam vivecitam
 ākṛtiṁ savarasyāsau dadhan nivasati sma saḥ
 iti Buddha Bodhisatvasiddhāmnāyanāmāmnāyaḥ samāptaḥ
 Indrabhūtipā. Udinī Vajrayoginī. Tilopā. Nāropā. Advayavajra.
 Dhyāyīpā. Mahāpaṇḍitāmoghaśrī.
 athavā. Śavaranaṭha. Advayavajra. Vajrapāṇi. Pañḍa-
 pātika. paṇḍitābhayakaragupta. punar Advayavajrasyeti.
 vaḥ karuṇā upāyacakram. jaḥ śūnyatā. tayoḥ ekam repaḥ.

bāhyā vātītā vākārā rākāraavarjitāḥ. hetvanupalabdhiḥ hikāro vārāhī vajrapūrviketi paramārthaviśuddhiḥ. kāyavākeittaviśuddhyā trikoṇam. hetuphalayor abhedatvāt trikoṇam tulyatā dharmodayeti.

NAMAḤ ŚRĪ VAJRAYOGINYAI

prathamam bāhyapūjā sindūreṇa. asambhavamantreṇa. svahṛdi sūryasthahūṃkāraraśmibhir ākṛṣya praveśya puṣpādibhiḥ sampūjya. tadanantaram jagacchūnyākṛtya. śūnyatānantaram jhaṭiti. ātmanam Bhagavatim bhāvayet. parvataśiropari nānāpuṣpopetām. sūryasthahūṃkāraraśmim saṃsphārya svāsavātā yathādarśavad yogaḥ. amṛtāsvādanam vaśikaraṇe parvatādikam pādarasadrśam bhāvayan vāmanāsāputena pibet. trikālam balibhāvanā kartavyā. yathādityo bālataṛuṇādyanapekṣam svakiraṇaiḥ parvatam ākrāmati. tathā Bhagavatim parvatākrāntām bhāvayet. amṛtam āsvādayet. siddhyanugrahe jihvāyām mantram abhiliḥkhyā. svahṛdraśminādām praveśya āveśayet.

Vajrayoginīguruparamparā. Śavarānātha. Śāgaradatta. Vijaya-ghoṣa. Anaṅgavajra. Biso. Pañḍapātika. Pañḍita Vinayagupta. Mahāpañḍita Vāgīśvara. Avadhūta Sudhanaśrī. Līlāvajra. Lalitavajra. Koviḥārapañḍitapādāḥ.

NAMAḤ SARVAJŌĀYA.

NAMAḤ ŚRĪ SAVAREŚVARĀYA

iha khalu Madhyadeśe PadmaKapilavastumahānagarasamīpe Jhātakaraṇī nāma palliko 'sti. tasmin sthāne brāhmaṇajātir Nānukā nāma brāhmaṇi ca Sādhv'i'ti nāma prativasati sma. tadā ca kālāntareṇa Dāmodaro nāma tatputro babhūva. sa caikādaśavarṣadeśiṣyaḥ kumāraḥ sāmārdhavedako gṛhān niṣkramya martabodho nāmai-kadaṇḍo 'bhūt. tataḥ paścāl likatṭi sanna Pāṇinivṛyākaraṇam śrutvā saptavarṣaparyantena sarvaśāstram adhigamya viṃśativarṣaparyantam Nāropādasamīpe pramāṇam ādhyātmikapāramitānayādisāstram śrutam. tadanu mantranayaśāstrajñena Rāgavajreṇa sahāvasthitāḥ pañcavarṣaparyantam. paścān mahāpañḍitaRatnākaraśāntiguru-bhaṭṭārakapādānam pārsve nirākāravavasthām śrutvā varṣam ekaṃ yāvat. paścād Vikramaśīlam gatvā mahāpañḍitaJñānaśrimitrapādānam pārsve tatprakaraṇam śrutam varṣadvayam yāvat. tato Vikramapuram gatvā Sammatīyanikāya Maitrīguptanāma bhikṣur babhūva. sūtrābhidharmavinayam ca śrutvā catuṣṭayam yāvat Pañcakrama

Tārāmnāyena mantrajāparāṃ kṛtvā koṭim ekaṃ caturmudrārthasa-
hiteṇa Bhaṭṭāraka svapne gaditam. gaccha tvam Khasarpaṇam.
tatra vihāram parityajya Khasarpaṇa gatvā varṣam ekaṃ yāvan
nīsidati. punar api svapne gaditam. gaccha tvam kulaputra Dakṣi-
pāpathe ManobhaṅgaCittaviśrāmau parvatau tatra Śavareśvaras
tiṣṭhati. sa ca tatrānugrahako bhaviṣyatīti. tatra ca mārge Sāgara-
nāmo miliṣyati. sa ca Rāṭadeśavāsī rājaputras tenāpi sārddhaṃ gaccha.
paścād gate sati Sāgareṇa militam. uttaradeśaparyantena Mano-
bhaṅgaCittaviśrāmayor vārtāṃ na śrutavān. śrīDhānyam gatvā
varṣam ekaṃ sthitaḥ paścād vāyavya uttaradeśe so dhiṣṭhānaTārām
sādhayitum ārabdhavān. māsaikeṇa svapno 'bhūt. gaccha tvam
kulaputra vāyavyadeśe parvatau tiṣṭhantau. pañcadaśadinena
prāpyate. Bhaṭṭārikāyā vākyena vāyavyām diśaṃ saṃghātaiḥ
sārddhaṃ gacchati prāptiparyante puruṣeṇaikenoktaḥ. parame dine
ManobhaṅgaCittaviśrāmau prāpayete lagnau. tatra sukheṇa vāsta-
vyam. iti śrutvā paṇḍitapādo hr̥ṣṭo 'bhūt. aparadinam prāptaḥ. tatra
parvate dine dine daśa daśa maṇḍalāni kṛtavān kandaṃūlaphalā-
hāraṃ kṛtvā dinadaśaparyantam śīlātalaṃparyāṅkam āruhya ekāgra-
cittena upavāsaṃ kartum ārabdhaḥ. saptame divase svapnadarśanam
bhavati. daśame divase grīvāṃ chettum ārabdhaḥ. tatksaṇe
sākṣāddarśanam bhavati. sevāṃ dadāti. Advayavajra no 'bhūt.
Pañcakramacaturmudrādivyākhyānaṃ kṛtaṃ dvādaśadinapa-
ryantam. punar apy upadeśeṇa pañcadinaṃ yāvat. sarvadharmā-
dr̥ṣṭāntena vīṇāṃ vādayati. tatra padmāvalī. jñānāvalī. Śava-
reśvareṇa ājñāṃ datvā. prāṇātipātādīmāyām darśaya tvam. Tadan-
taraṃ Sāgaraḥ kāyavyūhaṃ varṣayate paṇḍitapādenoktaḥ. bhagavan
kim ayye (')haṃ kāyavyūhaṃ nirmāpitum aśakyah. Śavareśvara
āha. vikalpasambhūtatvāt. paṇḍita āha. tarhi kiṃ kartavyam
mamājñāpayantu pādāḥ. Śavarādhipa āha. taveha janmani
siddhir nāmnī darśanāprakāśanāṃ kuru. Advayavajra āha. aśakto
'ham Bhagavan kartum katham kariṣyāmy aham. āha. iha Vajrayo-
ginyupadeśāt kariṣyasi tvam. phalaṃ ca phaliṣyatīti. ihopadeśam
ity uktvā Bhaṭṭārakapādāntardhāno 'bhūt.

nedāṃ van[as]ya ca mṛgo na varāhapotaḥ
sarpūrpacandravadanā vanasundarīyam.
nirmāpanirmitatayārthijānasya hetoḥ
saṃtiṣṭhate giritale Śavarādhirājah.
amanasikāra yathāśrutakramah samāptaḥ.

pūrvavad akārādicakram sampūjya vihitaBhagavatiyogaḥ
 praṇavapīṭhād āgatavadanaḥ kāṇḍapattād bahir gatvā kṛtapañca-
 maṇḍalo dattadakṣiṇaḥ praṇavapīṭhāgatavadana upāyacakraṁ
 likhitvā tataḥ praveśya Nāthāṅkitaśiraṣke svahr̥di cakram saṁ-
 sphārya vaktreṇa ktram datvā tad[dh]r̥di dhyānam mukham āpūrya
 vajrabhṛto 'ṣṭottaraśatamantrais taṁ kṛtvā muhe muhaṁ dālmala
 tataḥ upāyacakraṁ atibhramantaṁ vicintya mantritapuṣpe tāḍanaṁ
 damaruṁ ghaṇṭāṁ vā saṁvādya sāṭopamantram uccārayet. dhūpaṁ
 dadyād yadi tasya prakampādinimittam upajāyate tadaiva katha-
 niyam anyathā naiva. tadanu cakrād uddhṛtya mantradānaguru-
 paramparākathanāṁ kartavyam iti sampradāyavidhiḥ. etad abhisand-
 dhāya guruparvakramāmnāyasampradāyika gocaram iti. tat kathā
 ca kathitavyā śraddhotpādanā(r)thaṁ śiṣyajñānākṛṣṭir abhidhīyate.
 iha janmani yadi na siddhyati tadā maraṇasamaye cakram tanmukhe
 svamukhe praviśya svasthāna eva linam. iti Lūyīpādādeśāt Sam-
 barārṇavatāntram ānetum Oḍiyānaṁ gatau. tatra Yoginīpārśve
 dinacatuṣṭayaṁ yāvat sthitaṁ. cauryeṇa tantraṁ ānītam. nadīpāre
 tayā dṛṣṭa etad sādhanāṁ sarvaṁ api vāyunā nītaṁ Vajrāṅganāsakāṣe.
 Kukurīpādaiḥ śrutam Indrabhūtipādair Lakṣmīkarā'Viruvāpādaiḥ
 Pañḍapātika Ḍiṅgara Pañḍapātikā(i)ḥ.

NAMAḤ ŚRĪ VAJRAYOGINYAI

prathama(m) yathāsambhava(m) pūjopakaraṇaṁ kuryāt. agre
 balīm sthūpya vāme madyapātram pañcapiyūṣa[m] saṁyūktam.
 vāmakare candraḥ dakṣiṇakare sūryaḥ. hr̥draśminādēna nāsāpuṭeṇa
 niścārya kare viliya karaśodhanāṁ tatkaṛe madyapātram pidhāya
 mantraśnānam pūjādravyaṁ ca prokṣayet. maṇḍalikaṇaṁ ca
 trikoṇākāreṇa madhye vaṁ upari yathāvidhiśodhitadivyaḍaka-
 samāyuktasindūrapūjā. abhāve puṣpādibhir bijapūjā. tadanantaram
 triviśuddhim anusmaret. ātmānaṁ traidhātukaviśuddhikūṭāgāraṁ
 vicintayet. jhaṭiti nābhimaṇḍale Bhagavatīm bhāvayet. mudrādvaya-
 yogajo vāgīpaḥ. tadanantaram agre niścārya pūjā stutir amṛtā-
 svādanam. sarvabhautikaṁ dikpālebhyaḥ śeṣāmṛtadhaukam.
 Bhagavatīm saṁhāryabhyomnāya . . .

HOMMAGE À MAÑJUVAJRA

À Mañjuvajra d'abord hommage, et ensuite à (Loka)nātha ! On
 va énoncer la tradition de l'Amanasikāra qui a une si grande origine.

Le Bouddha, les Bodhisattvas, les Siddhas qu'ils ont instruits et
 consacrés par l'onction, voilà l'ordre de succession de la doctrine.
 Au début, le Très Saint, entouré des Auditeurs, se tenait sur l'emplace-

ment (de la prédication) de la Roue de la Loi, enseignant la Pāramitā etc. Puis il quitta ce lieu et s'en alla dans le Dekkhan, agençant magiquement un Cercle ravissant appelé le Plan de la Loi. Il s'y trouvait le Chef lui-même, et aussi seize Bodhisattvas, et huit Chefs et huit Sous-Chefs. On va dire dans leur ordre leurs noms, tels qu'ils étaient placés dans le Cercle; ce Cercle, enseigné par les Maîtres, est d'accord avec la tradition. C'était Maitreya, et Kṣitigarbha, Vajrapāṇi, Khagarbha, et Lokeśvara, Mañjuśrī, et aussi Sarvanivāraṇa, Samantabhadra, Candrābha, Sūryābha, Amalakīrti, Vimalaprabha, aussi Dharmodgata, aussi Ratnamati, et Vyomagaṇja, Sudhana; tel était leur ordre dans le Cercle. Puis quand il leur eut donné l'onction, qu'il leur eût remis la Pāramitā etc., Śākyasiṃha fit une prophétie sur la religion: Il y aura, dit-il, le saint Nāgārjuna, de grande intelligence, qui, lui aussi, mettra en branle la Roue de la Loi. Dans ce pays-ci du Dekkhan, dans la ville de Karahātaka, le brahmane Trivikrama sera son père, et sa mère s'appellera Savitta (?). Ce qui suit n'est pas de la prophétie. Un certain Dāmodara, entré en religion sous le nom de Śākyamitra, s'appliquait à gagner la faveur de Ratnamati (Bodhisattva). Et un certain Advayavajra, que Vajrayoginī avait pris sous son patronage, jouissait en secret pour cette raison des pouvoirs magiques; aussi [Ratnamati] le prit en faveur, et à cause de cette faveur, on lui donna aussi ce nom (de Ratnamati). Puis vint le bruit de Hayagrīva aux cinq visions (?) . . . Et alors en compagnie de Ratnamati (II) il (Dāmodara) partit pour Varendri (= le Rarh, au Bengale). Nāgārjuna y demeurait; il avait tracé une (image ?) du sage Bodhisattva et il lui rendait un culte quotidien. Or, dans un village du nom de (Daśa ?)pura vivait à l'écart, dans le recueillement, un acteur nommé Loka et sa femme nommée Gaurā. Leur fils est Triśaraṇa. Il (Nāgārjuna) leur montre à eux deux l'autre Ratnamati (le Bodhisattva) au milieu des saints. Il dit au (fils): Tu ne le vois pas? Comment pourrais-tu le voir à l'instant, puisqu'il te manque l'instant de connaissance (nécessaire)? Triśaraṇa lui répliqua: Eh bien, favorise-moi que je puisse voir ce Protecteur avec l'œil de la connaissance, dépassant les sens. Avec l'autorisation du saint Nāgārjuna il devint alors un Siddha; dès lors il reçut les faveurs du Bodhisattva à chaque occasion. Il se retira pour ses pratiques au Manobhaṅga et au Cittaviśrāma, et là, prenant l'aspect d'un Śavara, il s'installa en résidence.

Telle est la Tradition des Bonddhas, des Bodhisattvas, des Siddhas et la Tradition des noms.

Indrabhūti-pā. Vajrayoginī (d'Uddiyāna ?). Tilo-pā. Nāro-pā, Advayavajra. Dhyāyī-pā. Le grand docteur Amoghaśrī.

Ou bien encore : Śāvaranātha. Advayavajra. Vajrapāṇi. Paiṇḍapātika. Le docteur Abhayākara Gupta. Et encore un Advayavajra.

Va, c'est la compassion. *Ja*, c'est la vacuité. *Ra*, c'est l'un des deux : morphènes du dehors ou du passé qui n'ont pas la lettre *ra*. Le son *hī*, c'est la non-perception des causes (h-etvanupalabdh-i). Ainsi Vārāhī précédée de Vajra (Vajra Vārāhī), c'est la purification au Sens Ultime. Le triangle, c'est la purification du corps, de la parole, de la pensée. Comme la cause et l'effet sont indivisibles, le triangle (exprime) l'égalité dharmodayā.

(Suit la description d'un rite pour évoquer Vajrayoginī.)

La succession des gurus de Vajrayoginī, c'est : Śāvaranātha. Śāgaradatta. Vijayaghoṣa. Anaṅgavajra. Biso. Paiṇḍapātika. Le docteur Vinayagupta. Le grand docteur Vāgīśvara. L'avadhūta Sudhanaśrī. Līlāvajra. Lalitavajra. Le révérend docteur du Kovihāra.

HOMMAGE À ŚĀVAREŚVARA

Or ici-bas, dans la Contrée du Milieu, il y a une grande ville appelée "Kapilavastu des Lotus" ; tout près, il y a une bourgade du nom de Jhāṭakaraṇī. En cet endroit réside un brahmane nommé Nānukā et sa femme de caste brahmanique nommée Sādhvī. Dans le cours du temps ils eurent un fils appelé Dāmodara. Quand le garçon eut environ onze ans, et qu'il connut la moitié du Sāmaveda, il quitta sa famille et devint ascète ekadaṇḍa sous le nom de Martabodha (?). Ensuite il apprit la grammaire de Pāṇini ; au bout de sept ans il possédait tout śāstra. Pendant vingt ans il apprit chez le vénérable Nāro les traités de logique, de philosophie Mādhyamika (?), du Pāramitānaya etc. Ensuite il demeura cinq ans avec Rāgavajra qui connaissait les textes du Mantranaya. Après cela il s'attacha pendant un an au vénérable et saint maître Ratnākaraśānti pour apprendre l'état d'esprit du sans-Morphème. Puis il se rendit à Vikramaśīla près du grand savant Jñānaśrīmitra pour étudier son traité pendant deux ans. De là il partit à Vikramapura où il devint moine sous le nom de Maitrīgupta dans l'école Sammatīya. Il étudia les Trois Corbeilles du Sūtra, de l'Abhidharma, du Vinaya pendant quatre (ans) ; il pratiqua la récitation murmurée des Formules selon la tradition de Pañcakrama-Tārā, et cela dix millions de fois, avec le sens des quatre sceaux (mahā°, samaya°, dharma°, karma°). La

Sainte (?) lui dit en songe : Va-t-en à Khasarpaṇa. Il quitta son couvent, alla à Khasarpaṇa, y resta un an. Et de nouveau la voix lui dit en songe : Va-t-en, fils de la Famille, dans le Dekkhan, où sont les deux montagnes Manobhaṅga et Cittaviśrāma, c'est là que demeure le prince des Śavaras. Il te traitera avec faveur. Et là le nommé Sāgara te rencontrera sur ta route. Ce prince de sang royal habite maintenant le pays de Rāṭa (Rāḍha = Rarh); marche en compagnie avec lui. Il partit, rencontra Sāgara, et tant qu'il fut dans le Pays du Nord, il ne put rien savoir du Manobhaṅga et du Cittaviśrāma. Il alla à Śrī Dhānya(kaṭaka), y resta un an; ensuite dans la région Nord du Nord-Ouest il se mit à évoquer la Tārā du lieu (?). Au bout d'un mois il eut un songe : Va-t-en, fils de la Famille; dans le pays au Nord-Ouest il y a les deux montagnes accolées; on y arrive en quinze jours. Sur l'indication de la Sainte il part vers le pays du Nord-Ouest avec des . . . ; au bout de la route ils rencontrent un homme qui leur dit : Demain vous atteindrez le Manobhaṅga et le Cittaviśrāma; vous y aurez un heureux séjour. À l'entendre, le docteur fut très content, et le lendemain il était arrivé. Sur la montagne il faisait tous les jours dix dizaines de Cereles; il commença par se nourrir de bulbes, de racines, de fruits; au bout de dix jours, il s'installa sur le plat d'un rocher et l'esprit unifié il se mit à observer le jeûne. Le septième jour il a une vision en songe. Le dixième jour, il se mettait à se trancher le cou quand il eut soudain la vision directe; il lui rend hommage. Advayavajra . . . pendant douze jours fit le commentaire merveilleux des quatre Seeaux du Pañcakrama, et puis encore pendant cinq jours l'Instruction. Il joua de la vipā en prenant pour modèle tous les Dharmas. Padmāvalī . . . Jñānāvalī . . . sur l'ordre du prince des Śavaras, montra l'illusion de l'attentat à la vie etc. À ce moment Sāgara fait voir l'Arrangement du corps. Le docteur lui dit : Très Saint, comment se fait-il que je ne puisse pas, moi, agencer magiquement l'Arrangement du corps? Le prince des Śavaras lui dit : C'est à cause de l'Imagination différenciée. Le docteur lui dit : Alors que dois-je faire? Que votre Révérence me donne ses ordres! Le souverain des Śavaras lui dit : Tu y réussiras dès cette vie-ci; fais la clarté de la vision sur le nom. Advayavajra dit : Très Saint, je suis incapable de le faire; comment le ferai-je? Il [Śavareśvara] lui dit : Tu le feras ici même grâce à l'Instruction de Vajrayoginī, et le fruit en fructifiera. Ayant énoncé l'Instruction, le Saint disparut.

Ce n'est pas un animal des bois ni un petit de sanglier; c'est une

belle des bois qui est là avec son visage de pleine lune. Grâce aux agencements magiques agencés pour rendre service à celui qui en a besoin, (elle) se tient sur le rocher (en prenant la forme d'un) prince des Śavaras.

Tel est, dans l'Amanasikāra, l'ordre de succession tel qu'il a été entendu.

(Suit l'indication des rites à accomplir ; à la fin du rite, il est prescrit de réciter comment la Formule fut donnée et comment se sont succédé les Maîtres et aussi leur histoire ; cette récitation a pour objet de provoquer la foi et d'attirer les disciples vers l'étude.)

Sur l'indication du vénérable Lūyī, ils allèrent tous les deux en Oḍiyāna pour en rapporter le Sambarārṇava tantra. Ils y restèrent quatre jours auprès d'une Yoginī, dérobèrent le tantra et l'emportèrent par delà le fleuve . . . (Le tantra ?) a été entendu par Kukurī, par Indrabhūti, par Lakṣmīkarā (et Virūpa ?) Paiṇḍapātika, Dīṅgara Paiṇḍapātika.

(Suit le rituel du culte de Vajrayoginī, dont le début seul est conservé dans le manuscrit.)

Griechische Militärische Wörter Im Indischen

Von B. LIEBICH

IN der Streitberg-Festgabe 1924 veröffentlichte ich einen kurzen Artikel mit der Überschrift: „Lateinisch *campus* als Lehnwort im Indischen?“. Es handelte sich um das indische Wort *kampana* „Heer“, das in Kalhaṇa's Chronik von Kaśmir häufig (über zwanzigmal) vorkommt. Die einheimischen Grammatiker und Lexikographen kennen oder nennen das Wort nicht, wiederum mit Ausnahme des Kaśmirers Kṣemendra, der in seinem Wörterbuch Lokaprakāśa den *kampanādhīpati*, den Anführer des Feldheeres, in der Liste der höchsten Staatsbeamten aufführt.

Wer die Sorgfalt kennt, mit der alle irgendwie bemerkenswerten Wörter der indischen Sprache von den einheimischen Wörterbüchern registriert werden, darunter vielfach solche, die in der sonstigen Literatur nicht einmal belegt sind, wird das Fehlen dieses Wortes z.B. unter den elf Synonymen von „Heer“, die der Amarakośa im Kṣatriya-Kapitel (ii, 8) aufzählt, ebenso in der Vaijayantī und den zahlreichen sonstigen Wörterbüchern merkwürdig genug finden, und es ist in der Tat eigentlich nur so zu verstehen, dass es sich hier um ein Wort handelt, das nur beschränkte Verbreitung, eben im Nordwesten, besass, im übrigen Indien dagegen unbekannt geblieben ist. Das erweckt wieder den Verdacht auf Entlehnung, und da für ein Wort in dieser Bedeutung die kulturlosen Aboriginer nicht in Frage kommen, auf Entlehnung aus der Sprache einer Militärmacht, mit der der Nordwesten in der fraglichen Zeit in Berührung kam.

Die Form des indischen Wortes würde, wenn die oben vermutete Entlehnung aus lat. *campus* zutrifft, auf Durchgang durchs Griechische weisen, da das „ des indischen Wortes den griechischen Akkusativ κάμπον (*kámpōn*) als unmittelbare Quelle erkennen lässt. Es wurde gezeigt, dass *kámpōs* als Lehnwort im Griechischen seit etwa 100 n. Chr. in der Literatur und in Papyrusfunden bezeugt ist.

Auch der Bedeutungswandel des Wortes *campus* aus der ursprünglichen Bedeutung „offenes, freies Feld“ zu „Lagerplatz eines Heeres“ und von dieser zu „Heer“ selbst wurde aus mehrfachen Zeugnissen erwiesen und durch Parallelen von entsprechenden Wörtern in andern Sprachen gestützt.

Wenn auch eine Entlehnung durch Klarstellung der lautlichen und Bedeutungsverhältnisse als möglich erwiesen ist, so gelangt man zur

Überzeugung von ihrer Richtigkeit doch gewöhnlich erst dann, wenn sie nicht ganz vereinzelt bleibt, sondern wenn sich herausstellt, dass eine Gruppe von mehreren Wörtern der gleichen Begriffssphäre in der gleichen Epoche denselben Weg genommen hat. Man denke z.B. an die Entlehnungen des Indischen aus der griechischen Astronomie, wobei jeder Zweifel ausgeschlossen ist. Da mir 1924 noch kein ähnlich gelagerter Fall bekannt war, hielt ich es für angezeigt, auf diesen schwachen Punkt durch das dem Titel beigefügte Fragezeichen hinzuweisen.

Schon im folgenden Jahre kam ein zweiter Fall hinzu, indem O. Stein in der *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* Bd. III in einem ausführlichen Aufsatz nachwies, dass das indische Wort *suruhgā* „Mine, unterirdischer Gang“ auf das griechische Wort *σῦριγξ* (*sýrinx*) zurückgeführt werden müsse, das neben seiner Hauptbedeutung „Flöte“ die gleiche übertragene Bedeutung entwickelt hat. Seine gelehrten und scharfsinnigen Ausführungen haben, soviel ich sehe, allgemeine Zustimmung gefunden.¹

Seither bin ich noch auf ein drittes Wort aufmerksam geworden, das allem Anschein nach hierher gehört. Schon Lassen hat im ersten Bande seiner *Indischen Altertumskunde* (S. 299, N. 3) darauf hingewiesen, dass das indische Wort *kramēla*, *kramēlaka* „Kamel“ der Entlehnung verdächtig sei, doch dachte er an direkte Entlehnung aus dem semitischen *gamal*. Jenes Wort ist in Indien weiter vorgegangen als *kampana*; es findet sich im *Amarakośa* und auch im *Upādi* des Hemacandra, der es sicher aus einem älteren *Upādi*-Werk übernommen hat; in der Literatur erscheint es nur ganz vereinzelt. Das *Sūtra* Hemacandra's lautet: *kramer elakah*, d.h. er leitet das Wort von Wurzel *kram* durch ein nur aus diesem Wort selbst abstrahiertes Suffix *-elaka* ab. Kṣīrasvāmin in seinem *Amara*-Kommentar umschreibt und erklärt das Wort durch: *kramān elayati* „es beschleunigt seine Schritte“. Diese Erklärung hilft uns weiter, denn sie zeigt, dass das *r* des indischen Wortes durch Volksetymologie in das Fremdwort *κάμηλος* (*kāmēlos*) hineingekommen ist, und dass man dieses an die W. *kram* „schreiten“ angelehnt hat, um es sich verständlicher zu machen.

Wie die Sprachgeschichte allerorten zeigt, treten neue Namen für Haustiere gewöhnlich in Zusammenhang mit neuen Rassen in die Erscheinung, und so ist es offenbar auch hier gewesen. Wenn neben

¹ [Vgl. Winternitz, *IHQ.* i, 429 sq.; *Zeitschr. f. Indol.* iv, 345 sq.—Ed.]

die uralte, schon aus indo-iranischer Zeit stammende Benennung *uṣṭra* für *Camelus bactrianus*, das grosse zweihöckrige ¹ Kamel, dessen Heimat Zentralasien ist, um den Beginn unserer Zeitrechnung der Name *kramēla* tritt, so bezieht sich dieser jedenfalls auf das kleinere und flinkere einhöckrige Kamel, mit dem die Inder zuerst durch die vorderasiatischen Kamelreiterkorps der griechischen Heere in der Diadochenzeit bekannt wurden, da nur dieses sich zur Verwendung im Kriege eignet. Und wie für diese Art oder Abart ² die Griechen etwas später die Namen *δρομᾶς κάμηλος* (*dromās kāmēlos*), *δρομεδάριος* (*dromedários*) einführten, die, von *δρόμος* (*drómos*) „Lauf“ abgeleitet, auf die wichtigste Eigenschaft der neuen Tierform hinwiesen, ebenso verfuhr unbewusst die Inder, wenn sie das für sie nichtssagende Fremdwort *kāmēlos* mit ihrer W. *kram* „schreiten“ in Verbindung brachten, sodass es nun für sie die von Kṣīrasvāmin angegebene Bedeutung gewann.

Da aber die Kamelreitertruppe sich im indischen Heere nicht einbürgerte, wie ihre Verwendung sich auch heut auf Vorderasien und Nordafrika beschränkt, so blieb auch das alte Wort *uṣṭra* zugleich mit der alten zweihöckrigen Form in Indien herrschend und wurde nicht, wie wir das in solchen Fällen oft sehen,³ zusammen mit der alten Rasse verdrängt.

Über den Weg, wie *sgrinx* in der Bedeutung „unterirdischer Gang“ nach Indien gekommen sein mag, äussert O. Stein a.a.O. (S. 317) folgende Vermutung: „Durch den Zug Alexanders nach Indien und durch die Beziehungen der Seleukiden sowie der übrigen hellenistischen Reiche zu Indien wurde der Elefant zu einer stehenden Einrichtung im Heerwesen; mit dem Elefanten werden aber auch Inder in die hellenistischen Heere übernommen worden sein, wenigstens in der ersten Zeit, um der technischen Führung und der Ernährung

¹ Vgl. z.B. Mahābhārata xii, 177, 12: *manivoṣṭrasya lambetē priyavatsatarau mama* „wie die beiden Höcker des *uṣṭra* hängen herunter meine lieben Stiere“. Der Vers ist alt, denn er wird schon in der Kāṭikā (i, 1, 11, siebentes Jh.) zitiert. Er steht in der Geschichte des armen Mañki, der für sein letztes Geld zwei junge Stiere gekauft hatte. Als sich dieselben einst zusammengekoppelt auf dem Felde befanden, stürzten sie sich auf ein dort liegendes Kamel, sodass sie zu beiden Seiten von dessen Halse waren. Das Kamel erhob sich und rannte mit den Rindern davon, die in der Luft baumelnd krepitierten.

² Da das Dromedar im embryonalen Zustand auch zwei Höcker besitzt, aus deren Zusammenwachsen erst sekundär der spätere eine Höcker hervorgeht, so besteht die Möglichkeit, dass *Camelus dromedarius* nicht als eigene Art, sondern als eine durch den Menschen gezüchtete Kulturabart von *C. bactrianus* aufzufassen ist.

³ Man denke z.B. an den altgermanischen Namen des Pferdes, gotisch *aīhwa-*, altsächsisch *ehw*, angelsächsisch *eoh*, verwandt mit lat. *equus* usw.

des Tieres willen. Durch diese Inder, die die wechselreichen Kämpfe der Diadochen mitgemacht haben mögen, kann der vielleicht der Belagerungstechnik entnommene Ausdruck *sgrinx* nach Indien gekommen sein.“ Auch für *kramēlas* bezeugt das *ē*, dass die Entlehnung in der gleichen Zeit erfolgt sein muss: einige Jahrhunderte später hätte das Wort die gleiche Entwicklung wie lat. *denarius* genommen, das, im Anfang der Kaiserzeit ins Griechische übergegangen, dort den Wechsel von *ē* zu *ī* mitmachte und daher im Indischen als *dīnāras* erscheint (wie noch heut als *Dinār* im Südslawischen). Wir würden in diesem Falle *kramīla*, Nom. *kramīlas* zu erwarten haben.

Sollte nicht auch die Einteilung des Tages und der Nacht, namentlich der letzteren, in vier *yāma* oder *prahara* zu je drei Stunden, die etwa um dieselbe Zeit in der indischen Literatur auftritt und mit der altindischen Einteilung des Tages in dreissig *muhūrta* (= 48 Minuten) in keinem organischen Zusammenhang steht, letzten Endes auf die vier *vigiliae* des römischen Heeres zu je drei Stunden zurückgehen? Auch hier dürfte das griechische Heerwesen wohl am wahrscheinlichsten die Vermittlerrolle gespielt haben.

In diesem Zusammenhang wäre schliesslich, als an das militärische Gebiet streifend, die in der indischen Literatur oft erwähnte Leibgarde der indischen Fürsten aus griechischen Sklavinnen (*Yavanī*) zu erwähnen, die aber wegen ihrer sonstigen kulturhistorischen Beziehungen eine gesonderte Betrachtung erheischt.

Sur le génitif sanskrit " máma "

Par A. MEILLET

LE génitif du pronom personnel sanskrit de première personne *máma* est isolé en indo-européen ; aucune autre langue n'en offre le correspondant. Au contraire, la forme iranienne *mana* a un correspondant exact dans *mene* du vieux slave, dont l'antiquité est confirmée par les formes des langues baltiques. Il est naturel de conclure de là que *máma* est une forme altérée, et *mana* la forme ancienne de l'indo-iranien.

Dans le volume III de la belle *Altindische Grammatik* qu'il vient de publier en collaboration avec M. Debrunner, M. Wackernagel, § 228a, p. 461, maintient cependant une opinion contraire : skr. *máma* continuerait l'ancienne forme indo-iranienne ; iran. *mana* et sl. *mene* en seraient des formes altérées par dissimilation ; l'indo-iranien *mama* représenterait un ancien *ama* reposant sur *eme* que supposeraient les formes grecques et arméniennes ; et *m-* y serait rétabli d'après d'autres formes du pronom. Hypothèses compliquées ; mais les développements linguistiques ne sont pas toujours simples. Il en faut examiner le détail pour faire la critique de l'explication ; le problème est menu en apparence ; mais il touche à des questions capitales pour l'étude des langues indo-européennes.

Voici quelques-unes des objections qui se présentent contre l'explication admise comme possible par M. Wackernagel.

D'abord la dissimilation de **meme* en **mene* qu'il faudrait admettre pour l'iranien, le slave et le baltique est insolite : faute de trouver des mots comparables, on ne saurait prouver que *m-m* . . . a subsisté ; mais on n'observe pas de dissimilation pareille dans les langues considérées. Tant qu'il n'aura pas été indiqué de cas comparables, l'hypothèse est gratuite. — M. Wackernagel enseigne, il est vrai, que *h* du skr. *máhyam* en face de *túbhyam* résulterait aussi d'une dissimilation ; mais les formes italiques, lat. *mihi*, etc., montrent que la gutturale de *máhyam* est ancienne ; le datif arménien *inj* en fournit la preuve décisive, avec son *j* qui ne peut sortir que de *gh*.

L'hypothèse a, d'autre part, l'inconvénient de rompre des concordances dialectales remarquables. Pour le pronom de seconde personne, l'indo-iranien a une forme *táva* (skr. *táva*, iran. *tava*), qui concorde avec la forme **teue* du slave et du baltique ; au contraire,

l'arménien s'accorde avec le grec à offrir des formes reposant sur **twē*, gr. *σέ* arm. *k'o* (issu de **two*), donc des formes à vocalisme radical zéro.

La structure de iran. *tava* est toute pareille à celle de *mana*, et ce parallélisme est significatif.

Il reste à interpréter les formes commençant par **em-* sur lesquelles reposent gr. *ἐμέ*, arm. *im*. À en juger par le génitif **twē* de 2^e personne, on attend ici des formes à vocalisme zéro **me*. C'est ce qu'indique l'adjectif possessif où gr. *ἐμός*, *σός* et arm. *im*, *k'o* concordent avec iran. *ma-*, *θwa-*. La voyelle initiale de gr. *ἐμέ* et arm. *im* n'a pas de valeur organique : le grec et l'arménien, entre autres particularités communes, offrent des voyelles prothétiques régulièrement devant *r-*, sporadiquement devant *m-*, *n-*, *l-*. Et, en effet, tandis que le védique accentue *táva*, sur la première syllabe, l'attique a *ἐμέ*, *ἐμοῦ* comme *σέ*, *σοῦ*. Le hittite *ammug* "mē, mīhi" ne prouve pas que la voyelle initiale de gr. *ἐμέ*, arm. *im* soit organique ; le timbre ne concorde pas avec celui des formes grecques et arméniennes ; l'hypothèse d'une prothèse n'est d'ailleurs pas exclue en hittite ; il faut en réserver la possibilité.

On n'a donc pas le droit d'affirmer que l'indo-iranien ait pu hériter de la forme **ama* sur laquelle est construite l'hypothèse de M. Wackernagel.

Dès l'instant que skr. *māma* est reconnu pour une forme secondaire, on est amené à poser une opposition dialectale de indo-iranien **māna*, *táva*, baltique et slave **mene*, **twē* et de grec *(*e*)*mē*, **twē* (*σέ*), arménien *(*e*)*mo*, **two* (historiquement *k'o*).

L'*m* intérieure de skr. *māma* résulte d'un effort pour donner un sens étymologique à la forme **māna* qui n'était pas analysable. Le pronom de 2^e personne offre une innovation de type différent, mais qui aboutit aussi à rapprocher des autres formes une forme aberrante : au datif la forme gâthique *taibyā* est ancienne, à en juger par v. sl. *tebē*, v. pruss. *tebei*, ombr. *tefe* (lat. *tibi*) ; d'après d'autres formes qui, toutes, avaient *tu-* ou *te-*, le sanskrit a changé **tábhya(m)* en *túbhya(m)*. L'innovation d'où résulte *māma* et celle d'où résulte *túbhyam* proviennent d'une même tendance à normaliser les formes du pronom personnel, à les rendre intelligibles ; le sanskrit opère en effet avec des formes qui souvent sont ainsi analysables ; or, **māna*, **tábhya(m)* entraient mal dans le système. Si le sanskrit a, mieux que l'iranien, gardé la consonne intérieure dans *māhya(m)*, c'est, en partie du moins, parce que, après le passage de **tábhya(m)* à

túbhya(m), la ressemblance de structure avec le pronom de 2^e personne était diminuée ; en iranien, il a été facile de faire **mabya* d'après **tabya*.

Tous les faits s'accordent donc pour établir le caractère secondaire de skr. *máma*.

Les concordances dialectales qu'on a été amené à poser entre l'indo-iranien, le slave et le baltique, d'une part, le grec et l'arménien, de l'autre, sont remarquables et concordent avec beaucoup d'autres. Il y a un troisième type de concordances, qui elles aussi ne sont pas isolées, entre le latin et le germanique qui, l'un et l'autre, emploient pour le génitif du pronom personnel des formes de l'adjectif possessif.

The Name *Munjān* and Some Other Names of Places and Peoples in the Hindu Kush

By G. MORGENSTIERNE

AT present *Munjān* is the name of the upper part of the Kokcha valley, above the place where the Anjuman-Kurān stream joins the main river. According to Yule¹ the district formerly extended towards the north-west, right up to the neighbourhood of Khānābād and Tālikān. However this may be, some place-names seem to indicate that *Munjī* was once spoken further north than is the case at present.²

The inhabitants call the district *Mun'jān*, themselves *Mun'jī(y)* (plur. *Mun'jī'yī*), and their Ir. language *Mun'jī'rōi*. The name *Munjān* is used also by most of their neighbours, such as the Persian-speaking Tajiks, the Kati and the Kalasha Kafirs, with slightly varying pronunciation.

Munjān is apparently an arabized Prs. form of *Mungān*,³ Hūan Tsang's (acc. to Kadgren's restitution) *Mun-g'īm* (= **Mungān*). Accordingly the present form of the name cannot be considered as being of genuine *Munjī* origin.

Marquart⁴ mentions from Ya'qūbī the form المندجان, and from Bērūnī's Canon مدنجان (faulty for مندجان), which he identifies with Hūan Tsang's *Mung-kien* (*Mun-g'īm*). This word **Mand(a)jān*, **Mund(a)jān*, used by the Arab geographers, is nearly identical with *Mandē'zān*, the name for *Munjān* in the Ir. dialect of Sanglēc̣h.

Evidently this word is connected with *Mungān*, *Munjān*; but I am not in a position to explain the origin of the pronunciation -*dj*-, -*dež*-. . At any rate, the Sangl. word must have been borrowed from Prs., as in Sangl. an Ir. -*ān*- results in -*ūn*-, -*ōn*-.⁵ In loanwords Sangl. sometimes substitutes *i* for *j*.

Of greater interest is the name for *Munjān* used in Yidgha, an Ir.

¹ Quoted by Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 226, 231.

² V. Morgenstierne, *An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*, s.v. *searyāmai*.

³ *Ērānšahr*, p. 226; Burkhan-ud-Din-Khan-i-Kushkeki, *Kattagan i Badakhshan*, Tashkend, 1926, p. 134.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ e.g. *po'tān* "thigh" < Av. *pautilāna-*, *zūng* "knee". Cf. also the treatment of *ā* in a local name, such as *izi'vāk* = Prs. *Zābāk*, with that in the word *Cu'trād* "Chitral".

dialect spoken in the Lutkoh valley of Chitral, and very closely related to Munji. Here Munjān is called *Bre'yeŋo* (*Bra'yeŋo*, *Bra'yāŋo*), a word which has the appearance of being native to Yidgha, and very possibly once used by the Munjis themselves.

Yd. *br-* cannot represent an ancient *br-*, which regularly results in *vr-*.¹ The only other Yd. word with *br-* known to me is '*brāyiko*, Mj. '*brāyiko* "a sparrow". The corresponding Sangl. word is *mər'yōg* < **mygākā*, and similar words are found in many Ir. dialects.

If we assume that **mya-* in Mj.-Yd. in the first instance resulted in **mrəg-*, the further development into **mbr-* > *br-* would be quite regular; cf. e.g. *abrūo* "pear", Prs. *amrūd*,² and the general transition of *mb* > *b*.

There seems to me to be no doubt that this derivation of '*brāyiko* must be correct (regarding *Bre'yeŋo* v. below), although I am not able to adduce any other certain instances of a similar treatment of *r*.³ On the other hand, there is no word known to me which disproves this treatment of **mrg-* in Yd. *mīry(ik)o* "meadow", Mj. *muryo*, *mīrya*, Sangl. *mēry* are probably derived from **margyā-*, Av. *marəyā-*, cf. Kurd. *mērg*.—Yd. *muryo*, Mj. *murgiko*, etc., "ant" < **mōr'gā* < **marwikā-*; Yd. *mēr*, Mj. *mēr* "man" < **martya-*. We find **mṛ-* in Yd. *mu'ro*, Mj. *mu'ro* "dead", and in Yd. *milyo*, etc., "clay" < **mṛdikā-* (?). In these words, however, the *r* was followed by a dental with which the *r* may have come into close contact and have been partly assimilated before the group **mrg-* developed into **mrəg-*.

The initial part of *Bre'yeŋo* must likewise be derived from **Mrg-*.⁴ Theoretically **Myk-* might be possible, as *-g-* and *-k-* both result in

¹ e.g. *vrūt* "brother". Mj. *brūt* "moustache" is a loanword, Yd. *vrūt* being adapted to the phonetical system of the dialect.

² Yd. *m'reç* "mulberry" is a recent loanword from Khovar. Khov. *bronz* "meadow", Kalāsha *brun(z)*, Dameli *brās*, Palola *brhūnz*, Kati *brūz(o)*, Prasun *munz* all appear to be derived from **mronz* < **m(a)rz-*. This looks like an Ir. word; but Prs. *marz* "border, field with raised borders" does not suit the meaning.

³ Generally *r* results in Mj.-Yd. *ir*, when influential by labials in *ur*, the *r* being exposed to assimilation with some types of following consonants.—Before groups of consonants: Yd. *xird-*: *xrist* "to shave", Mj. *xrēd-*: *xrest* "to scratch" prob. < **xrint-*: **xrista-*, cf. Paht. *xriyol*; a derivation from **kṛnt-* would not account for the *x*.—Yd. *trušnē* "thirsty" and *trišp(o)* "sour" are difficult words, which present phonetical irregularities in several Ir. dialects.—Yd. *poške-dri* "dung of goats and sheep" seems, however, to be derived from **drti-*, cf. Sangl. *teuōif* "dung of cows", Shgh. *šid* "dung", Wakhi (Zarubin) *šari*, Sarik. (Bel'ew) **šig* (written *thig*), Wershikwar (Zar.) *defk* (prob. horr. from Ir.).

⁴ One informant pronounced '*brayiko*, *Bra'yāyo*, another '*brāyiko*, *Bre'yāyo*. The unstressed *e* may easily correspond to the stressed *ā*. LSI. gives Yd. *breyiko*.

-y- in Yd. and parts of Munjān; but I think **Mṛg-* is the more probable form.

With the ending -*eyo*, -*ayo* we may compare the Yd. place-names *Či'tr-ēyo*, -*āyo* "Chitral", and *Šo'γ-oyo* "Shoghor, n. of a village in Lutkoh, in Khowar territory".

Šo'oyo corresponds to Khow. *Šo'γor*, Tajik-Prs. and Sangl. *Šo'γot*. The Yd. and Prs. words have been borrowed from an earlier Khow. form **Šoγoδ*. In Tajiki -*d* (> -*t*, cf. *būt* "was") was substituted for -*δ*; the Sangl. word was taken over from Prs.

In a similar way the name of Chitral has been borrowed into Yd. at an early date, before the loss of intervocalic dentals.

The indigenous Khowar name of this country and its capital is *Če'trār* (or *Čhe'trār*?), while the northern Kalasha form is *Čhe'trāu*, gen. *Čhe'trālas*. Khow. -*r*, N. Kal. -*u* (-*l*-) point to ancient *-*δ*- < *-*t*-. The forms in -*l* which appear in most neighbouring dialects have either been borrowed from Kal. or are due to dissimilation.¹ Such forms are e.g. S. Kalasha *Ča'tral*, Dameli *Ča'tral*, Palola *Če'trāl*, Bashkarik *Ča'laāḷa*, Shina *Čācāl f.*, Kati *Štrāl*.² In Sangl. we find the recently borrowed form *Če'trāl*, and the more ancient designation of the whole country *Šām-Čatrāḍ*.³

Sangl. *Ča'trāḍ* is probably borrowed from an archaic Khow. **Č(h)etrāḍ*, rather than from a still older form **Čhetrāt*-. In that case we should expect *ā* to have developed into *ō*, *ū*, and possibly also *ç* into *c* (*ts*).

Yd. *Či'trēyo* may have been borrowed from an ancient form in *t*, intervocalic -*t*- resulting in Yd. -*y*-. But on its way towards -*y*- the

¹ As in Khow. *drāl* "inflated skin" < **drāl* < *drti*-.

² The original Kati name is *Bi'lyō*, possibly connected with Kal. *Balalik*, the name of a people inhabiting Chitral before the arrival of Khos and Kalashas. This people is called *Jaṭi* in Kati.

³ In Sangl. the country is often simply called *Kō'stān* "Kohistan".—*Šām* probably originally denotes Upper Chitral, cf. Prasn Kafir *Šim-gul*, *Šimāi-gul* "Chitral", and Chinese *Šang-mi* (anc. *Šjan-mjie*). The Sangl. name for the Kho tribe is 'Kīrī, cf. Yd. 'Kūa, Chinese *K'o-wei*, and Elphinstone's *Kobi* "the distinctive name of the people of Kāshkār or Chitral" (v. *Erānšahr*, p. 244).—The Kalashas call the Khos *Pātu*, a name which might phonetically be derived from **Pāt(h)ava*-, and taken as referring to a Parthian group of invaders, to whom is possibly due the introduction of a certain number of middle Ir. words into Khowar. In a similar way the Gawar-Bati name of Chitral, *Mongul*, is said to refer to the Moghul descent of the present reigning family.—Among the Palola speaking Dangarik of Southern Chitral the Khos are called *Go'khā*, a name related to *Gok*, the Bashkarik designation for the country of Chitral.

original *-t-* passed through the stage *-ḡ-* (ancient *-ḡ-* having already become *-l-*), and it is more likely that the word was adopted into Yd. at a time when this language as well as Khw. had both reached the stage *-ḡ-* < *-t-*.

The *-ē-* in *Āitrēyo* is of doubtful origin. Usually an ancient *ā* results in Yd. *ū*, *ī*, e.g. *wūi* (some Mj. diall. *wīy*) "wind", *lī-* "gave", etc. *ē* < *ā* is found in Mj. *xšēma* "supper", Yd.-Mj. *vrēri* "brother's son", *wulēyo* "span" (**widāti-*, cf. Sangl. *wuḡit*, Shgh. *wiḡēd*). In these cases the *ē* is due to epenthesis, and from a strictly phonological point of view we should expect that the Yd. form had been borrowed from **Chetrāḡi* < **Kṣetrāḡi-* (cf. the fem. gender in Shina). But it must be admitted that such a form appears strange, and, besides, we should perhaps expect the epenthesis to have affected the Khw. form, too. Cf. *kimēri* "woman" < *kumārīkā-*. The fem. *-o* has been added in Mj.-Yd.

In any case it is probable that *Bre'yeyo*, too, contains an original *-t-*,¹ and the original form would be something like **Mr̥gātā*.

Now the genuine Kati name of Munjān is *Mṛūgul*.² *gul* means "valley, country", and with *mṛū* (or *mṛūw*), cf. *mṛōw* "female markhor" (Waigeli *mṛaw*, etc.) < **mṛgāḡi*, and *mṛōec* "sparrow" < **mṛga-čī* (?). Regarding the secondary nasal after initial nasal *v*. *An Etymol. Voc. of Pashto*, s.v. *mōr*, and cf. e.g. *Nāwgar* "Nagar", a village in Chitral.

Thus the Kati name, too, appears to be derived from a stem *Mr̥ga-*, and one is led to consider the possibility of explaining the name *Mur̥g-ān*, *Mun̥j-ān* in a similar way. In several Ir. dialects of the Hindu-Kush and Pamir *rn* results in *n*, and a development **Mr̥g- > *Mur̥ng- > Mung-* does not seem impossible.³

Regarding the original meaning of the name it is worth noticing that the Prasun Kafirs call Munjān *Šabol*, a word which seems to be connected with Skr. *śāḍwala-*⁴ "grass, grassy spot".

According to Robertson,⁵ the only European who has visited Munjān, this valley is "practically treeless, but is noted for its good grazing". And it seems probable that the name of the valley is either

¹ **-f-* is phonetically possible, but not probable.

² In myths and legends *Kēmōr* is used, cf. *Pomoru* = *Munjān* on the map in Robertson's *The Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush*?

³ Cf. Mj. *amīngo* "apple", Psht. *mapa*, etc. < *-marn-*.

⁴ Pras. *-b-* < *-de-*; cf. *-p-* < *-tr-* in *ēpū* "4", *Yipō* "Kati, Ktīvi" < **Katri-* (?).

⁵ Op. cit., p. 320. [In 1924 Vavilov passed through the valley.]

originally connected with the group of words represented by Av. *marəyā-* "meadow", or has secondarily been interpreted as meaning "meadow". It is not probable that this name has anything to do with *Merw*, Anc. Prs. *Marguš*.

The Yidgha language, a comparatively recent offshoot of Munjī, is called in Mj. and Yd. *Yed'γā*, Mj. also *Yid'gāna rōi*. A man from Lutkoh is called Yd. *'Idγ*, plur. *Idγē*, Mj. *Yidg*, plur. *Yid'gā*. The Yidgha-speaking part of Lutkoh is called Yd. *Idγ*, also used in the obl. pl. *Id'γef*, Mj. *Yid'yūn*, Prs. and Khaw. *Injigān*.

All these forms are derived from a base **(h)ind' / ka-*, or possibly **wind-*. It is not probable that the word has anything to do with "Hind", etc., and originally denoted the part of the Munjī tribe settling on the Indian side of the passes. Chitral has not, till quite recently, been considered as a part of India.

A number of other names of places and peoples current among the tribes of the Hindu-Kush appear to be ancient, and may perhaps one day be traced in literary sources. I shall mention a few instances only.

The Kalashas call themselves *Ka'lāṣa*, but the Kati name is *Kas'wo*, Prasun *'Kaswa*, *-wo*, *-wa* being a usual adjective suffix.

Kafiristan is called *Čatruma-dēš* in Kalasha, while *Pa'rōy* in Sangl. means a Kafir. Waigel, *Wai'ghāu*, gen. *Wai'ghālas* in Kal., is called *Ət'mā*, *Āt'mā* (< **Katruma* - ?) by the Prasuns. This curious and isolated Kafir tribe use the name *Wasī* (< **Pasūn*) for themselves. This word is certainly connected with Kati *Prasū*, *Psūwul* (< **Prasū-gul*), and possibly also with Prs. *Pa'rūn*, Sangl. *Pō'rūn*. The original form may have been something like **Pasrūn*. Cf. also Ashkun *Pāṣ*, Waig. *Piē*. A different name for Prasun is Yd. *Wī'rōn*, Prs. *Wī'rōn* (-r- possibly < **θr*), cf. Kal. *Wetr* and *We-dēš* (< **Wetr-dēš*).

The imposing mountain, visible from afar, which dominates Chitral and the surrounding districts, is known by a number of names. In Khaw. it is called *Teriē Mēr*, a name which I, following a suggestion of Professor Konow's, have ventured to derive from Skr. **tirīca-*, and *Meru*.¹ Sangl. *Tālaš Mīr* and Kal. *Taraš Mīr* are simply borrowed from Khaw. But other Kal. forms, *Tariž* and *Tarziž Mīu* would seem to indicate a derivation from **Mā-*, **Mīt-*, not **Mēr*.² It is, however, possible that Kal. *-u*, *-l* has been substituted for Khaw. *-r*, according to the usual scheme of phonetical correspondences between the two languages.

¹ Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan, p. 69.

² Cf. Khaw. *Birir*, Kal. *Biriu*, loc. *Biri'lia*, name of a village in Chitral.

One Kati name is *Māksārukṣtu*, another, used in Urtsun, is *Meziri Min*; cf. *Maisur Mun*, which, according to the Military Report on Chitral, is said to be the Kafir name of Terich Mer. Another Kati name is *Dego-nos* (*nos* "nose": Kati *nasur*, Waig. *nas*). The Sanglechis, finally, use a modern Muslim designation: *Xōḷa Nīm kū Sarvār*.¹

ADDITIONAL NOTE.—In his posthumous work, *Das erste Kapitel des Gāthā uštavaī*, p. 42 (cf. also *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran*, pp. 86, 137 sqq.), Markwart (Marquart) for historical and geographical reasons, identifies Munjān with the country of the *sakā haumavrgā*.—It is tempting to compare M.Ir. **(h)ōmwury-* with **Mrg-* (v. above, p. 442). But, although an initial *(h)a-* seems to have been elided in Mj. in a few words, no instance is known of a long vowel or diphthong being lost. Note, however, Greek *Ἀμύργιοι*, and other forms which suggest the possibility of an early shortening of the initial part of this word. Besides, the development does not necessarily belong to Mj. itself.

The suffix *-eyo* in *Br'γeyo* (v. p. 442) may be a later addition, due to the influence of such names as *Čī'trēyo*, *Šō'γoyō*.

¹ Cf. "Tiraj Mir or Sarowar": Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan*, p. 188; Stein, *Serindia*, i, p. 51.

A Kharoṣṭhī Inscription from Endere

By PETER S. NOBLE

AMONG the numerous Kharoṣṭhī documents recovered from Chinese Turkestan and transcribed and edited by A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson, and E. Senart, is one which is in many ways unique. This is the oblong wooden tablet which is numbered 661 in the second volume of these scholars' *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, where there is given on plate xii a photographic reproduction of the document in question. It is one of the few documents discovered at Endere, which seems in ancient times to have been a sort of military fort situated about half-way between Charchan (Calmadāna of the inscriptions) and Nina or Niya (Caḍ'ota). Not only does it show some marked peculiarities of alphabet, dialect, and general style of composition, but as can be seen from the reproduction the form of writing also is quite unusual. It is written in a very stiff and archaic form of script, but the ink is fresh and the writing is very well preserved and clear and Konow is probably right when he says in his paper on "The Names of the Kings in the Niya documents", published in *Acta Orientalia*, that "it does not seem possible to ascribe a late date to E. vi, ii, i, which is probably not an original but a copy from an old tablet". Various indications supporting this view of a very early date for the original of this document will be noticed in the course of the following commentary. For the sake of convenience of reference, I repeat the text of the inscription here.

samvatsare 10 maḡ. e 3 dhivajha 10 4 4 ij'a ch'unami khotana
maharaya rayatiraya hinajhasya avij'idasiṃhasya ta kali asti manus'a
nag'arag'a khvarnarse nama tatha madraḍi asti mayi uṭaḡ tanuvag'aḡ
so uṭaḡ aphiṇanu haradi dhahi aghita drij'u VAS'O ta idani so uṭo
vikrināmi mulyāna maṣa sahasra aṣṭi 4 4 1000 sulig'a vag'iti
vadhag'asya sag'aj'i tasya uṭasya kiḍa vag'iti vadhag'a niravas'iṣo
mulyo maṣa dhitu khvarnarsasya grahidu s'udhi uvag'adu aji
uvadayi so uṭaḡ vag'iti vadhag'asya tanuvag'aḡ samvritah yatha
g'ama g'aranīyah sarva kica karaniyah yo pacema kali tasya uṭasya
kiḍa cudiyadi vidiyadi vivadu uthaviyadi tāna tatha dhaḍu dhinadi
yatha rajadhaṃu syadi maya dhavalag'u bahudhiva likhidu
khvarnarsasya ajiṣanayi puradu SPA S'A NA.

nani vadhag'a sach'i, s'as'ivakā sach'i, spaniyakā sach'i.

Though I am unable to offer, even tentatively, a complete translation of this inscription, yet, inasmuch as it is more free from common words which are clearly of non-Indian origin than practically all the other inscriptions in the collection, leaving aside the four words *dhahi aghita drij'u VAS'O*, one may translate the remainder as follows:—

"On the eighteenth day of the third month of the tenth year of this regnal period of the great king of Khotan, the supreme lord Hinajha Avijitasimpha, at this time there is a man of the city who is called Khvarnarse. He makes the following statement. I possess a camel which is my own property. This camel Aph'iñanu carries off . . . Therefore I now sell this camel at the price of one thousand and eight 1008 māsa to the Tibetan Vag'iti Vadhag'a. In regard to this camel Vag'iti Vadhag'a has paid the full price in māsa and Khvarnarsa has received it and a quittance has been reached. From this time henceforth the camel has become the property of Vag'iti Vadhag'a to do with it as he pleases and to use it for all purposes. If anyone at a later time regarding this camel shall enter any objection or make any report or a dispute arises, by so doing he shall pay such fine as the law of the realm shall decree.

"This was written by me Dhavalagu Bahudhiva for the instruction of Khvarnarse in the presence of SPA S'A NA (that is the initials of the witnesses).

"The witnesses were Nani Vadhag'a, S'as'ivaka Spaniyaka."

Comment

maṣ. e. As can be seen in the reproduction on plate xii, there is at the foot of the letter *s* in this word a sweeping curve from left to right, and their inability to account for this curve the editors have signified by a blank. Konow in his version transcribes this sign as *sy* and we must then assume that *masya* is the adjectival form used in the same sense as the regular *māsa* as is found in the inscription on the Wardak Vase. Against this rendering, *sy*, it is to be observed that we find the regular sign for *sy* frequently elsewhere in the inscription as in *siṃhasya*, *vadhag'asya*, *tasya*, *uṣasya*, and it is clearly quite different in appearance from the sign used in *maṣ. e.* It will be further observed on reading the inscription through that one of the most characteristic signs of this Kharoṣṭhī alphabet as used in Central Asia seems to be lacking altogether from this document, namely the sign which is transcribed *ṣ* in the other documents. It seems highly probable,

moreover, from what is known of the development of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet and of the phonetic history of the Niya dialect that the sound represented by the sign written ṣ and therefore the sign itself developed late, and if, as Konow has suggested, the document as we have it now is merely a copy of a much older original, the latter may then belong to a time prior to the development of the sound which is represented by ṣ . It may be that the later scribe when he began to copy this ancient document with its archaic script, accustomed as he would be to the form *mase*, which we regularly find elsewhere in the date-formula of these inscriptions, was forgetful that the ṣ sound had not then developed, and wrote *mase* when he should really have written *mase* with simple *s*. After examining the photograph I cannot but think that the curve under consideration is nothing more than an ornamental form of what in other documents is simply a more or less straight line.

The form *mase*, however, assuming that it is right here, brings us face to face with the problem of the sound represented by this new sign ṣ . The problem has been very fully discussed on pp. 310-13 of Professor Rapson's edition, where it is held that the origin of this ṣ , which is so characteristic of the documents from Niya, is probably to be found in the sign read *ssa* on a copper coin of Kujula Kadphises. It most commonly represents original *sy*, as in the termination of the genitive singular, e.g. *maharayaṣa*, but it also represents what cannot be other than single *s*, as in *divaṣe*, *mase*. It may be that in such instances it is carelessly used by the scribes without any original phonetic justification, and when its origin and true value were forgotten, but at the same time such instances are strongly in favour of Professor Turner's theory that ṣ represents "Middle Indian, intervocalic single *s*", which probably tended to become a z sound, just as the intervocalic surds became sonants and then spirants. Additional support for this view may be found perhaps in the sign for ṣ , the lower part of which shows the same base-line from left to right which is so characteristic of signs such as *g'*, *j'*, *d'*, where it marks the change from surd to sonant spirant pronunciation.

In connection with this sign ṣ some of the proper names found in the Niya documents are interesting. That intervocalic *s* was written with the sign ṣ while otherwise ordinary *s* is retained, can be seen in such names as *s'araṣena*, *budhaṣena* by the side of *s'arsena*, *butsena* (for *budhsena*, though this, of course, is probably due to convenience in writing). Dr. Thomas in his paper on "Names of Places and Persons in Ancient Khotan" has suggested that the shorter forms were the

original names, and the longer forms are attempts to Indianize them. "Buddhaghōṣa," he says, "is unimpeachable as a Buddhist name; but its popularity may have been due partly to the unmistakably native Bugosa, the Anglus becoming an Angelus." There is no evidence, however, as far as I am aware, that Buddhaghōṣa has any connection whatsoever with Bugosa for they may very well be quite independent of each other. It is more probable, in my opinion, that the Angelus became the Anglus, as it were, and that the original forms of the names were *budhaṣena* and *s'araṣena*—the latter has a very good Indian appearance as a name, even though it may not give very good sense as a compound—while *butṣena* and *s'arsena* are merely popular abbreviated forms or what in German are called Kosenamen. If the shorter forms, as Dr. Thomas suggests, were the original forms, remembering the connection between intervocalic *s*, *j*, or *jh* (cf. *dhivajha* in this inscription), so common in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, I do not see how one can explain forms like *bujhmoyika* and *namarajhma*, beside which we also find *busmoyika* and *namarasma*. But the key to the mystery is given at once when we find *bujhimoyika*, although one would expect to find the full *z* form in No. 611 *buṣimoyika*, and not as we do find *busimoyika*. As has been said above, however, the scribes are not consistent and that the tendency was to make the *s* a sonant is supported by the form *bujhimoyika*. Just as *bujhimoyika*, *busimoyika*, have lost a vowel, to become *bujhmoyika*, *busmoyika*, so *s'arsena*, *butṣena*, by a similar loss of a syllable must be derived from *s'araṣena*, *budhaṣena*, while for *namarajhma* we must likewise assume an original form *namarajhima*, though it does not occur in the existing documents. A similar loss of a syllable in such pairs of names is very common, as, for example, *ramaṣoṅka*, *tsugeṣla*, *bhugelg'a* (note the *g'*), *apcira*, and *budhas'ra* by the side of *ramaṣoṅka*, *tsugeṣila*, *bhugelug'a*, *apacira*, and *budhas'ira*. One name shows two reduced forms, and is otherwise interesting, as showing the interchange between *ph'* and *p* namely *tiraph'ara* (No. 582), which appears as *dirpara* (584) and *dirpira* (637). The *lp'* which we find at the beginning of so many names in these documents, such as *lp'ipeya* (cf. *lipe*) *lp'ipang'a*, *lp'ipita* (cf. *lp'ipta*) *lp'imsu* (cf. the feminine name *lp'imisoae*), probably originates in the same way. Some vowel, perhaps an *a* or *i* has probably fallen out between the *l* and *p'*. In one proper name, *jhaḡ'amoya*, *jhaḡ'imoya* side by side with *sag'amo*, *sag'amoya*, we find unexpectedly the sonant form initially. It is possible that this and a very few more instances, e.g. *jhenig'a*, if it means "soldier", and is connected with Skt. *sena*

are due to mistakes on the part of the scribes, but it is more likely, especially in the case of the proper names, that the initial sound was pronounced with voice just as we find, for instance, in the name written by Lüders *ysamotika*, where the *ys* definitely represents a sonant sibilant.

dhivajha: for the usual *divase* with omission of the usual case termination. The *jh*, like the *s*, in *maie*, shows the tendency to sonantize intervocalic *s* and like it, too, is confined in this inscription to the date formula. The initial *dh*, instead of *d*, may indicate the same tendency that has been noticed already for intervocalic surds to become sonant spirants, wrongly used here initially, or it may simply be carelessness on the part of the scribe. Aspiration seems to be in a very chaotic condition in these inscriptions, and practically every single stop is found where we would expect the corresponding aspirate or vice versa. Thus *saṃghalidaḡa* < $\sqrt{\text{kal}}$ -, *bhich'usamga* = *bhikṣusamgha*, *paribhuchamṇae* < $\sqrt{\text{bhuj}}$, *daridavo* = causative of $\sqrt{\text{dhr}}$, and in this inscription *dhadu* = *daṇḍam* and *dhinadi* < $\sqrt{\text{dā}}$.

ij'a: corresponds to the *is'a* (cf. *koj'alya*—*koś'alya*), which we find elsewhere in the Niya documents and in many Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from India.

ch'unami: elsewhere this word shows the superscript line over the first letter but this omission cannot be regarded as accidental for it is omitted three times also in the word *sach'i*. Perhaps the use of the superscript line denoting a compound *akṣara*, in this case *kṣ*, had not yet been developed. There are two other instances of *ch'* in this word *sach'i* in these inscriptions, namely in Nos. 186 and 358, but as all the other instances show *ch'*, these two are doubtless merely slips in the writing. *ch'unami* itself is probably as Konow has suggested, "the same word which occurs as *kshāna* in certain Saka documents from the Khotan country, and as *kshuṃ* in Tocharian documents from Kuci, where it means 'rule', 'term' ". That the kingdom of Kuci or Kucha was known to the writers of the Niya documents can be seen in the frequent references to *kuci rajammi* in Nos. 621, 629, 632.

khotana maharaya: This tablet (661) is the only place in the Niya documents where we find mentioned the name of "the great king of Khotan." In No. 214 one of the subordinate "kings", or, as we should perhaps say, "rulers of a district", informs his officers that he is sending a horse as a present to the great king of Khotan, but no name is given. The name of this king in No. 661 seems to be *Hinajha Avijitasimha*, who does not seem to be elsewhere known, for though in

his list in *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 582-3, Dr. Thomas mentions three kings of Khotan, called Vijayasimha, which can, of course, have much the same meaning as Avijitasimha, he gives none who has this actual name. The name Hinajha is probably a native Central Asian word for the nearest Sanskrit form, *hinaja* (low born), could obviously not be applied to a rajadhiraja. The first part, however, recalls Khotanī *hina* (army), which is connected with Iranian *haena* and so Skt. *senā*. If the second part could then be connected with \sqrt{j} i, giving the meaning "conqueror of armies" or with *aja*, so as to mean "leader of armies", the name might then be a title having much the same meaning as *Avijitasimha*.

ta kali = tat-kāle. It is characteristic of this inscription that there is a marked tendency towards confusion in the use of *a*, *i*, *e*, the last being sometimes retained as in *saṃvatsare*, *mase*, *pacema*, though we more commonly find *pačina* in the other documents, sometimes replaced by *i* as twice in *kali*, *saḡ'aḡ'i*, *niravaś'iso*, but most frequently represented by *a* modified by a single dot above the sign. This modified *a* derived in some instances from *e* seems to represent an *e* sound tending towards an *a* sound rather than *i*. It may be represented perhaps by *ā* just as in German. This sign is found in *manuś'ā*, *naḡ'araḡ'ā*, *maḡrādi*, *mulyāna*, *maṣā*, *tāna*, and so on.

naḡ'araḡ'a: The *g'* doubtless signifies a guttural sonant spirant sound, just as the *j'* in *saḡ'aḡ'i* (= sakāśe) represents a palatal spirant.

khvarnarse: The same suffix *-arsa* is seen in other proper names such as *samarsa*, *kollarsa*, *maṃtarsa*, *caḍiyaarsa*, and so on. How far this type of name is connected with the type which we have seen to end in *-sena* is not yet clear. In his paper on the "Names of Persons and Places in Ancient Khotan", Dr. Thomas has suggested that very few of these names are really Sanskrit compounds, and that the majority have been made from place-names by the addition of suffixes, such as *sa*, *na*, and such like, meaning "belonging to" or "coming from". Thus from *Bhima* (Phye-ma) he thinks is formed first *Bhimasa* and then *Bhimasena*, but we must wait until we know more definitely what *Bhima* and others such as *Cikra*, *Yipiga*, and so on really mean.

uṭaḥ tanuvag'aḥ: There can be no doubt now that *uṭa* means "camel", representing Skt. *uṣṭra*.

tanuvag'aḥ is the same word as we find in the Taxila Silver Scroll as *tanuvae* and *tanuvakammi* in the Kurram Casket. A comparison of the passages in which it occurs in the documents establishes its

meaning to be "own", "belonging to" or, as it sometimes seems to be used as a noun, "property". Konow says, it is evidently the same word, which became the common genitive suffix in Gujarātī and Mārwarī, and is doubtless ultimately derived from some Prakrit form of Skt. *ātman*, e.g. *attaṇo* (Pischel, p. 281) (but Professor Turner informs me that this suffix is *-no*, whereas Skt. *-n-* always becomes *ṇ* in these languages. It would seem better then to derive *tanuvag'a* from Skt. *tanū-*). The camel in the case was first the "property" of the citizen Khvarnarsa, who sold it to be the "property" of Vag'iti Vadhaḡ'a.

madrādi: Corresponding to the usual *matreti*, *maṇṭreti*, and with the same meaning as the very common *matra* or *maṇṭra deti*. The corresponding Sanskrit form is *mantrayate*, and as is usual in Prakrit, the middle termination is replaced by the active and the denominative suffix by *e*. In this peculiar dialect of Endere the regular Niya *e* is here replaced by the modified *ā*, while in the similar forms *cudiyadi*, *vidiyadi* (unless they are passives), the same original sound appears as *i* just as original *e* appears as *i* in *kali*, *saḡ'aj'i*, *niravas'iso*, *dhinadi*.

so uṭaḥ: If *aph'iṇanu* is a proper name and subject of the verb *haradi*, as would seem to be confirmed by the order of the words, then we have a clear nominative form *so uṭaḥ* as the object of a verb. As a rule, in the Niya documents the bare stem is used both for the nominative and the accusative cases, but this is the only example I know of a nominative in place of an accusative. A single example of this kind is probably to be ascribed to carelessness.

The declension of nouns in the dialect of these inscriptions reminds one strongly of Prakrit and Pali. The case system is very much broken down, and there is a great deal of confusion in the use of the cases. In the more formal documents the cases are kept fairly distinct, but in the ordinary language of every-day business the most frequently used case is that which is in form a genitive singular, but which may also be used indifferently as a dative or an instrumental. Thus, beside the genitive *maharayaṣa* we find *maya maharayaṣa*, where it clearly has the force of an instrumental and *mayi maharayaṣa*, where it must be a dative. Indeed, the dialect is fast approaching the stage where the noun shows only two forms, one which serves for nominative and accusative, and is usually the bare stem, and the other which serves for genitive, dative, and instrumental, and is in form the old genitive. The locative remains, but is chiefly used for purposes of dating, and

there are occasional examples of the ablative, which has however been usually replaced by a suffix *-de*, e.g. *ninade* = "from Niya".

Apart from the peculiar use of the dative, as, for instance, in No. 437, *mulī s'ega vithidae huati*, meaning "part of the price is kept back" or "is to be kept back", a dative which recalls the final dative of Latin, the most striking instance of the transference of case value is that whereby the instrumental case can take the place of the nominative as the subject of the sentence, a use which is found in Avestan, and, I believe, in modern Nepali and some other Modern Indo-Aryan languages. Thus in No. 283 we find *ahaṃ maharayena . . . hoḍemi* and in No. 622 *maharayaṃputra kala puṃnyabalena lihati*, as compared with No. 635, *kala puṃñabala mahi maharayaṃ viñavita*. The explanation may be as follows. The commonest part of the verb in actual use is the past participle passive. In transitive verbs the past participle is construed with the instrumental of the agent, but in a neuter verb such as $\sqrt{\text{gam}}$, the past participle is used actively, and *ahu gata* means "I have gone". Transitive verbs were then modelled on this use, and *giḍ'a* from meaning "has been received" came to mean "has received". From *agata* is formed a first person singular indicative *agatemi*, and modelled on the same pattern we find *giḍ'emi* (I have received), and the instrumental which had properly accompanied *giḍ'a* was still retained with *giḍ'emi*, having changed from the case of the agent to that of the subject. This process was further helped by the fact that in groups of words forming one syntactical whole only the final member was inflected. Thus, in No. 575 we find *lp'ihida maya raja divira s'ramaṇna dhaṇapriyena*, where the proper name is in the instrumental case, while *divira* and *s'ramaṇna* remain uninflected. It may be, too, that the so-called genitive which can, so far as meaning is concerned, replace both dative and instrumental, sometimes acts the part of the nominative. Thus, in this inscription from Endere, No. 661, after the camel has been sold to Vag'iti Vadhag'a, we read that "Vag'iti Vadhag'a has paid the full price in māṣa and Khvarnarse has accepted it". If *dhitu*, then, stands for *datta*, and is used actively, so also *grahidu* = *grhīta* (usually in the Niya documents *giḍ'a*, and so either a definite Sanskritism or a further proof of the antiquity of the original document), may be used actively, in which case *Khvarnasya* would be a genitive-instrumental used nominatively.

dhahi aghita drij'u VAS'O: I am unable to deal with these four words the last of which is written much larger than the remainder of the inscription, and is enclosed within a ring.

dhahi may represent what usually appears as *taha* (= *tatha*), even although *tatha* does occur above. The *dh* instead of *t* is no more uncommon than the *t* instead of *dh* in *rayatiraya*, while the final *i* instead of *a* is parallel to the *i* in *aji uvadayi*. *aghita* may be the same as the usual form *ag'eta*, which seems to be some kind of official title, while so far as form goes *drij'u* may be the same as Skt. *triṃśat*. It is possible that *aghita* may be connected with Skt. *argha* "price" and so = "paid".

idani is Skt. *idānīm*, while *maṣā* is doubtless Skt. *māṣa*, and *sulig'a* is perhaps as Dr. Thomas has suggested, "a native of Kashgar," from Tibetan *S'u-lig*. *aṣti*, observe, retains its original *ṣ*, whereas elsewhere in these inscriptions we find *aṭa*, *aṭha*, but the *a* has changed to *i*.

sag'aj'i is, of course, the Skt. *sakāṣe*, literally "in the presence of", used post-positively in these inscriptions to signify the recipient. The commonest word used with the same meaning and in the same way in the documents from Niya is *vaṃti*, which represents the Skt. *upānte*, e.g. No. 3, *taya striae vaṃti*.

s'udhi uvag'adu = "a quittance of the debt was reached" just as we find in Sanskrit *s'uddhim √i*, and so on.

aji uvadayi: Show the same *i* for *a* that is so common in this inscription. The usual Niya form is *aja uvadae* or *aju uvadae*, *ajuvadae*, *ajuvadaya*, and a blend of the last two *ajuvadaye*. It corresponds to the Sanskrit *adya upādāya*, where *upādāya* is used in the same sense as *ārabhya*, that is "beginning from to-day", "from this day henceforth." Cf. *idovadae*, *ito uvadae*, *idovadaya* "from that time forward".

yatha g'ama g'aranīyah: It is strange to find immediately after this phrase the same word *g'aranīyah* appearing as *karanīyah*. The explanation may be that *yatha g'ama*, corresponding to the Skt. *yathākāma(m)*, is a compound word, and so the intervocalic medial *k* changes to the sonant spirant *g'*. In the next phrase, which seems to correspond to Skt. *sarva kṛtya karanīyah*, and may be rendered "to be used for all purposes", the words are evidently looked upon as separate units.

pacema: As has been noted above, we have here *e* instead of the usual *i*, but we have also *c* without the usual superscript line, just as we saw in *ch'unami*. This superscript line denotes a compound letter, as in *viḡa* (= *vighna*), *nič'h'atra* (= *nakṣatra*), *kriṣag'a* (= *kṛṣṇaka*), *dhaṃa* (= *dharma*), and so *ċ* represents *s'c*, as in *paċa* (= *pas'cāt*),

niče (= *nis'caya*), *kači* (= *kas'cit*), and *nači* in No. 675, which seems to represent *na kas'cit*. The omission of the superscript line in *pacema*, together with the same omission in *ch'unami*, and three times in *sach'i* may be further proof of the very early date of the original document.

kida = Skt. *kṛte* "on account of", "in respect of." The modified *d* represents Skt. *e*, as has been already noted, but more striking is the *d* instead of *d'*, as is most common in this word in the Niya documents. Thus we frequently find *kaṭavo*, *kaḍ'avo* (= *kartavya*) and *kiṭa*, *kiḍ'a*, *kiḍ'ae*, *kiḍ'ag'a*, *kiḍ'ati*, all representing some form of Skt. *kṛta*. The development seems to have been first from *kṛt*- to *kaṭ*- and then to *kaḍ'*-, where *d'* represents a lingual spirant. So we find Skt. *grhīta* > *giṭa* > *giḍ'a*, Skt. *prābhṛta* > *prahuḍ'a*, Skt. *ghaṭi* > *gaḍ'i*, Skt. *markaṭa* > *makaḍ'a*, Skt. *kukkuṭa* > *kukuḍ'a*, Skt. *vaḍavi* > *vaḍ'avi*, Pkt. *paḍhama* > *paḍ'ama*, and from the present stem *icch-* of the verb *√* *iṣ* we find a past participle *paḍ'ichita* corresponding to Skt. *pratiṣṭa*. Perhaps the retention of the *d* instead of the usual *d'*, which does not occur in the inscription, is further evidence that the document is an early one.

cudiyadi: This and the following words are part of the general formula clinching a sale of property, which appears in many of the documents relating to such transactions. As a typical example may be taken part of inscription No. 437, Cov.-tablet, l. 2: "ajuvaḍaye tāya kuḍ'iyae prace maṣḍhig'eyasa eśvarya siyati yathā kāma karaṃni siyāti śarva karaṃnena prabhaveyāti yo ca koci paḍīma kalaṃmi tāya kuḍ'iyae kridena caṃkura kapg'eya ni bhratare bhratu putro va praputro va ṇātiyo aṃṇa kilmeci v'asu ag'etana śa ca bītivara maṃtra nikhaleyaṃti aṃṇatha icheyaṃti taha rayadvaraṃmi muho codamṇa apramaṃna ca bhaveyati taṃḍa praptaṃ ca deyaṃti . . ." which may be tentatively translated: "And from this time henceforth Maṣḍhigeya is to have full authority in regard to this woman to do with her whatsoever he pleases and to be master of her in every way. And with regard to this woman whosoever at any later time whether the brothers of Caṃkura of Kapg'eya or a brother's son or grandson or other kinsman belonging to Kilme shall on a second occasion seek to cancel this decision of the V'asu Ag'etas or shall desire to alter it, then at the royal court any oral demurrer shall be without effect and they shall pay the fine incurred . . ."

The only part included in No. 661 and omitted in the otherwise comprehensive formula from No. 437 are the words *vivadu utthaviyadi*, which clearly represent Skt. *vivāda utthāpyate* "a dispute is stirred up",

cudiyadi and *vidiyadi* with the change of *e* to *i*, which is so characteristic of this document represent Skt. *codayate* and *vedayate*, while *dhaḍu* is Skt. *daṇḍam* with *dh* for *d*, as in *dhivajha*, and also in *dhinadi*, if it is the same as the more usual Niya form *denati* < $\sqrt{dā}$. Professor Turner, to whose kindness I owe several valuable corrections and suggestions, thinks that *dhinadi* does not represent the usual *denati*, but is a denominative verb formed from the past partic. *dinna-* (with *i* from **dita-* in Hi. *deyā* < **dotó-*; or possibly from *gin-* "take" < *grhṇ-* since the verbs "take" and "give" mutually affect each other everywhere in Indo-Aryan).

The remainder of the inscription is clear. *rajadhamu* represents *rājyadharma(m)*, with Skt. *dharma* changed over to the neuter class; *dhaṇaḷag'u bahudhivā* is the scribe's name, where the final *ā* may recall the common *e* or *i* termination of proper names as *Khvarnarse* or *Vag'iti*; *likhidu* retaining the original *kh*, as might be expected in an early document, instead of the more usual *h* and representing Skt. *likhitam*; *ajiṣanayi* twice shows *i* where in the second syllable we regularly find *e* and in the last usually *a*, sometimes *e*, and represents Skt. *adhyeṣanaya* = "for the instruction of"; while *puradu* represents Skt. *purataḥ*, with the final *-aḥ* replaced by *-aṇ*, and so appearing as *-u* and meaning "in the presence of" followed by the initials of the witnesses (*sach'i* = *sākṣin*), *Spaniyakā*, *S'as'ivakā*, and *Nani Vadhagā*, all showing in their final the modified *ā* sound.

Deux Noms Indiens du Dieu Soleil

Par JEAN PRZYLUCKI

I. AJA EKAĀD

LES textes védiques ne nous renseignent guère sur la nature du "Bouc monopède" (*Aja ekaṇād*). Dans la plus ancienne littérature, il est généralement en relation avec le "Serpent du fond" (*Ahi budhmya*) et cette association s'affirme jusque dans le rituel domestique.¹ *Atharva-veda*, xii, 1, 7, nous apprend que Rohita, le "Rouge", après avoir ordonné l'univers et établi la voûte céleste (*nāka*), érigea un support pour étayer le ciel. Au vers précédent, cet être gigantesque est appelé *Aja ekaṇād*.² V. Henry, suivi par Bloomfield, admettait que cet animal mythique était une entité solaire (*Les Hymnes Rōhitas*, p. 25; *SBE.*, xlii, p. 664). H. Oldenberg n'en voulut rien croire (*Religion du Vēda*, trad. Henry, p. 60, n. 2). A. Hillebrandt reste indécis (*Ved. Myth.*, iii, p. 340). Macdonell, approuvé par Keith, identifie le "Bouc monopède" avec l'éclair (*Ved. Myth.*, p. 74; *Rel. and Phil. of the Veda and Upanishads*, p. 137).

L'opinion de V. Henry touchant la nature solaire de ce monstre est conforme à la tradition indienne (*Durga*, sur *Nir.*, xii, 29) et s'accorde avec un passage du *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa*, iii, 1, 2, 8, suivant lequel *Aja ekaṇād* naît à l'est.

Suivant l'épopée, le Soleil est formé de deux parties: l'une lumineuse qui nous éclaire, et l'autre obscure qu'on appelle son "pied" (*pāda*). Au moyen de ce "pied", il pompe l'eau pendant huit mois et la fait ensuite retomber en pluie pendant quatre mois (*Mhbhār.*, viii, 79, 78, et xii, 363, 5 et suiv.; cf. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 85).

Ce dernier mythe a pu être suggéré aux populations de l'Asie des moussons par le spectacle des trombes. Pour expliquer ce phénomène, ainsi que les averses continues de la saison pluvieuse, on disait que les eaux d'en bas étaient aspirées vers le ciel, par l'animal solaire, pendant les mois de la saison sèche, et cette croyance

¹ A. B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, p. 137.

² Le même vers reparait dans *TB.* avec de légères variantes; cf. *AJP.*, xii, 443, et *Atharva-veda-saṃhitā*, trad. Whitney et Lanman, p. 711.

trouvait d'ailleurs confirmation dans un fait périodiquement observé : c'est dans le temps où le soleil brille avec le plus d'éclat que réservoirs, étangs, cours d'eau décroissent et tarissent comme si l'astre pompait l'élément humide.

Que le bouc, animal chaleureux, et ses congénères (gazelle, cerf, antilope)¹ aient été de bonne heure identifiés avec le Soleil, c'est ce que V. Henry n'avait pas manqué d'observer (cf. "Physique védique", *JA.*, 1905, ii, p. 404). J'ai, d'autre part, amorcé l'étude d'une série de récits indiens où un animal couleur d'or (oiseau ou cerf volant), qui n'est autre que le Soleil, prend chaque jour son essor pour atteindre la cime d'un grand arbre. C'est ainsi que, dans un conte tiré du *Vinaya des Mahāsāṃghika*, un chasseur voit le roi des cerfs qui vient à travers l'espace se poser sur un *nyagrodha*. "Son corps répandait une clarté qui illuminait les gorges de la montagne."²

On avait donc, d'une part, le mythe du Soleil qui aspire les eaux et, d'autre part, celui de l'animal solaire placé à la cime de l'arbre qui s'élève au centre du monde. Le monstre védique *Aja ekapād* paraît dû à la superposition de ces deux images. *Pāda* signifiant "pied" et "support" convenait bien pour désigner le perchoir de l'animal solaire et le pédoncule par où le soleil aspire les eaux terrestres. D'autres circonstances ont dû contribuer au choix du mot *pād(a)*. L'arbre est appelé en sanskrit *pādapa* "qui boit par le pied" parce que ce végétal absorbe l'eau de la terre et la fait monter dans son tronc. C'est précisément en petit la fonction de l'arbre cosmique, support ou pied du Soleil.

En somme, diverses représentations réelles ou mythiques s'accordaient à suggérer l'image monstrueuse d'*Aja ekapād* : trombe, décrue pendant la saison sèche, bouc solaire, arbre cosmique. Sans le témoignage des contes et de l'épopée, on n'arriverait pas à comprendre que le soleil éclatant a un long support obscur parce que l'animal solaire est perché sur l'arbre du monde. Les textes védiques ne suffisent pas à distinguer les éléments de cette combinaison ; ils permettent du moins d'affirmer qu'elle est ancienne.³

¹ Sur l'identité du bouc et de la gazelle dans les représentations indiennes, cf. "Les Salva", *JA.*, 1929, i, p. 319.

² "Les Salva," *ibid.*, p. 338.

³ Dans le mythe chinois de la trombe, l'eau est aspirée par le dragon et l'on vient de voir que, dans la littérature védique, *Aja ekapād* est en relation avec le "Serpent du fond". Je crois que *Ahi budhnyu* est l'équivalent, le double marin de l'animal solaire, mais l'examen de cette question ne peut trouver place ici.

II. PAJJUNNA

Parjanya est le dieu védique de la pluie. On l'a depuis longtemps rattaché au dieu lithuanien Perkúnas et même à la déesse scandinave Fyörgynn (Hirt, *Indog. Forschungen*, i, 481 ; Oldenberg, *Religion du Véda*, trad. Henry, 190, note ; von Schröder, *Arische Religion*, ii, 602 et suiv.).

Récemment, M. Meillet rappelait " que le nom slave de la ' foudre ', qui est celui du grand dieu *Perunǔ*, est inséparable de lit. *perkúnas*, v. pruss. *percunis*, qui est aussi le nom de la ' foudre ' et a un emploi religieux, et du dieu védique *Parjanyaḥ* qui personnifie la ' pluie d'orage ' " (*Revue des études slaves*, vi, 171).

En pali, Parjanya est remplacé par Pajjunna où W. Geiger a tenté d'expliquer l'u de la seconde syllabe par une " modification qualitative (réduction) de la voyelle " due au fait que l'accent est reporté sur la première syllabe (*Gram. des Pāli*, § 23). Cette explication est sans valeur. Le nom pali Pajjunna ne recouvre pas skr. Parjanya, mais correspond phonétiquement à Pradyumna.

Comment Parjanya s'est-il identifié avec Pradyumna dans la mythologie bouddhique ? On vient de voir que le Soleil est le distributeur des eaux qu'il pompe pendant la saison sèche et répand en pluie pendant la mousson pluvieuse. Pradyumna/Pajjunna, dérivé de la racine *dyu*, est un nom qui lui convient bien. Grâce à l'analogie entre Parjanya et Pajjunna, la forme moyenne-indienne de Pradyumna a pu remplacer le nom védique Parjanya et le dieu Soleil s'est confondu avec l'ancien dieu de la pluie.

Dans le très ancien *Mahāsamaya-suttanta* (*Dīgha*, ii, p. 260²⁵), Pajjunna est encore un dieu qui tonne et fait pleuvoir :

Thanayaṃ āga Pajjunno yo disā abhivassati.

De même, dans la 1^{ère} stance du Jātaka n°. 75, il fait retentir le tonnerre. Dans l'*Apadāna* tardif (ii, 468, st. 4), il est toujours le dieu de la pluie :

Pajjunno pi va bhūtāni dhammameghena vassati.

En suivant la transformation du nom de ce dieu, on ne peut manquer de discerner, dans les spéculations qui le concernent, l'origine d'un courant d'idées qui conflue de bonne heure dans le krishnaïsme. À une époque qui ne doit pas être très postérieure au II^e siècle avant le Christ, on distinguait quatre manifestations (*vyūha*) de l'Être suprême : Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna et Aniruddha (cf. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism*, La Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde au temps des*

Mauryas, pp. 189-90). Cette théologie a probablement synthétisé des cultes antérieurs parmi lesquels celui de Pradyumna/Pajjunna. Pradyumna y est identifié avec Sanatkumāra, "l'Éternel Adolescent", symbole du Soleil qui renaît périodiquement.

En somme, le mythe du Soleil, agent et régulateur des pluies, intéresse les principales religions de l'Inde. Profondément enclavé dans les croyances populaires, il affleure successivement dans les hymnes védiques, dans le bouddhisme et dans l'épopée.

Professor Cowell and his Pupils

By C. M. RIDDING

IT is now more than a hundred years since the birth, in 1826, of Edward Byles Cowell, the *guru* of perhaps the greater number of English Sanskrit scholars. His story is well known. The son of an Ipswich merchant, he was called at 16, by his father's death, to leave school and carry on his father's business. His heart was set on learning. He was already widely read in classics, Statius, Lucian, and Greek romances being added to his school reading, and he was destined, while yet in his 'teens, to publish articles on Rabelais, Longus, and the Persian poets.

In 1841, at the age of 15, he had been introduced to Sir W. Jones' works, and in the early morning (called, it was said, by the milkman pulling a string attached to his foot) he had studied in them the *Asiaticae Poeseos Commentarii* (on Persian and Arabic poetry) and the Persian grammar, working by himself at the extracts from Hafiz and the *Shāhnāmāh*. Soon, however, help came to him from an old Bombay officer, Major Hockley, whom Professor Cowell cited in 1898, when receiving the gold medal of the Royal Asiatic Society, as a proof of the power which "enthusiasm and sympathy can always exercise on others, wherever we may be placed".

This work bore fruit in translations of Hafiz published in the *Asiatic Journal*, beginning in January, 1842 (before his sixteenth birthday). He had also, in 1841, read Jones' translation of *Śakuntalā*, and bought with his pocket money Wilson's *Sanskrit Grammar*, but found it too difficult, and laid it aside to be "an incitement and a hope".

It might seem his hope was crushed; but he went often to Mark Lane on his business, and he went to see Professor Wilson at the India Office. He was not, however, a regular pupil of Wilson's till his Oxford days, when his first lesson from Wilson preceded their both going to hear Max Müller's first lecture on philology. Meanwhile, his Sanskrit grammar had come out again, and his first Sanskrit pupil was soon to follow.

Edward Fitzgerald, who between 1842 and 1845, had become a friend, exchanging translations of Lucretius and other classical authors, thought the combination of the counting house by day

and Sanskrit by night an excellent one. But Professor Cowell was to have a better guide. In 1843 he met Miss Charlesworth, whose gracious nature and great gifts of mind and soul left a tender memory in all who knew her. In spite of her greater age which made her hesitate, they married in 1847, and began an ideal life. Till her death in 1899 she was his perfect companion, upholder, and inspirer. During their engagement he shared with her the delights of his first studies in Sanskrit. The alphabet and declensions and verbs were doled out in each letter in due course, till the *Rāmāyaṇa* was reached. "We have all our lives to learn Sanskrit, let us therefore ground ourselves well." "Let us fancy ourselves two Hindoos of the olden days under the banyan tree, or palms, before Alexander invaded India." "The *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Kālidāsa* ought not to be read by everybody—only by those who, like us, hope to spend life in a quiet, silent, unknown study, and live over again the silent years of the once so busy and loud past." Hebrew, too, they learnt together, and read till near the end of Mrs. Cowell's life.

By 1847 Professor Cowell's next brother was fitted to take the business, and Mrs. Cowell saw her husband's great gifts and "the unknown power the discipline [of a University] may elicit"; and, in spite of opposition (especially FitzGerald's!) she carried him to Oxford to win his First Class, to work with Professor Wilson, and to take his place among his peers. His Sanskrit work bore fruit in the translation of the *Vikramorvaśī* in 1851, and in the edition and translation of Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa* in 1854. He then felt that India itself was necessary for his further progress, and in 1856 he was appointed Professor of History and Political Economy in the Presidency College, Calcutta, and later became President of the Sanskrit College.

I have dwelt long on the details of his preparation, for it shows the making of his character in its strength and quiet enthusiasm; never changing, but always unfolding; and it is this character which in different ways and degrees he impressed on all his pupils.

The remaining outer facts—his return to England owing to ill-health in 1863, and his coming to Cambridge as Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in 1867, are only the outer facts of a life passed among us in unwearied self-spending, and in setting high the lamp of goodness and of knowledge.

To return now to his pupils. His first Sanskrit pupil has taken her place. At Oxford he did some coaching formally after his degree; but he had also two distinguished, but informal, pupils:

first, the one always associated with his name, Edward FitzGerald, who, leaving the classics of earlier days, began to read Spanish and Persian under his guidance, and looked on him through life as his master in all the work that brought him fame. The second was Alfred Tennyson, who was stirred to begin Persian with him, but quickly fell back, though he was always a friend.

His Indian pupils loved him for his serenity, his kindness, his gracious respect for their old pandits; his power of entering into their thoughts; his delight in their philosophy, their poetry, their literature; and his realization of their past. He gave freely of his time and money; and though not well-off, gave scholarships and published books at his own expense. "This is not the time to save; we must manifest our interest." He helped many privately, and especially those who from the sight of him wanted to learn about Christianity, and whom in his unofficial moments of leisure he was allowed to teach. Many called him "Father" and Mrs. Cowell "Mother". Though I speak of pupils, I must be allowed to mention his special friend and guide in Sanskrit, Mahesh Chandra Nyayaratna, as well as Premchand Tarkavāgīśa and Jayanārāyaṇa Tarkapañcānana, whose portraits he kept in his room. I excuse myself that it would have been impossible for anyone to teach him without learning from him. Among names of his pupils taken at random are Bhagavan C. Chatterji (a life-long correspondent), Guru Das Banerji (Judge of the High Court of Calcutta), Pandit S. N. Sastri, who tells a charming story of his college days, and had in Cambridge in 1888 "that blessed half-hour in the company of a saint I shall ever remember". Babu Nilmani Mukerji, Principal of the Sanskrit College in 1895, whose career was determined by Cowell's telling him he would never make a good pleader; and many others—did space allow—whose memory is still honoured, I hope, in their own country; and who, in their different spheres, formed part of a band making for righteousness. Professor Cowell's appointment as Sanskrit Professor at Cambridge in 1867 was the fulfilment of his dream of being a Sanskrit Professor in an English university, and he rejoiced at being at Cambridge, like his master, Professor Wilson, at Oxford, the first holder of the Chair. Throughout life many of his dreams came true, not from direct effort, but from always doing his very best, and leaving the issues.

At Cambridge he won the hearts and enriched the minds of generations of students till his death in 1903. His Professorship, which was of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, brought him at first many

of the older classical scholars for the latter subject. Dr. Peile, of Christ's, whose genial simplicity and kindness are still remembered, and Dr. Fennell, the editor of *Pindar*, were his pupils; and he had a succession of men who learned enough for their present needs, greater or less, and then passed on to their own work. Among these were Dr. F. T. Jenkinson, the late University Librarian, who left a gracious memory; Professor T. P. Postgate, whose eager brilliant mind and varying moods recalled to his pupils Professor Paul of *Villette*; Mr. Darbishire, greatly loved by his friends; Dr. Strong, whose driving power turned in another direction; Professor Strachan and Sir Martin Conway, who need no praise. Philology led also to Zend, which attracted Professor Cowell increasingly in his later years. In it his chief pupil was Professor James Hope Moulton, and another distinguished one was Professor Chadwick, whose experience of the three Sanskrit Professors of Cambridge enables him to say that "kindness is the special quality of Sanskrit Professors".

His old love of Persian was revived in contact with scholars like Professor Browne, Sir Thomas Arnold, and Professor Nicholson, though Persian was not an official duty; Mr. Charles Moule, speaking of Italian and Spanish, said: "I was not his pupil, yet always his pupil."

In his new capacity his first Sanskrit pupil at Cambridge and for some time his only one, Sir Frederick Pollock, became twenty-five years later his pupil in Persian, and his last letter on Persian reached Professor Cowell on his death-bed. Dearest to him of all his pupils was Mr. R. A. Neil, of Pembroke, like-minded in quiet strength, keen enthusiasm, and unfailing kindness, and a fine scholar. He later took the elementary Sanskrit work for Professor Cowell. They were co-editors of the *Divyāvadāna*, and formed with Lord Chalmers, Mr. Francis, and Dr. Rouse, the Guild of Translators, who, with Professor Cowell as their editor, rendered the *Jātaka* into English; the Cambridge resident members meeting regularly to go through the translation. The work needs no commendation from me, but Professor Cowell took special pleasure in the spirit with which Mr. Francis translated his Pāli verses, showing a gift unsuspected before, unless by his friends at Caius, where he was a loved senior fellow. Dr. Rouse's Pāli work on the *Jātaka* developed into Sanskrit work in the translation of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, and it is to be hoped that his newly gained leisure will be given to the East. The versatile gifts of Sir E. Denison Ross, would have created sympathy on many sides between him and Professor

Cowell, but his special contact with him was in Persian. We must always regret that Dr. Peter Giles turned from philology and Sanskrit to the care of a college. Professor E. V. Arnold, of Bangor, worked at the driest parts of metrical statistics, and hid under a quiet and precise manner a keen enthusiasm. Dr. L. D. Barnett also read in the 'nineties at some of the same lectures as myself, and has since combined the austere but invaluable work of the bibliographer with editions and translations that throw light on the history, the literature, and the thought of India. Professor Cowell was greatly pleased at the coming of a few foreign students. He only wished it had been in the time of his full vigour, for he considered it a work specially worth doing. Chief of these was M. A. Foucher, a charming and sympathetic pupil, whose work on Indian art takes a high place, and who then joined in the reading of *Kādambarī*. Another was the son of M. Barth, the great writer on comparative religion, who was equipping himself to study the religions of India.

Indian students also came, perhaps many, but of them I only saw a few, and did not hear their names or know their careers.

Professor Cowell had few women pupils. He and Mrs. Cowell were afraid of a less sheltered life than the very noble women of their own youth had had, and Professor Cowell had promised her to take no women pupils. But their large heart conquered prejudice when they came to know Miss Constance Maynard, late Principal of Westfield College, and Miss Burgess (Mrs. Arnold Wallis), and they welcomed from time to time Girtonians to their house. I was one of those happy mortals, and I wish I could tell the charming story of my first introduction. I did not, however, venture to ask Professor Cowell to teach me Sanskrit, and my elementary work was done with Mr. Neil. But in 1892, when I came back to do a short piece of work at Girton, I asked leave to go to the public lectures, and received a charming letter from Mrs. Cowell saying: "We have not the heart to keep you from anything." Thenceforth I worked with him steadily till just before his death, coming most of the time once a week from London (part of the later years with Professor Bendall, sometimes with Professor Thomas) to receive a three hours' lecture and spend delightful hours with Mrs. Cowell, in a happy friendship with them both for nearly nineteen years.

I was sorry not to meet his next pupil, Miss Purdie of Newnham, nor to know her career. Another, Miss Lucy Peacock, of Girton, now Mrs. Boyce Gibson, was the first to take the Sanskrit part of the

Oriental Tripos. Her marriage soon afterwards led her to a different, but not less strenuous, mental life. A much older woman, Miss Arundale came to deepen what she had learned in theosophy by a serious study of Sanskrit philosophy; she worked with thoroughness and her high character and thoughtful mind must have made their mark when she became head of the Theosophic College at Benares.

I have kept the Sanskrit Professors till last. The first, in 1903, was Professor Cecil Bendall, an affectionate and loyal pupil, inheriting the gift of kindness with a special gift of setting people to work, even to the point of aggrieved surprise when he did not find them willing to follow his advice. His brain teemed with good suggestions, which burst forth almost simultaneously from his lips.

The present owner of the Chair, Professor Rapson, and Professor F. W. Thomas, Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, are like the two sons of a fairy story between whom their father divides his property. Both have a large share of the common inheritance of what Professor Cowell was to his pupils. All value their kindness, their scholarship, their unwearying willingness to help other scholars. But the former has taken for his special sphere that which Professor Cowell in his address to the International Congress of Orientalists, in London, in 1892, spoke of as among the greatest achievements of Western Orientalists—the making a firm foundation of knowledge by the study of history and inscriptions; the latter inherits those interests which turn more on philosophy and literature. But in making these distinctions we find each has also a share of the other's special gifts. We honour the *par nobile fratrum* who represent our *guru's* glorious tradition, and especially we offer our homage on this occasion to the good work done at Cambridge.

It remains, after speaking of Professor Cowell's pupils, to speak also of his teaching. Its two special characteristics are seen in his earliest letters to Mrs. Cowell (already quoted). "We have all our lives to learn Sanskrit, let us therefore ground ourselves *well*." He deprecated the system of setting people to write theses before mastering the elements, as this system sometimes leaves permanent gaps in the scholar's armour. The second characteristic is his keen realization of scene, social condition, and history. "Let us fancy ourselves two Hindoos of the olden days, under the banyan tree . . . before *Alexander invaded India*." This is a perfectly definite picture which added knowledge enabled him to fill in and enrich.

This firmness of foundation gave confidence to his pupils; as their

interest was kindled by the vivid pictures his knowledge suggested, when he used hints from a word or phrase that revealed a hidden life, or brought treasures from the stores of proverbial wisdom or deep philosophy learned from the pandits. His wide knowledge of poetry found parallels in Spanish or Welsh or late Greek. And he could compare Sanskrit philosophy with Aristotle and Plato. Sometimes the parallels were not quite absolute, but the Eastern and Western thoughts thus brought together were like two friends of his own that he delighted to introduce to each other. He did not spend time on verbal criticism unless it was obviously necessary or shinningly true. When he saw the *rightness* of an emendation he delighted in it, though he did not go out to seek it. In the same way he did not lay stress on style. Beginning in childhood with writing a magazine called *The Radical*, he wrote without effort and clearly, not aiming at anything beyond. But if a sudden image or phrase struck him as appropriate and beautiful, he would repeat it several times over with delight, "Yes, that's exactly it!" FitzGerald unwittingly gave a wrong impression of him as shy and inarticulate. He shrank indeed from strangers who needed small talk, and would rather listen if others were willing to talk; but to his pupils and all he felt would receive with simplicity what he had to give, he would pour forth, almost at first sight, a rich store of knowledge and interest; and he both spoke and wrote with perfect ease and freedom from hesitation either in words or in matter.

His method with older students was to do the reading and translation himself, adding his own comments and references, and willing to hear and discuss any suggestions offered. His pupils took such notes as they wished, but he never tested their knowledge. He only gave them his own, and left them to absorb it and be educated by it. Sir F. Pollock thinks his only defect was that he did not realize the ignorance of a pupil; but perhaps that mattered little for those stimulated by him to increase their knowledge, and perhaps also he realized more than some pupils would think. No trouble was too great to hunt up a difficult allusion, or a hard piece of commentary or of Pāṇini, and his hearers would afterwards receive postcards to clear up a difficulty that could not be solved in class.

In India the reverence felt for him made the discipline of the College easy; but he was never wanting in quiet firmness, and the power to rebuke wilful carelessness. "He was something sacred," says one of his Indian pupils, and that was, though it might here be

differently expressed, at the bottom of the feeling all his pupils, however different in character, had for him.

It is good to have had the friendship and the teaching of such a man; and we are happy to have in our midst those who can still carry on his work in the same spirit of self-sacrifice and disinterested devotion.¹

¹ If by inadvertence I have left out some names with special claim to mention, I hope their owners will forgive me, as memory is not a safe guide.—C. M. R.

Viśvarūpa

By KASTEN RÖNNOW

VIŚVARŪPA TVĀṢṬRA, the son of Tvaṣṭar, is the name of a certain demon of whom we hear in the Rig-Veda and elsewhere. Indra, the demon-hunter *par préférence*, fought with him and killed him; but his chief adversary no doubt was originally Trita Āptya, an old Aryan water-god, whose deeds and fame have slowly been usurped by the all-overshadowing Indra.¹ Reasons which cannot here be dwelt upon, as I have already explained them elsewhere,² make it probable that Viśvarūpa was originally a serpent deity of the class which was later on generally styled *nāgas*. We shall here try to find out something more definite concerning his original surroundings and sphere of activity.

It seems obvious that Viśvarūpa has many characteristics in common with other demons of the Vedas; but he differs from them in various ways. Thus he is more closely connected with the gods, which is expressed by his surname "Son of Tvaṣṭar", a name met with already in the Rig-Veda. The Yajus-texts tell us that he was the domestic chaplain (*purohita*) of the gods, but this detail is unknown to the composers of the hymns. Bṛhaspati, the famous *purohita* of the gods, is also called a son of Tvaṣṭar (*RV.*, ii, 23, 17), but we hear very little concerning their mutual relations; the Yajus-texts, on the other hand, tell us that Tvaṣṭar flew into a mighty rage over the murder of Viśvarūpa (cf. e.g. *ŚBr.*, i, 6, 3, 6). Anyhow, he had well deserved his fate, for in secrecy he favoured his own relatives, the Asuras.³

As for Tvaṣṭar, he is rather a suspicious member of the Vedic pantheon. He has been connected with Indra, he has got his proper share of the sacrifices; still already in the Rig-Veda he is at times an open adversary of Indra. Such conditions are still more prevalent in the Yajur-Vedas; and this is only natural, as they are no doubt based on conflicts connected with the ritual. Tvaṣṭar is clearly described as a possessor of Soma, and to this dignity he has an older

¹ Cf. my thesis *Trita Āptya, eine vedische Gottheit*, i (Upsala, 1927), *passim*.

² Cf. loc. cit., pp. 12 sq., 17 sq., 41, 75 sq.

³ He is called *asurūpaṃ asurīyaḥ*, *TS.* ii, 5, 1, 1; *KS.* xii, 10. Tvaṣṭar had thus married a female Asura.

claim than even Indra.¹ Probably he belongs to another set of gods, viz. the Asuras, just like Varuṇa, with whom he shares the quality of being a cosmogonic deity, a creator god. We do not hear that Indra killed Tvaṣṭar²; but he violently robbed him of his Soma (cf. *RV.*, iii, 48, 4, etc.), being the stronger of the two. It is at this point that Tvaṣṭar procreates Indra's mortal enemy Vṛtra.

According to my opinion, the Devas very probably took over the Soma sacrifice from the Asuras. The strife between these two sets of deities is easily intelligible—but how can we then explain the relationship between Viśvarūpa and Tvaṣṭar? The solution might possibly be found in Viśvarūpa's *purohita*ship, for, just as Agni and Bṛhaspati, the two great *purohita*'s of the gods, were sons of Tvaṣṭar, Viśvarūpa also came to be looked upon as such. However, in the Rīg-Veda Viśvarūpa Tvaṣṭra is *not* a *purohita*, though he is once mentioned as an authority on sacrifice (x, 76, 3c-d; cf. *JB.* 2, 153, 1). The Rīg-Veda, always intent upon justifying the deeds of Indra, sees in Viśvarūpa chiefly the demon doomed to destruction. And the reason for his being killed is the usual one: like other demons he is the possessor of cows coveted by Indra, who appropriates them after having slain his foe. To admit that Viśvarūpa was a *purohita* would also be to admit of his being a Brahmin. Thus his murder would in reality be the murder of a Brahmin; and the Yajur-Vedas which are less partial to Indra, actually accuse him of this gruesome crime.

As far as I can see—and I shall give some reasons for my opinion presently—Viśvarūpa was originally a serpent deity closely connected with a "pre-Vedic" sacrifice. The nature of this connection seems to have been that the cult of which he was himself the centre became absorbed by the Asura cult; and thus he became an authority upon sacrifice, a sort of *purohita* of the gods. However, though a son of Tvaṣṭar—with whom he may even previously have had some connection—and a servant of the Vedic gods, he was still suspect as being an object of Indra's enmity. The whole ended in a catastrophe; and the books of ritual not incorrectly explained his fate by telling that he carried on an intrigue with the Asuras, the old foes of the Devas.

Various observations may present themselves concerning Viśvarūpa.

¹ Cf. *RV.* x, 49, 10, where Indra says: *ahaṃ tad āsu dhārayam yad āsu na devaś cana tvāṣṭādhārayad rukat|spārhaṃ gavām ūdhassu vakṣāṃśve ā madhor madhu śvātṛyaṃ somam āśīram ||* Cf. Hillebrandt, *Fed. Mythologie*, i, 519.

² Cf. *RV.* iv, 18, 12, where, however, according to Sieg *Vyāṃsa* is meant.

As for his name, it seems far too abstract and colourless to be that of a real demon. Like other names, as e.g. *Vṛtra*, *Vala*, or *Śuṣṇa*, it was probably only an appellative meaning "possessed of all forms"; and the same was probably the case with his other name, *Triśiṣṛṣan* "the three-headed one". One might easily suggest that his name was altered when introduced into the Vedic hymns. The heavenly Gandharvas: Svāna, Bhrāja, etc., had to take up other names as Vibhu, etc., in order to be allowed into the sacrificial enclosures, *TS.*, 1, 2, 7, h; *VS.*, 4, 27; *ŚB.*, 3, 6, 2, 24. A similar instance seems to be that of the Ṛbhu's (cf. *RV.*, i, 161, 5-6).

Under these circumstances, there can be little doubt concerning the origin of the name Viśvarūpa. It undoubtedly seems unsuitable for a serpent deity; however, it excellently suited Tvaṣṭar, who is the creator of all (animal) forms. Thus, in *RV.*, iii, 55, 19, we find the following line: *devas tvaṣṭā savitā viśvarūpaḥ pūṣa prajāḥ purudhā jajāna*, and in the Yama-Yamī-hymn (x, 10, 5) this *janitā devas tvaṣṭā savitā viśvarūpaḥ* has, according to the opinion of Yamī, created the twins as *dampatī* already in the womb. With i, 13, 10a-b: *iha tvaṣṭāram agriyaṁ viśvarūpam upa hṛaye*, cf. ix, 5, 9: *tvaṣṭāram agrajam gopām puroyāvānam ā hve*.¹ From such passages it is quite obvious that Tvaṣṭar is a cosmogonic deity; thence the identification with Savitar and the epithets *agriya* and *agraja*. And we may further remember that he has brought forth the "two great twin cups", i.e. Heaven and Earth, and filled them with *vasu*.

However, ere I go further into this matter, I should like to point out that Tvaṣṭar, who within ritual appears mainly as a god of fertility²—whether of crops or of living beings—has really gone through a long development. We are aware, in Ancient India, of two main phases of cosmogonic speculation. The later one only becomes visible in the later parts of the Rig-Veda and in the Atharva-Veda and ends in the well-known *brahman-ātman*-speculation. The earlier one, again, which is found in the older parts of the Rig-Veda, attaches itself to the highest conceptions of that religion, the greatest deity of which is Varuṇa; it has already developed the conception of one single primal God (cf. *RV.*, i, 164, 6, 10; iii, 56, 2), who represents the

¹ *PW.* no doubt correctly renders *agriya* by "first-born", while Geldner translates it "as the first one". Cf. also *AV.* xi, 6, 3: *tvaṣṭāram agriyam brūmaḥ* "we address Tvaṣṭar at the head" (Whitney-Lanman).

² In this connection I cannot enter further upon these and others of his characteristics and myths (on which cf. Hillebrandt, *Ved. Mythologie*, i, 513 sq.; Oldenberg, *Rel. d. Veda*,² 237 sq.; Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, 118 sq.).

mahad devānām asuratvam ekam of *RV.*, iii, 55, and is only faintly to be observed. This religion, which for the sake of shortness we may call the *Asurian*, has, through high moral conceptions and through its unlimited faculty of cosmogonic speculation, reached a height comparable to that of the great religions of Babylonia and Egypt—and that at a time when the *Devas* still devoted all their time to fighting and revelries in *Soma*.

To come back to *Tvaṣṭar*, he scarcely developed into a majestic moral censor like *Varuṇa*. He is, however, undoubtedly an old god of procreation and fertility—witness even his name—and he slowly developed into a sort of demiurge, a *Viśvakarman* of the *Asuras*. That he was an *Asura* is obvious from *RV.*, i, 110, 3c-d (cf. 5): *tyaṃ cic camasam asurasya bhakṣaṇam ekam santam akṛṇvātā caturvayam*. Those addressed here are the *Rbhus*, who, amongst other tricks during their rivalry with *Tvaṣṭar* knew how to make one drinking-cup into four.¹ That *asurasya* in this verse really means *Tvaṣṭar* is quite obvious from *RV.*, i, 20, 6: *uta tyam camasaṃ navaṃ tvaṣṭur devasya niṣkṛtam | akarta caturaḥ punaḥ ||* (cf. i, 161, 4. 5; iv, 33, 5).² We again meet with this *Asura* as a divine figure in a couple of mystic verses, where he appears as a sort of hermaphrodite, half bull, half cow. This being partly is active as a creator, partly represents the fertilizing power of the heavenly waters. The latter quality the bull *Tvaṣṭar* has in common with *Parjanya*, who is also thought of in the shape of a bull.

If, now, we turn to the verse *RV.*, iii, 38, 4:—

ātīṣṭhantam pari viśve abhūṣaṇ chriyo vasānaś carati svarocīḥ |
mahat tad vṛṣṇo asurasya nāma viśvarūpo amṛtāni tasthau ||

we find this *Asura* in the shape of a bull styled *viśvarūpa*. The verse is a mystic one. Probably its first half means something like this: the sun ³ rises ⁴ (on the firmament) welcomed by the whole creation; resplendent, wrapt in glory he starts his wandering. Then the situation changes; let us, however, remember that the sun itself is a young bull surrounded by cows, i.e. the heavenly waters, cf. v, 45, 9d. Thus the second half would mean: "This is the great name of

¹ Cf. *RV.*, i, 20, 6; 110, 5, 6; 161, 1. 2. 9; iii, 60, 2; iv, 33, 5; 35, 2; 36 4; *AV.*, vi, 47, 3; Geldner, *RV. Übersetzung*, i, 129, who adopts the interpretation of *Sāyana* according to which the *Asura* is *Tvaṣṭar*.

² *Sāyana* in his commentary on *RV.*, iii, 48, 4c, also calls *Tvaṣṭar* an *Asura*.

³ Cf. verse 8a, where the god is *Savitar*.

⁴ Geldner translates *ātīṣṭhantam* by: "als er (den Wagen) bestieg".

the Asura-bull; as Viśvarūpa he has ascended to the immortals (i.e. the heavenly waters)."¹ The creative activity of the primeval bull² is mentioned in verse 5 (cf. 7). His creation is administered by the "two grandsons of Heaven" (*divo napātā*), probably Varuṇa and Mitra. Also both *Rodasī* are administrators if we be allowed to refer the *yuvam* in verse 9a (*yuvam pratnasya sādhatō maho*)³ to them.

An adequate expression of this creative power of the primeval bull is found in his fertilizing the waters from which the universe springs. As is well known, they first of all brought forth Agni in the shape of Hiranyagarbha; and this may well be connected with the myth of Agni being procreated by Tvaṣṭar and the waters.⁴ We meet with the bull in the Asura hymn, iii, 55 (17), where it is said of his making the cows fertile: *yad anyāsu vṛṣabho roravīti so anyasmin yūthe nī dadhāti retaḥ*.⁵ As far as I can see, his name was mentioned in the verse 19, quoted above (*devaṣ tvaṣṭā savitā viśvarūpaḥ*), with the characteristic addition that he "hat den Nachwuchs vermehrt und in grosser Zahl erzeugt und alle diese sind seine Geschöpfe" (Geldner). *RV.*, iii, 56, too, is a Viśvedevāḥ-hymn of the same character as the preceding one, and especially remarkable for its numerous triads, cf. verse 3:—

tripājasyo vṛṣabho viśvarūpa uta tryudhā purudha prajāvān |
tryanīkaḥ patyate māhināvānt sa retodhā vṛṣabhaḥ śaśvatīnām ||

The bull Viśvarūpa possesses three bellies, three udders, and three faces—features resembling those found in the Parjanya hymn, *RV.*, vii, 101; and *d* is 6a there. That the word *gavām* must form a supplement to *śaśvatīnām*, and that this expression denotes the heavenly waters is quite obvious from the following lines. Verse 4a, c-d, describes, according to my humble opinion, the meeting of the bull with the cows: *abhīka āsām padavīr abodhi . . . | āpaś cid asmā aramanta devīḥ pṛthag vrajantīḥ pari śim avrūjan ||*.⁶ What is

¹ Sāyana explains quite well: *varuṇātmanāmṛtāni jalāni*. Geldner translates: "Als Viśvarūpa (allgestaltet) hat er unsterbliche (Namen) angenommen," and adds in a footnote: "Die unsterblichen Namen sind die Namen, d.h. Einzelwesen der Unsterblichen, die einzelnen Götter, vgl. 1, 68, 4."

² On this being cf. *RV.*, iii, 56, 3; iv, 3, 10; x, 5, 7; 129, 5; *AV.*, ix, 4, 3; xi, 1, 34; Geldner, *RV. Übersetzung*, i, 342, note.

³ Cf. iv, 56, 7, where even the sacrifice is the centre of their activity.

⁴ Cf. *RV.*, x, 2, 7; 46, 9; and further, i, 95, 2; iii, 29, 11 (Agni as *garbhāsura*) and 14 (Agni born *anurasya jatharāt*).

⁵ Cf. vii, 101, 1 c-d. Geldner suggests that the bull is Parjanya.

⁶ I am unable here to follow Geldner, who finds in this verse "eine Reminiscenz an die Geschichte vom Durchmarsch durch die Flüsse" (*RV.*, iii, 33), cf. *RV. Übersetzung* i, 363, note.

meant by *abhika āsām* is better understood by a comparison with *RV.*, i, 71, 8: *ānaṣṭ śuci reto niṣikṭam dyaur abhīke*, where *abhīka* undoubtedly refers to the act of cohabitation. *padavī* again means "guide, leader".¹ Consequently, I translate iii, 56, 4a thus: "At the meeting (cohabitation) with them (the cows) he appeared as the leader."² In c-d the description is continued thus: "The divine waters were in love with him, going separate ways they slipped away from him."³ To the female beings mentioned here belong the three "mermaids" in verse 5c: *ṛtāvarīr yoṣaṇās tisro apyāḥ*, cf. also verse 2c. These are perhaps the triad *Ilā*, *Sarasvatī*, and *Bharatī*, with whom we frequently meet; and it seems highly probable that they should be identical with the three *dhiṣaṇāḥ* in *RV.*, v, 69, to whom correspond the three prolific bulls, cf. verse 2:—

irāvātīr varuṇa dhenavo vām madhumad vām sindhavo mitra duhre |
trayas tasthur vṣabdhāsas tisṛṇām dhiṣaṇānām retodhā vi dyumantaḥ ||

When praising a real bull one calls him *Tvaṣṭar*. The hymn *AV.*, ix, 4, is an *ārṣabha*, and a difficult and mythologically very important one.⁴ What mainly interests us here is this. The unintelligible parts of the first ten lines are chiefly a result of the complete intermixture of the cosmologic primeval bull, a bisexual being at once fertilizing and procreating, with *Tvaṣṭar* as well as with the earthly bull. The individual features of these three are mixed together in a bewildering way, cf. e.g. verse 3: *pumān antarevān sthavirah payasvān vasoḥ kabandham ṛṣabho bibharti | tam indrāya . . . hutam agnir vahatu jātavedaḥ ||* where in c-d we hear of the bull sacrificed to Indra, while a-b speak of the primeval bull as identified with *Tvaṣṭar*. For the expression *vasoḥ kabandha* reminds us altogether too much of *Tvaṣṭar*'s Soma-vessel not to allude to that. We again find this vessel in verse 6a-b:—

somena pūrṇam kalaśam bibharṣi tvaṣṭā rūpāṇām janitā paśūnām ||

"Thou carriest a brimful cup of Soma, *Tvaṣṭar*, creator of forms, of cattle." From what has been said above it seems obvious that *tvaṣṭā* is here a proper name, and not a substantive meaning "creator" (Whitney-Lanman). And what creator in bull-shape would carry a Soma-cup except *Tvaṣṭar*, conceived as the primeval bull?

¹ Cf. *purogata*.

² Geldner translates: "Im entscheidenden Augenblick wurde ihr Pfadfinder erweckt." The reference to iii, 33, 5 *sq.*, and iii, 53, 9, affords us no considerable help.

³ Cf. Geldner, *RV. Übersetzung*, i, 363.

⁴ Cf. Hillebrandt, *Ved. Mythologie*, 1st ed., i, 330.

It exactly fits the cosmogonic aspect of Tvaṣṭar (or the primeval bull) that during the period of creation he was active in the primeval waters; he is even called their father, cf. verse 4b; *pitā mahatām gargarāṇām* "the father of the great ocean depths". In this quality—and prominently in that of a cosmic creator—he became, of course, connected with other deities whom the philosophers of a later Vedic age honoured with the attributes of world-creators. Especially the Sun (Āditya or Savitar), when identified with the Agni of the sacrifice, is raised to that place of honour; and amongst other names we are reminded of those of Viśvakarman, Puruṣa, and Prajāpati, with whom Tvaṣṭar shares the character of a sexual procreator. In the speculative Yajus-texts Tvaṣṭar simply is the Sun viewed as a creative power. The *Kauśika Sūtra* identifies him with Savitar and with Prajāpati.¹ Consequently, one might feel inclined to bring the line *AV.*, ix, 4, 2a: *apām yo agre pratimā babhūva* into connection with *VS.*, xiii, 41a-b: *ādityam garbham payasā samañdhī sahasrasya pratimām viśvarūpam*. This passage refers to that part of the *Agnicayana* when the human head is deposited in the *ukhā*, the fire-pot which, amongst other things, also contains milk. *Pratimā* obviously means "coincidence with, equivalent of something"² and *saahasrasya* signifies *sarvasya*, as is shown by the preceding verses and *ŚBr.*, vii, 5, 2, 13; viii, 7, 4, 9. The bull is the "equivalent" of the primeval waters, i.e. of the universe (cf. *agre*), just as is the *āditya garbha*. The correspondence perhaps is a little bit unclear, but it is still there.

Thus it is not in the least astonishing that the speculation busying itself with Tvaṣṭar should have formulated the thesis: *tvastēdam viśvam bhuvanam jajāna*, while at the same time it emphasizes that the *viro devakāmaḥ* is a creation of his, *VS.*, 29, 9c; *TS.*, 5, 1, 11, 4. The whole universe thus is his *rūpa*. And, when he is combined with that other form of the Primeval Being, viz., *Puruṣa*, he is said to have given him his *rūpa*. This seems to be the meaning of *VS.*, xxxi, 17, a verse following upon the *puruṣa*-hymn (vv. 1-16):—

adbhyaḥ sambhṛtaḥ prthivyaḥ rasāc ca viśvakarmanas samavartatāgre |
tasya tvaṣṭā vidadhād rūpam eti tan martyasya devatvam ājānam agre ||

The subject is *puruṣa*. With *b* cf. verse 18, and *RV.*, x, 121, 1: *hiranyagarbhaḥ samavartatāgre*. In *c* we learn that "Tvaṣṭar moves

¹ Cf. Weber, *Omina und Portenta*, 391 sq.

² The *PW.*, to suit this passage and *VS.*, xv, 65, has introduced a special meaning of *pratimā*, viz. "creator". This is, no doubt, wholly unnecessary.

on, creating his form". According to *AV.*, xi, 8, 18, the gods then entered into *puruṣa*.

Tvaṣṭar's activity generally consists in providing Heaven and Earth with *rūpa*'s. In *RV.*, x, 110, 9, the *hotar iṣito yaṣṭyān*, i.e. Agni, is asked to convey to the sacrificial enclosure the one (i.e. Tvaṣṭar) who *ime dyāvāprthivī janitrī rūpair apimśad bhuvanāni viśvā*. Heaven and Earth, or both *Rodasī*, are here described as two prolific women (*viśvasya janayitryau*), and the *rūpa*'s are their offspring. Tvaṣṭar's special activity consists in creating them inside the womb; and *RV.*, x, 184, describes, from a cosmic point of view, his activity amongst men and animals. The act of procreating has called into existence certain "Sondergötter", cf. x, 184, 1¹:—

viṣṇur yoniṃ kalpayatu tvaṣṭā rūpāni pīmśatu |

ā siñcatu prajāpatir dhātā garbhaṃ dadhātu te ||

and Tvaṣṭar is one of these gods. While, however, the activities of these other deities are quite obvious, his field of action is not quite clearly defined. Sāyaṇa's explanation may be correct: *tvaṣṭā tanū-kartaitatsamjñako devas ca rūpāni nirūpakāni strītvapunsteābhi-vyañjakāni cihnāni pīmśatu | avayavīkarotu ||* Sāyaṇa consequently suggests that Tvaṣṭar provides the embryo with the characteristic marks of sex, and further develops them. In this connection the translation "form" is rather colourless, just as in *AV.*, v, 25, 10 sqq.: *dhātāḥ*² *śreṣṭhena rūpeṇāsyā nāryā gavīngyoḥ | pumāṃsam putram ā dhehi*, etc. The expression *śreṣṭhena rūpeṇa* is rendered by Whitney-Lanman, "with best forms." However, it rather means: "with the best sex characteristics," i.e. a child of male sex.³ For the "best" of these characteristics are even those which denote a male child. The birth of a daughter is a *mahad duḥkham*.

In literature Tvaṣṭar is known as the creator of cattle as well as of *rūpa*'s. And it is quite interesting to observe how these two aspects of his activity are often united in a remarkable way. Such is the case already in *RV.*, i, 188, 9: *tvaṣṭā rūpāni hi prabhuh paśūn viśvānt samānaje*.³ Cf. further *AV.*, ii, 26, 1: *cha yantu paśavo . . . tvaṣṭā yeṣāṃ rūpadheyāni veda*, where Whitney-Lanman translate *rūpadheyāni* by "form-givings", while in a note they remark that it might

¹ Cf. *AV.*, v, 25, 5.

² In verses 11–13 instead of this *tvaṣṭāḥ*, *śavitāḥ*, and *prajāpate*.

³ For *rūpa* as signifying *liṅga*, cf. J. J. Meyer, *Sexual life in Ancient India*, 389, n.2.

⁴ Cf. *TS.*, vi, 1, 8, 5; 3, 6, 2 (cf. ii, 1, 8, 3); *ŚBr.*, xi, 4, 3, 17; xiii, 1, 8, 7; *TBr.*, i, 4, 2, 1; *PBr.*, ix, 10, 3.

as well be a synonym of *rūpāṇi* "forms". *AV.*, ix, 4, 6, has already been quoted above.¹ The suggestion that in these passages there exists a direct connection between *paśu* and *rūpa* is further corroborated by the expression : *tvaṣṭā vai paśūnām mithunānām rūpakṛt*.² Eggeling translates these words (in *ŚBr.*, xiii, 1, 8, 7) thus : "Tvaṣṭar, doubtless, is the fashioner of the couples of animals"; Professor Keith again renders *TS.*, vi, 1, 8, 5, thus : "Tvaṣṭar is the maker of the forms of offspring, of pairings", and *TS.*, vi, 3, 6, 2, thus : "Tvaṣṭar is the form-maker of the pairings of cattle." Such translations, however, do not meet the real sense of these passages. *Rūpa*, according to my view, here has a more realistic sense, closely related to the one we thought probable in *RV.*, x, 184, 1. In *ŚBr.*, xiii, 1, 8, 7, the words in question are made clear with the help of the preceding *mantra* : *tvaṣṭre turīpāya svāhā tvaṣṭre pururūpāya svāheti* "to Tvaṣṭar rich in semen *svāhā*, to Tvaṣṭar possessed of many *rūpa*'s *svāhā*!" We find the same thing in *TS.*, vi, 1, 8, 5, where the *yajamāna* says to his wife : *tvaṣṭīmāṣi te sapeya* whereupon follows *tvaṣṭā vai*, etc. (cf. above). In both passages Tvaṣṭar is the god of sexual life.

However, the most important passage for defining the sense of *rūpakṛt* is *PBr.*, ix, 10, 2, *sq.* (with which cf. the shorter version in *TBr.*, i, 4, 7, 1), which deals with the *prāyaścitta* to be imposed upon the sacrificer whose sacrificial stake (*yūpa*) has brought forth saplings : *asuryaṃ vai clasmād varṇaṃ kṛtvā teja indriyaṃ vīryam annādyam prajāḥ paśavo 'pakrāmanti yasya yūpo virohati sa īśvarā pāpīyaṃ bharitoḥ || 2 || tvaṣṭram paśum bahurūpam ālubheta tvaṣṭā vai paśūnām rūpānām vikartā tam eva tad upadhāveti sa enam tejasendriyeṇa vīryeṇānnādyena prajāyā paśubhiḥ punaḥ samardhayati saiva tasya prāyaścittih || 3 ||*. According to the opinion of the commentary the sacrificial animal which is called *bahurūpa* is in reality a ram (*chāgo*). This is meant to symbolize the words of the *TBr.* : *tvaṣṭā vai rūpānām īśe* "Tvaṣṭar rules over the *rūpa*'s". The commentary on the *PBr.* explains this in the following way : *nānārūpasya tvaṣṭuś ca sambandhayogyatām āha | tvaṣṭā khalu paśūnām gavādīnām yāni parasparam vibhinnāni rūpāni teṣāṃ vikartā vīridhaṃ kartā. tathā ca taittirīyakam yāvac chvo vai retasaḥ siktasya tvaṣṭā rūpāni vikaroti tāvac chvo vai prajāyate iti tat tena bahurūpeṇa paśunā tam tvaṣṭāram upadhāveti*, etc. From this³ it is sufficiently clear that Tvaṣṭar develops

¹ Cf. p. 474.

² Cf. *RV.*, i, 142, 10; iii, 4, 9; vii, 2, 9; *VS.*, xxvii, 20; *KS.*, 5, 4, 4.

³ The quotation from the *Samhitā* of the *Taittirīya*'s is *TS.*, i, 5, 9, 1.

the semen poured into the womb¹; without his working on it (*avikṛtam*), the *retas* would not prove fruitful. So many *rūpa*'s will be born, as he produces (*vi-karoti*) out of it. In this connection, thus, the word *rūpa* simply means "embryos (of men or animals)". No doubt Tvaṣṭar was originally a deity of agricultural tribes, to whom was attributed the important function of superintending the creative activities of the herds. The expression *paśūnām mīthunānām rūpakṛt* I would consequently translate by "creator of the embryos of animal couples" or—if *mīthuna* were a synonym of *maithuna*—"creator of the embryos at the pairings of animals." Because Tvaṣṭar's *rūpa*'s denoted above all the embryos of cattle, the word *rūpa* also came to mean simply "cattle, domestic animal". This is the case in *ŚBr.*, ii, 2, 3, 2 (cf. *TS.*, i, 5, 1). We are told here that the gods once (the *TS.* says at a battle with the Asuras) deposited their valuables² with Agni. And these precious things consisted in *sarvāṇi rūpāṇi yāni ca grāmyāṇi yāni cāraṇyāni*. Eggeling translates this by "all forms, both domestic and wild"; it is, however, more correct to render it by "all their cattle, domesticated as well as undomesticated". Agni, however, disappeared together with all these *rūpa*'s. Thanks to the circumstance that Tvaṣṭar beheld the *punarādheya*, he succeeded in finding Agni, who handed them over to him: *tasmād āhus tvāṣṭrāṇi vai rūpāṇi tvaṣṭur hy eva sarvaṃ rūpam upa ha tvevānyāḥ prajā yāvat so yāvat sa iva tiṣṭhante*.

Having thus tried to ascertain the true nature of the *rūpa*'s of Tvaṣṭar, we shall proceed to explain why his son, the demon *Viśvarūpa*, was known just by that name. This name, robbed of its cosmogonic majesty, exactly fits a god of the herds such as was originally Tvaṣṭar. It is also to be observed that in *RV.*, iii, 55, 19, the *tvāṣṭā savitā viśvarūpaḥ* is a person of whom it is said: *pupoṣa prajāḥ purudhā jajāna*. And it need not be especially emphasized that in *RV.*, x, 10, 5, the act of procreation forms the main topic.

Concerning the demon *Viśvarūpa*, we have to observe that he, like Tvaṣṭar, is a possessor of cow-herds, cf. *RV.*, x, 8, 8-9; 76, 3.³ One can scarcely avoid associating him with the crowd of demons in the *Rig-Veda*, *Vṛtra* above all, but also *Śuṣṇa*, *Kuyava*, *Namuci*, etc., who are often said to be possessors of cattle-herds. Moreover, he appears to

¹ Cf. *ŚBr.*, i, 9, 2, 10: *tvāṣṭā vai siktam reto vikaroti*; 4, 4, 2, 16; *Kaṇḍ. Sū.* 124, 133, 135.

² *TS.* has *rāmam vasu*.

³ We are reminded of the dragon Python as a possessor of cows, cf. Sir J. G. Frazer on Pausanias, x, 6, 6.

be identical with the three-headed dragon *Aži Dahāka* in the Avesta, whom *Θraētaona* killed just as *Trita* killed *Viśvarūpa*. If this suggestion be correct, he is a native local deity of the type of the *Nāgas*. As such he was above all a deity of fertility of procreation to whom one turned to obtain human as well as animal offspring. As is well known, this is still done. Childless women in India still with confidence approach the *Nāgas*, believing them to be able to satisfy their ardent desire for children. Such an idea is closely connected with the superstition, common all over the world, according to which serpents are mystically related to sexual life. Perhaps we need only remember the snakes coiling around the *liṅga* of *Śiva*. As for North-western India in special, we are reminded of the following words concerning the *Singhs*, or serpent deities of the *Punjab*: "They have a great power over milch cattle. The milk of the eleventh day after calving is sacred to them, and libations of milk are always acceptable."¹ In the mountainous tracts it is common custom that after calving the milk is for a shorter or longer time (a couple of days up to a whole month) taboo to human beings; during that period it is sacred to the *deotā*, who as a rule is a *Nāg*. No doubt the *Nāg* cult is a sort of original religion of these parts; in many places, however, it has been more or less overshadowed by the worship of Hindu gods, above all *Śiva* and his spouse *Devī*. The milk is collected and made into butter and ghee, which on certain days is sacrificed to the deity. At the end of the stipulated period a festival with animal sacrifices is celebrated, and after that the milk is no more tabooed.² We further know that in the valley of the *Rāvi* a goat is sacrificed when a cow calves for the first time. After that it is considered sufficient to smear the face of the *deotā* with milk, butter, etc.³ This seems to prove that the sacrifice is simply one of gratitude for the successful calving. Generally, the *Nāga* is the guardian of cattle and of water-springs. People think that if he is not propitiated, the calves will die and the cows dry up.⁴

¹ Sir Denzil Ibbetson, *Census Report for the Punjab*, 1883, § 218; H. G. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, i, 143 sq.

² Cf. Rose, loc. cit., i, 231 sq.

³ Cf. Rose, loc. cit., i, 233. It is scarcely possible to agree with the following words of his: "I am inclined to agree with what seems to be the general belief of the people around us that the custom is practised for the profit only." For, this problem cannot be solved with a simple reference to "the trade practices in these hills". We must not forget how deep in the soul of the people sits the belief in the power of the *Nāg*; and this makes it highly improbable that the tribes on the *Rāvi* should—even in our days—perform such rites for economic purposes only.

⁴ Oldham, "Native Faiths in the Himalayah" (*The Contemporary Review*, March, 1885), 407, 412.

In summing up let us return to Vedic conditions. From what has been said above it appears to me obvious that the name *Viśvarūpa*, an appellative of Tvaṣṭar and of certain serpent demons alike, must allude to their power over the cattle and its procreative activities. For there is not the slightest reason for suggesting that *Viśvarūpa* had originally a somewhat hazy abstract sense; nor does it seem credible that the serpent demon was thought of as "possessing all forms". *Viśvarūpa*, according to my humble opinion, can mean nothing but "presiding over, procreating the whole animal creation, all animal shapes".

A Curious Case of Idiomatic Sanskrit

By F. OTTO SCHRADER

IN the Introduction to his translation of the *Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra* (p. xiii fl.) Professor Caland has called attention to certain Tamilisms in the said work, such as *anyāṃ vivāhaṃ kuryāt* (= *vēṭu peṇṇai vivāham ceytu-kolla-vēṇṭum*), *vedān . . . adhyayanam karoti*, etc. In a work like the *Vaikhānasa-sūtra*, which is obviously not written in the best Sanskrit, this is not very surprising, nor can it be said that these irregularities render the text unintelligible anywhere. But there seem to be, even in the works of well-known Sanskrit authors, cases of Sanskrit influenced by the vernacular which actually embarrass the reader. One such case is the following one which I came across recently in Śaṅkarānanda's *Bhagavadgītā-vyākhyā*.

Bhag. Gītā xvi, 19-20 is the passage from which Mādhva, though he does not comment upon it or refer to it elsewhere so far as I know,¹ must have derived his dogma of the eternity of the two lowest hells (*tāmisra* and *andha-tāmisra*). All the remaining commentators, Smārtta or not, do not understand the passage as the Mādhvas do, but think of some sort of lowest existence, not in hell but in some of the lower kingdoms of nature, continued for ever, i.e., presumably, until the end of the Kalpa.² Śaṅkarānanda thinks of quickly repeated existences, without intervals, in the form of plants, stones, or Piśācas, and he says of those who have earned for themselves this unfortunate lot : *teṣāṃ punaḥpunar-jānanamaraṇe vinā na kadācid api mat-prāptir asti* (introduction to śloka 20), and again (summing up his comment) : *adho'dhaḥ-patanaṃ vinā kadācid api śreyah-prāptir yasmān nāsti tasmād buddhimān sadā . . . yateta*.

Now, what does this mean ? Reading the avataraṇa only and unaware yet of what follows, the reader is bound to understand the first sentence about as follows : "Not without having been born and died again and again is there any hope for them ever to reach me," and he will wonder what need there was for emphasizing that those worst of villains sunk down (according to the comment on the preceding śloka) into the animal kingdom want many rebirths for attaining Liberation. But, coming to the second sentence, he will hardly be able to believe that this goal can be reached by "falling down lower and lower !" He may then try to understand this

¹ His followers do explain and quote it.

² *Brahma-Purāṇa* (cxv, 103 fl.) declares the tortures of *Mahā-tāmisra* to last "as long as the earth exists", and similarly some other *Purāṇas* speak of some particularly terrible hell.

expression as a mere inconsiderate variation of the corresponding compound in the first sentence, but even so will find it very strange that Ś. should even twice hold out a hope to the arch-sinner to which there is no hint whatever in the śloka concerned.

The solution of the riddle is simply this that Ś., while writing Sanskrit, has been thinking in Kanarese. The first sentence must have been present to his mind in about the following form : *avarige tiri-tirigi jananamaraṇaṅgal allade endigū mat-prāpti illavē illā*, i.e. : "To-them again-and-again births-and-deaths not-being-true ever obtaining-me certainly-is-not (will-not-be)." The crux is *allade*, the so-called negative verbal participle of the defective verb *al* "to be true, right, proper, valid". It is declared to be *vinārtham* in the Śabdānuśāsana and translated accordingly by Ś., as we have seen. As a matter of fact, however, it has developed a variety of meanings most of which cannot be correctly rendered by *vinā*. This is evident from Kittel's many examples of the employment of *allade* in his *Grammar of the Kannada Language* (p. 360 fl.). E.g., in *avan allade matte kelavaru bandaru* "besides him some others came" (K.) *allade* means, indeed, "without counting," but in the sense of "in addition to", while *vinā* is merely exclusive. Only in certain negative statements (or rhetorical questions) *allade* approaches the meaning of *vinā*, as, e.g., in *jinan allade dēvar oḷar'ē*, which K. renders by "are [there any] gods except Jina?" As against this, however, compare the following sentences composed of the affirmation of a fact and negation of its opposite: *ādiśiva-bhaktamge maduveyan ādaradi nā māḷpen alladē duhiteyam bhavige kodem* "Ādiśiva-devotee-to marriage reverently I shall-give not-being-true daughter worldling-to shall-not-give" (K. : "except I reverently marry [her] to a devotee of Ādiśiva, I do not give this [my] daughter to a worldling"); *hālu mosar' āguvad' allade mosaru hāl' ādū'ē* "Milk curds becoming not-being-true curds milk may-become?" (K. : "Except that milk becomes curds, could curds become milk?"). Here *allade* is "inversely" or "as against", and, in Sanskrit, perhaps *anyathā* or *pratyuta*, but certainly not *vinā*.

There can be no doubt, then, that Ś.'s *vinā* is nothing but a wrong translation, while he really meant to say : *teṣāṃ punaḥpunar-janana-marāṇe eva [vihite], na tu kadācid api matprāptir asti*. Whether his mother-tongue was Kanarese or Tamil I am not quite sure. I took it to be Kanarese, because he was a teacher of Vidyāraṇya's. If it was Tamil, his *vinā* is a translation of *allāmal* which is used in the very same way as Kanarese *allade*.

Udānavarga-Uebersetzungen in „Kucischer Sprache“

aus den Sammlungen des India Office in London

Von E. SIEG und W. SIEGLING

DIE im britischen Besitz befindlichen Handschriftensätze in Tocharischer Sprache gehören bis auf ganz verschwindende Reste¹ der Mundart B an, die in England nach dem Vorgang von Prof. Sylvain Lévi² als „Kuchean Language“ bezeichnet zu werden pflegt. Den Grundstock bildet die „Hoernle Collection“, die nach Prof. Hoernle's Tod dem India Office überwiesen wurde. Ihr hatte ursprünglich auch die 42 Blätter umfassende Handschrift medizinischen Inhalts angehört, die unter dem Namen „Weber MSS. Part ix and Macartney MSS. Set I“ geht, von der Hoernle bereits 1901 im *JASB.* 70, Part ii, Extra-Nr. 1, Appendix (p. 1–31) einen Transliterations-Versuch gemacht und die er auch in „Facsimile-Reproduction“, Calcutta, 1902, veröffentlicht hat. Aber von diesen Blättern liegt jetzt die eine Hälfte (Bl. 1–12 und 30–42) in der Bodleyana in Oxford, die andere (Bl. 13–29) im British Museum in London. In der India Office Library befinden sich indessen ausser der Hoernle Collection auch noch die allerdings wenigen Blätter in Kucischer Sprache, die aus den späteren Funden Sir Aurel Stein's stammen. Es sei jedoch bei dieser Gelegenheit darauf hingewiesen, dass auch das British Museum in seinem bisher nicht als „Kucisch“ erkannten MS. Or. 8212 (163) [Or. 52] ein Blattfragment besitzt, das der gleichen Handschrift angehört wie die Blätter St. 42. 2 Nr. 1 und 2 der Stein Collection im India Office.

S. Lévi hat bereits in seinen zusammen mit A. Meillet verfassten „Remarques sur les formes grammaticales de quelques textes en

¹ Es kommt eigentlich nur ein einziges Fragment des India Office, nämlich AN. 533, Mi xiii, 006, in Betracht, in dem wenigstens einige zusammenhängende Worte in Toch. A erhalten sind:

- a. (1) || 𑖦 𑖧𑖫𑖮 𑖫𑖮 ||
(2) || [r]y·p trāṅkās kāsū āām ||
(3) || kōñāktes maṅdal • ||
b. (1) || 𑖦𑖫𑖮𑖫𑖮𑖫𑖮 nu rohiṣṣin pōkyo ||
(2) || ntā kṣai wraṣke epā[k·ā] ||

Rest zerstört.

² S. Sylvain Lévi, „Le 'Tokharien B' langue de Koutcha,“ *J. As., sér. XI*, t. ii (Paris, 1913), pp. 311–80 (vgl. auch Sir Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, vol. ii, p. 915), beachte jedoch F. W. K. Müller und E. Sieg, *Maṭrisīmīt und "Tocharisch," SBAW.*, 1916, p. 395 f.

Tokharien B“, *Mém. Soc. Ling.*, 18 (1912–13), pp. 1–33, 381–423¹ Auszüge aus diesen Handschriftenschätzen in Transskription und Übersetzung mitgeteilt. Er hat ferner in Hoernle's *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in E. Turkestan*, i (Oxford, 1916), pp. 357–86, drei vollständige Blätter der Hoernle Collection² in Transskription, Übersetzung und mit Parallelen aus dem Chinesischen und Pāli herausgegeben und hat auch die Kucischen Mspt.-Reste aus den Stein'schen Funden in Sir Aurel Stein's *Serindia*, ii (Oxford, 1921), p. 915,³ und *Innermost Asia*, ii (Oxford, 1928), p. 1029 f.⁴ nach ihrem Inhalt bestimmt bez. transskribiert. Er hat schliesslich auch der bisher nicht veröffentlichten Liste der India Office Library gelegentlich Bemerkungen über den Inhalt der von ihm eingesehenen Kucischen Manuskripte beigefügt.

Da die Liste der India Office Library weit über 200 Nummern Kucischen Schriftentums aufführt, ist also bisher nur ein recht kleiner Teil davon bekannt geworden. Aber es handelt sich bei diesen Nummern fast ausschliesslich um mehr oder minder zerstörte Blattreste aus Einzelhandschriften, deren Herausgabe bei dem bisherigen Stand unseres Wissens grösstenteils noch nicht opportun wäre. Für die Feststellung des Wortschatzes und seiner Bedeutung, sowie für die Grammatik kann aber auch das kleinste Stück von Wichtigkeit werden, und wir sind daher dem India Office, insbesondere dem Librarian Mr. Storey und seinem Assistant Librarian Mr. Randle zu grossem Dank verpflichtet, dass uns diese Fragmente auf längere Zeit zur Durchsicht und Kollationierung nach Berlin entliehen wurden.

Bei dieser Gelegenheit haben wir u. a. auch zwölf kleinere Bruchstücke als Übersetzungen aus Dharmatrāta's Udānavarga identifiziert, und wir freuen uns, eine Auswahl derselben zu Ehren Prof. Rapson's, der den zentralasiatischen Funden sein besonderes Interesse zugewendet hat, hier vorlegen zu können.—Prof. Lüders, der uns seine Udānavarga-Abschriften bereitwilligst zur Verfügung stellte, hat uns dadurch die Identifizierung teils wesentlich erleichtert, teils erst ermöglicht; ihm sei auch unser herzlicher Dank dafür ausgesprochen, dass er uns die Verwertung seines Textes für diese Publikation gestattet hat.

¹ S. auch „*Les noms de nombre en Tokharien B*“, *MSL.*, 17 (1912), pp. 281–94; und „*Notes sur le Koutchéen*“, *MSL.*, 19 (1916), p. 158 ff.

² S. die Facsimiles a.a.O. Pl. XI, Nr. 2, und XIX, Nr. 2 und 3 (vgl. auch die Note p. 11).

³ Facsimiles *Serindia*, iv, Pl. CLII.

⁴ Facsimiles *Innermost Asia*, iii, Pl. CXXIII.

Vorweg sei nochmals bemerkt, dass die von uns festgestellten Bruchstücke sämtlich verschiedenen Handschriften angehören und damit schon äusserlich die Beliebtheit des Udānavarga im Gebiet von Kucā bezeugen.—In unserer Transskription haben wir zur Erleichterung des Druckes die „Fremdbuchstaben“ nicht besonders bezeichnet, sondern den ihnen inhärierenden Vokal durch *ä* wiedergegeben.

1. H. 149. 152. Ein an allen Seiten beschädigtes, etwa $7\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ cm. grosses Bruchstück. Auf der einen Seite ist die Schrift fast völlig zerstört, einige noch erkennbare Sanskritwörter zeigen aber, dass der Text dieser Seite nicht zum Udānavarga gehörte. Auf der anderen Seite dagegen finden wir die Anfangsstrophen des Udānavarga wieder. Erhalten ist davon (von Z. 1 sind nur noch Spuren vorhanden):

- Z. 2 ||| *tāyinā • po aiśintsa* |||
 3 ||| *anityā bata saṃskārāḥ •* |||
 4 ||| *[tka]ntrā • teṣāṃ vyupaśamaḥ* |||
 5 ||| *mā[n]ene • andhakāraṃ pra* |||
 6 ||| *nī (d)īś[o] diśam • kāskau[w]* |||
 7 ||| *[pā]rveṣṣe ya(s)[i]* |||

Die Reste lassen erkennen, dass jedesmal einem Sanskrit-Pāda die Übertragung in den B-Dialekt folgte. Z. 2 enthält den zweiten Pāda von Ud. i. 2, der vollständig *sarvābhijñena tāyinā* lautet. *po aiśintsa* ist also die Übersetzung von *sarvābhijñena*: *po* = *sarva* ist schon seit den ersten französischen Veröffentlichungen über Tocharisch B bekannt (s. z. B. *J. As.*, x, 18, p. 129 [132]) und *aiśintsa* ist der Instr. sg. eines Adjektivs *aiśi* „wissend“, das von der häufig belegten Wurzel *aik aiś* „wissen“ abgeleitet ist. In der zusammengezogenen Form *poyśi* „der Allwissende“ bilden diese beiden Wörter die ganz gewöhnliche Wiedergabe für das Epitheton Buddhas *bhagavant* (vgl. schon Lévi-Meillet, *MSL.*, xviii, p. 3). — *[tka]ntrā* Z. 4 ist der Rest einer 3. Plur. praes. med., die Skt. *nirudhyante* (Ud. i, 3) wiedergibt. Diese Bedeutung hat die in A wie B häufig bezeugte Wurzel *prutk*, sodass wir an dieser Stelle die Verbalform mit ziemlicher Sicherheit zu *prutkantrā* ergänzen können.—Ebenso sicher erscheint die Ergänzung zu *nesamanene* Z. 5, dem Skt. *sati* (Ud. i, 4) genau entsprechenden Loc. sg. des Praesenspartizipiums vom Verbum subst. *nes*. — In Z. 6 entspricht dem leider verstümmelten *kāskau[w]* im Sanskrit *vikṣiptāni* (Ud. i, 5). *kāskau* ist das Partic. praet. des mehrfach belegten Verbalstammes *kāsk*, dessen Bedeutung

„zerstreuen“ uns durch diese Stelle gesichert wird; die dem neutralen Plural des Sanskrit entsprechende Form ist nach sonstigen Parallelen als *kāskauwa* anzusetzen. — Die Worte [*pā*]*rweṣṣe ya(s)[i]* Z. 7 endlich übersetzen Skt. *prathamām rātriṃ* aus dem ersten Pāda von Strophe 6. Beide Wörter sind bekannt: für *pārweṣṣe* vgl. Lévi in *J. As.*, xi, 2, p. 315, und unsere Tocharischen Sprachreste Nr. 251a; für *yaṣi* Lévi-Meillet in *MSL.*, xviii, p. 395 Anm.

2. H. 149. 329 ist das Anfangsstück eines als Nr. 4 gezählten Blattes einer vierzeiligen Handschrift. Das Fragment ist etwa $5\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ cm. gross. Wie wir feststellen konnten, bildet der Text die Übersetzung des Udānavarga, diesmal ohne Beifügung des Sanskrit-Originals, und zwar enthält unser Bruchstück Reste der Strophen 19–25 des i. (anitya-)varga:

Vorderseite	Rückseite
1 <i>pārkarya nō āksaṣe</i>	1 <i>lne āke tāprauñe[nta]</i>
2 <i>mā aikemanetse</i> [10] ¹	2 <i>srukālne āke ṣpā</i>
3 <i>ñmañtse mā nesām • ke</i>	3 <i>lo yamorcci • yāmo</i>
4 <i>ekaññenta ka[krau]</i>	4 <i>mñecci 24 ma nta</i>

Die ersten beiden Zeilen haben die Anfangs- und Schlussworte der Übersetzung von Ud. i, 19 bewahrt. In den Berliner Handschriften ist diese Strophe nur unvollständig erhalten, doch lässt sich der Text, da sie identisch ist mit Dhṛp. 60, leicht wiederherstellen. Der erste Pāda muss im Skt. gelautet haben: *dirghā hi jāgrato rātriḥ*, und danach die Übersetzung Z. 1 *pārkarya nō āksaṣe(ñcatse yaṣi)*. *pārkarya* ist das Femininum des Adjektivs *pārkare pārkre* „lang“, bezeugt also für *yaṣi* „Nacht“ weibliches Geschlecht. Die Partikel *nō* finden wir in unseren B-Texten häufig zur Wiedergabe von Skt. *tu*, *vai* und *hi* gebraucht. Dem ind. *jāgrato* würde genau B *āksaṣeñcatse* (in unserem Text mit einem *ṣ* geschrieben) entsprechen: Gen. (auf *-tse*) des aktiven Partizips vom *s*-Praesens einer Wurzel *āks* „wachen“, die uns durch diese Stelle sicher bezeugt wird, also von der häufigeren Wz. *aks āks* „verkünden, lehren“ (vgl. Nr. 7, V. 2) zu scheiden ist.— Z. 2 *mā aikemanetse* „des nicht wissenden“ entspricht Skt. *avijānataḥ*; *aikemane* ist das Ptc. prs. med. der schon oben genannten Wz. *aik aiś* „wissen“.

Der 3. Zeile entspricht aus der zweiten Verszeile von Strophe 20 Skt. *ātmano nāsti*, es ist demnach (a)*ñmañtse* zu ergänzen, Gen. sg. vom Nom. *āñmo*, Obl. *āñm* = Skt. *ātman*. *mā nesām* ist gleich Skt.

¹ Ergänze zu 19.

na asti. Das folgende abgebrochene *ke*.. läßt sich nur zu *ke(t)* oder *ke(te)*, dem Gen. des Fragepronomens, ergänzen, setzt also eine Lesung *kasya* des Sanskritoriginals voraus. In den Berliner Udānavarga-Handschriften liegt zwar nur die Lesart *kuto* (in Übereinstimmung mit Pāli Dhp. 62) vor, aber auch die tibetische Übersetzung (vgl. Beckh, *Udānavarga*, i, 18) hat in *su-yi* den Genetiv des Interrogativums.

Die Z. 4 entsprechenden Sanskritworte aus Ud. i, 21 heissen *bhogān vai samudānīya*, *ekaññīne* (für *-ññe*), auch *ekññīne* (vgl. Lévi-Meillet, *MSL*, xviii, pp. 4 und 393) „Geld, Besitz“ = Skt. *bhoga*, ist eine Weiterbildung aus *ekañi*, *ekñi*, das selbst schon die gleiche Bedeutung hat, denn es gibt auf dem unter Nr. 3 zu behandelnden Stück dieser Hoernle-Sammlung Skt. *vitta* wieder. Aus dem gleichen Stamme scheint das entsprechende Wort in A: *akāṃtsune* gebildet zu sein. — Dem Absolutivum *samudānīya* muss ein B-Absolutivum *kakraparmem* gegenüberstehen, das wir wohl hier zu ergänzen haben werden, von der bekannten Wurzel *krap* „sammeln“.

Z. 1 der Rückseite ist gleich Skt. *patanāntāḥ samucchrayāḥ* Ud. i, 22. Skt. *patana* ist durch ein Verbalsubstantiv auf *-lñe* übersetzt, der Verbalstamm selbst ist leider nicht erhalten. Die Gleichung *āke* = *anta* ist in den B-Texten öfters belegt. Mit *tāprauñenta* „die Höhen“ wird Skt. *samucchrayāḥ* ganz wörtlich wiedergegeben. *tāprauñe* ist das Abstraktum vom Adj. *tāpre*, *tapre* „hoch“, wie wir aus den genau entsprechenden A-Formen *tpār*; *tāprone* wissen.

srukalñe āke spā Z. 2 ist gleich Skt. *marañāntoḥ hi* aus Ud. i, 23. *srukalñe* ist das Verbalsubstantiv der Wurzel *sruk* „sterben“, es dient anderwärts auch zur Übersetzung von Skt. *mṛtyu* (vgl. z.B. *J. As.*, x, 17, p. 441). Die Partikel *spā* „und“ ist hier für Skt. *hi* gebraucht, wofür wir oben die Partikel *no* fanden.

In Z. 3 haben wir *(yo)lo yamorcci* zu lesen für Skt. *pāpakarmāṇaḥ* Ud. i, 24. Das Adjektiv *yolo* „böse, schlecht“ ist bekannt, also ohne weiteres zu ergänzen. *yamorcci*, besser ist wohl *yāmorcci* zu lesen, ist Nom. pl. maso. auf *-i* eines aus *yāmor* „Tat“ (von Wz. *yām* „machen“) weitergebildeten possessiven Adjektivums *yāmor-tstse* (oder *-tse*), mit Erweichung des *tst* zu *cē*, die für den Obl. und Gen. sg. m. und den maskulinen Plural dieser Adjektiva die Regel ist. — Das folgende abgebrochene *yāmo*.. (vielleicht zu *yāmoḥ* = Nom. pl. des Partic. praet. *yāmu* zu ergänzen) gibt *kṛta*- aus *kṛtapuṇyāḥ* wieder.

Der Schluss der Strophe 24 heisst im Sanskrit *nirāsravāḥ*. Da die Gleichung *tsamñenta* = *āsravāḥ* in unseren B-Texten vorliegt, können wir hier in Z. 4 mit Sicherheit das Aequivalent *snai*

tsnamñecci einsetzen. Über die Endung *-cci* ist eben gesprochen.— Die Worte *ma nta* endlich übersetzen Skt. *naiva* des Anfangs von Ud. i, 25.

3. H. 149 Add. 105. Bruchstück einer linken Blattseite von 13 cm. Höhe und 6–10 cm. Breite. Durch die starken Beschädigungen ist auch die Schrift schwer mitgenommen worden und bereitet der sicheren Entzifferung mehrfach Schwierigkeiten. Der Text ist wieder zweisprachig und bietet die Reste von Udānavarga ii (Kāmavarga), 12–20. Wir lesen :

Vorderseite

- 1 (sar)[va]kā |||
- 2 saram (:) ka[na] |||
- 3 [t·]meṃ [-l aut]k·[l]ñ[e] |||
- 4 yaśi prajña-[trp··] |||
- 5 yā pu[ruṣ]aṃ tr[p]ta(m) : [aiśam]ñe |||
- 6 ddhā hi kā[m]e[s]u nar[ā] |||
- 7 vīna [y·m·]ṣ antarāy· |||
- 8 ||| hanti bhogā : yakte [ai] |||
- 9 ||| : yā[k·]a[śa]m(ñ)et·e |||

Rückseite

- 1 ||| [rṣ·]ṇa-k·rṣ· |||
- 2 ||| [m·:] yakte svārañe [s·] |||
- 3 spek ra[no] ṇākcyenne yśelme[n]e |||
- 4 na yāmu [māske]trā · buddh[ā] |||
- 5 no ysā[ts·] (·) [samo] hima[v·] |||
- 6 ekañi ṣeme[pī] · [eta] |||
- 7 lakle no k_ase [kārs·] |||
- 8 ḷyam iti |||
- 9 (ganz zerstört).

Dem ka[na].. (oder kata.. ?) auf Z. 2 der Vorderseite entspricht Skt. *yāvat*, der Anfang von Ud. ii, 13. Über diesen Wortrest und seine mögliche Vervollständigung vermögen wir nichts auszusagen. — Die in Z. 3 zu lesende Buchstabenfolge dürfte aus den beiden Wörtern *tumeṃ klaukalñe* bestehen, die Skt. *tato nivṛttim* derselben Strophe 13 gleichzusetzen sind. *tumeṃ* ist der Ablativ des neutralen Demonstrativpronomens *tu*, *klaukalñe* das Verbalsubstantiv der Wurzel *klauk* „umkehren“ (vgl. z.B. *J. As.*, x, 17, p. 434, wo Skt. *nivṛttaḥ*

durch das reduplierte Partizipium *kaklau(tkau)* übersetzt ist). — In Z. 5 ist der Instrumental *aśamñe(sa)* als Entsprechung für Skt. *prajñayā* aus Str. 14 anzusetzen.

Z. 7 der Vorder- und Z. 4 der Rückseite, die dasselbe Sanskritwort übersetzen, ergänzen sich gegenseitig: an der zweiten Stelle ist *wīna yāmu* = *rataḥ* Ud. ii, 18 der Singular zum Nom. pl. *wīna yāmoḥ* = *ratāḥ* Ud. ii, 15. Vgl. die Parallele in *J. As.*, x, 17, p. 443. — Auch die Zeilen 8 und 9 der Vorderseite enthalten Reste der Übersetzung des gleichen Sanskritwortes *durmedhas*, mit dem die beiden Verszeilen von Ud. ii, 16 beginnen. *yakte* bez. *yākte*, neben denen an einer anderen Stelle noch die dritte Schreibart *yekte* (s. Nr. 8, R. 6) bezeugt ist, dienen hier zur Wiedergabe von Skt. *dur-*; *yakte* kehrt Rückseite Z. 2 wieder als Entsprechung von Skt. *alpa*. Es bedeutet also „wenig, gering“. Der zweite Teil des indischen Kompositums wird durch das nach Z. 9 zu ergänzende possessive Adjektiv *aśamñetse* „Wissen habend“ übersetzt.

Auf der Rückseite ist *yakte swāralñe* Z. 2 gleich Skt. *alpāśvāda* der Strophe ii, 17, *swāralñe* ist wieder Verbalsubstantiv von der ein paar Mal bezeugten Wurzel *swār* „geniessen“. — Der Sanskrittext zu Z. 3 lautet *api divyeṣu kāmēṣu* Ud. ii, 18. Skt. *api* wird hier anscheinend durch zwei Worte, *spek rano*, wiedergegeben. *rano* allein kommt in unseren Texten gar nicht selten für Skt. *api* „auch“ vor, vielleicht bilden beide Worte hier einen Begriff für *api* „sogar“? Die genaue Bedeutung von *spek* kennen wir nicht, das Wort könnte aus *spe* mit der verstärkenden oder hervorhebenden Partikel *-k* zusammengesetzt sein. Für ein als Postposition gebrauchtes *spe* hat Lévi, *J. As.*, x, 18, p. 125, die Bedeutung „nahe bei“ bestimmt, aber diese kann wohl in unserem Zusammenhange nicht in Betracht kommen. Dass in *ñākcyenne ysēlmenne* wider den Sprachgebrauch auch das attributive Adjektiv *ñākcyē* die volle Kennzeichnung des Loc. pl. trägt, ist nur auf das Bestreben des Übersetzers nach möglichst genauer Wiedergabe des Originals zurückzuführen. Die Worte selbst, *ñākcyē* = *divya* und *ysēlme* = *kāma*, sind bekannt. — Z. 4 (*ici*)na *yāmu* = *rataḥ* ist schon oben besprochen; *māsketrā* entspricht Skt. *bhavati* in Ud. ii, 18.

Den Worten *api suvarṇasya* aus Ud. ii, 19 entsprechend werden wir Z. 5 zu *rano ysātse* zu ergänzen haben, denn *ysātse* ist der Gen. von *ysā* „Gold“, das auch in der Form *yasa* erscheint. — Über *ekañi* = *ritam* vgl. oben, Nr. 2. *semepi* in derselben Zeile 6 ist das Äquivalent für Skt. *ekasya*. Das Zahlwort „eins“ flektiert in B: Sg. masc.

Nom. *še*, Obl. *šeme*, Gen. *šemepi*, Instr. *šemesa* usw.; Pl. Nom. *šemi*, Obl. *šemem*, Gen. *šememts*.

Z. 7 bietet die Übersetzung des Anfangs der Strophe ii, 20: *duhkhāṃ hi yo veda*, mit schon bekannten Worten. *k_use* (Obl. *k_uce*, Gen. *ket* und *kete*) vertritt im B-Dialekt unverändert das Interrogativ- wie das Relativpronomen. Welche Form der Wurzel *kārs* „wissen“ hier zu ergänzen ist, muss offen bleiben. Das dem Skt. *veda* entsprechende Praeteritum heisst in diesem Paradigma *šarsa*, kommt also hier nicht in Frage; sollte die Wiedergabe durch ein Praesens erfolgt sein, so hätten wir den erhaltenen Rest zu *kārsanam* oder medial *kārsanatār* zu vervollständigen.

4. H. 150. 106, ein kleines Blattfragment mit nur vier erhaltenen Zeilen, hat auf diesen Reste von Text und Übersetzung von Udānavarga ii, 18-20 bewahrt.

Vorderseite

- 1 ||| *yokai* |||
 2 ||| *pūdñāktettse* |||
 3 ||| *samo himava[t.]* |||
 4 ||| *tu mā eka* |||

Rückseite

- 1 ||| *hi yām (?) ve* |||
 2 ||| *(ra)m(e)ta • y[ś]elme[nn]e ś •* |||
 3 ||| *[n]o śaiṣene* |||
 4 ||| *•aumye* |||

Z. 1 und 2 der Vorderseite enthielten die Strophe ii, 18: *yokai* ist gleich Skt. *tyṣṇā-*, es ist der Obliquus zum Nom. *yoko* „Durst“, neben dem unsere Texte noch eine zweite Bildung *yokye*, *yokiye* belegen. Das Nomen hat in B feminines Geschlecht. Der singularische Genetiv *pūdñāktettse* lässt als Vorlage des Übersetzers auf ein Skt. *buddhasya* schliessen, während die Sanskrithandschriften den Plural *buddhānām* lesen, dessen Äquivalent nur *pūdñāktemts* lauten kann. — Z. 4 gibt dieselbe Stelle *vittam tu nālam ekasya* aus Ud. ii, 19 wieder, wie schon Nr. 3, R. 6. In der Übersetzung erscheinen die Worte in anderer Reihenfolge: *tu* = *tad*, *mā* = *na*, *eka(ñi)* = *vittam*.

Alle vier Zeilen der Rückseite umfasst die Strophe ii, 20. Auf Z. 2 ist *yśelmenne* = *kāmeṣu* eine schon in Nr. 3, R. 3 dagewesene Parallele. Im Sanskrit folgt *jantuh*, was das allein übrig gebliebene *ś* zu *śaumo*, dem B-Worte für „Lebewesen, Mensch“ (Obl. *śaumom*, Plur. *śāmna*) zu ergänzen erlaubt. *no śaiṣene* Z. 3 steht für Skt. *hi loke*, und dem Wortreste auf Z. 4 entspricht Skt. *dhīrah*, wonach er zu *aśaumye* mit Sicherheit ergänzt werden kann.

5. H. 149. 315. Rest der linken Seite eines Blattes, das als das 23. der Handschrift gezählt ist. Die Blatthöhe beträgt 7 cm., die erhaltene Länge des Bruchstückes schwankt zwischen 4 und 9 cm.

Obwohl der Text nur in der Sprache B abgefasst ist, konnten wir ihn als zum Udānavarga gehörig feststellen. Unser Blatt enthält die Übersetzung der Verse x, 6-14, wovon folgendes erhalten ist:

Vorderseite

- 1 *ññe wa · e [ś ·] |||*
- 2 *pawāṣṣorñe śāp sn[ai m ·] |||*
- 3 *sa kekenu rilyñetstse yai |||*
- 4 *ṣṣām takarṣkūññ aiśamñe śāp |||*
- 5 *pī pelaikñemñtse klyauṣalyñene |||*

Rückseite

- 1 *yarpo lykamñtsa olyapotstse waime · e |||*
- 2 *tstse kälkēm aiśaumyi : aiśkēm ṣemi |||*
- 3 *śwātsine : mā sū inkaum kā |||*
- 4 *k karnor : sū in(k)aum |||*
- 5 *snai war |||*

Das zehnte Kapitel des Udānavarga ist der *śraddhāvarga*. Das B-Wort für *śraddhā* heisst *takarṣkñe*, *takarṣkūññe*, was wir auf unserem Fragment, Z. 4 der Vorderseite, bestätigt finden. Daneben kennen wir das Wort auch aus mehreren Belegen unserer Sammlung als Wiedergabe von Skt. *praśāda*. Zu Grunde liegt dieser Abstraktbildung auf *-ñe* (*-āññe*) ein adjektivisches *takarṣke*, für das auf einem Fragment dieser Hoernle-Sammlung das Aequivalent *prasanna* „gläubig“ gegeben wird. Aus dem Abstraktum ist andererseits wieder ein Adjektivum *takarṣkñetse* weitergebildet worden, das einmal in unseren Texten Skt. *śraddhā* übersetzt. — Dieses *takarṣkūññe* haben wir nun auch gleich auf Z. 1 der Vorderseite unseres Bruchstückes zu ergänzen, die dem Anfange der Strophe x, 6 *śraddhā dvitīyā puruṣasya* entspricht, d. i. in der Sprache B *takarṣkūññe wate śaumontse*. *wate* heisst, wie bekannt, „der zweite“, und *śaumo* hatten wir schon im vorigen Stück, Nr. 4, dem synonymen Skt. *jantu* gleichgesetzt. — Z. 2 entspricht den Worten aus Ud. x, 7 *śīlaṃ caivāhiṃsā*. Das hier mit *w* für *p* geschriebene *papāṣṣorñe* stellt ein mit der Endung *-rñe* gebildetes Abstraktum aus dem Partizipium *papāṣṣu* (von Wz. *pāṣk* „hüten, üben“) dar, sein Gebrauch für Skt. *śīla* ist auch sonst bezeugt. *śāp* (*ṣpā*) ist die bekannte Partikel „und“. Für Skt. *ahiṃsā* haben wir nach Parallelen B *snai miyāṣṣālñe* anzusetzen, das durch *snai* „ohne“ negierte Verbalsubstantiv der tocharischen Wurzel *mi* (Praes. *miyāṣṣam*) = Skt. *hiṃs*. — Für Z. 3 kommen die Sanskritworte

aus Ud. x, 8 . . . *sampannas tyāgavāṃ vīta-(matsaraḥ)* in Betracht. *kekenu* ist das Part. praet. der Wz. *kān*, *ken* „zu Stande kommen“, Skt. *saṃ-pad*; *rilyñetstse* = *tyāgavān* ein possessives Adjektivum, mit dem schon aus Nr. 2 bekannten Suffix *-tstse* (*-tse*) aus dem Verbalabstraktum *rilyñe* (Wz. *ri* „aufgeben, verlassen“) gebildet. Das folgende, Skt. *vīta* entsprechende Wort war ohne Zweifel *yaiku*, denn wir haben dieses zur Wz. *icik* „schwinden, vergehen“ gehörende Praeteritalpartizip anderwärts für Skt. *kṣīṇa* gefunden. — Die Worte *labhate śraddhāṃ prajñāṃ ca*, Ud. x, 9, liegen der Z. 4 zu Grunde, wo wir dem *labhate* entsprechendes *kalpāṣṣām* am Anfange ergänzen können. Die Verschmelzung der beiden folgenden Wörter unter Ausfall des auslautenden *e* von *takarṣkāññe* erweist, dass die Übersetzung trotz ihrer wörtlichen Treue metrisch abgefasst ist. — Z. 5 ist zu übersetzen „beim Hören des (guten) Gesetzes“ und gibt das Kompositum *saddharmaśravaṇe* aus Ud. x, 10 wieder. „Gut“ heisst Nom. sg. *kartse*, *kärtse*, Obl. *krent*; den mehrfach bezeugten Gen. *kreñcepi* haben wir am Anfange der Zeile zu ergänzen.

Der zweite Pāda der Strophe x, 11 lautet im Sanskrit *punyaṃ coraiḥ sudurharam*. Auf Z. 1 der Rückseite entsprechen *yarpo* = *punya* (vgl. bereits Lévi-Meillet, *MSL.*, xviii, p. 395), *lykaṃttsa* = *coraiḥ*, *olyapotstse* = *su* und *waimen* = *dur*. *lykaṃttsa* ist der Instr. pl. von *lyak* „Dieb“, vgl. *MSL.*, xviii, p. 392, dessen Plural aber nicht wie dort angegeben *lyka* lautet, sondern nach sicheren Belegen in unseren Texten im Nom. *lyśi*, im Obl. *lykaṃ*. In der von Lévi wiederholt angeführten Verbindung *lyka wārṣeṃ mpa* könnte *lyka* — falls nicht vielmehr der am ehesten zu erwartende Obl. pl. *lykaṃ* gemeint ist — nur als besondere Kompositionsform von *lyak* aufgefasst werden. Dass die eigentliche Bedeutung von *olyapotstse* „sehr, überaus“ ist, ergibt sich neben dieser aus anderen Stellen, wo Skt. *bhṛṣam* und *ati-* damit wiedergegeben sind. Das ein paar Mal bezeugte Wort *waimene* lernen wir in seiner Bedeutung „schwer, schwierig“ hier kennen. — Die auf Z. 2 erhaltenen Worte entsprechen dem Schluss der Strophe 11 und dem Anfange von 12 des Sanskrit. Die hinter *aśaumyi* (Nom. pl.) = *paṇḍitāḥ* zu erwartende Zahl 11 fehlt indessen. Für Skt. *abhinandanti* lesen wir *..tstse kātkeṃ*. Vielleicht hat wieder *olyapotstse* hier die Praeposition *abhi* wiedergegeben. *kātkeṃ* ist die 3. Pl. praes. act. des oft belegten Verbums *kātk* (*kācc*) „sich freuen“. Der Anfang von Strophe 12 ist in den Berliner Sanskrithandschriften nicht erhalten, die Worte *aiskeṃ ḡemi* ergeben rückübersetzt dafür *dadaty eke*, denn *aiskeṃ* ist die 3. Pl. des *s-* Praesens der bekannten

Wz. *ai* „geben“ und *semi* der Nom. pl. von *še* „eins“, dessen Flexion wir bereits zu Nr. 3, R. 6 besprochen haben. — Zur selben Strophe 12 gehört auch noch Z. 3, wo *śwātsine* Skt. *bhojane* entspricht und für Skt. *nāsau divā ca rātrau ca* die Übersetzung in B *mā sū inkaum kāstwer* zu vervollständigen ist. Die Verbindung *inkaum kāstwer* „bei Tage (und) bei Nacht“ kommt in unseren Texten öfter vor; das erste Wort ist zusammengesetzt aus *kaum* „Tag“ und der Praeposition *in-* (*i-*, auch *yn-*, *y-*), vgl. z.B. die häufigen *yśāmnna*, *yñakteṃ* „bei den Menschen, bei den Göttern“. Das Wort *kāstwer* „bei Nacht“ vermögen wir nicht zu analysieren. Im Tocharischen entspricht dieser Verbindung ein *ykoṃ oṣeñi*, worin *oṣeñi* sicher — allerdings auch in singulärer Weise — von *roṣe* „Nacht“ (= B *yāṣi*) abgeleitet ist. — *sū inkaum* für Skt. *sa (vai) divā* aus Ud. x, 13 kehren wieder auf Z. 4. Das davorstehende Wort *karnor* ist seiner Form nach ein Verbalnomen auf *-or* (wie z.B. *yāmor* = *karman*, *āyor* = *dāna*) einer Wurzel *karn*. Von dieser ist uns wenigstens noch das aktive Praesenspartizip *karnnāṣṣeñca* (vielleicht Causativ?) an einer Stelle bezeugt, an der es Skt. *upatāpin* übersetzt. Hier gibt *karnor* das Partizipium *hata* „abgeschlagen“ wieder, aber wahrscheinlich, wie im folgenden Stück (Nr. 6) darzulegen sein wird, nicht die von unseren Sanskrithandschriften gelesene Pluralform *hatāḥ*, sondern vielmehr ein substantivisch aufgefasstes Singularneutrum *hatam*. — Zu den auf Z. 5 allein noch erhaltenen Worten *snai war* „ohne Wasser“ fehlt das Sanskritäquivalent in der nur unvollständig überlieferten Strophe x, 14. Die tibetische Übersetzung bietet an dieser Stelle einfach *skam-po* „trocken“.

6. H. 149. 112, ein bilingues Bruchstück mit den Strophen Ud. x, 13–16. Die ursprüngliche Zeilenzahl und die Blatthöhe sind nicht mehr zu bestimmen; es sind nur je drei Zeilen, und auf der Rückseite noch Spuren einer vierten, erhalten. Die Länge des auch vorn und hinten abgerissenen Fragmentes beträgt 12 cm.

Vorderseite

- 1 ||| *kete no te kār[st] · r · tā* |||
- 2 ||| *(sa)mādhim adhigacchati · ompalskoñṭe yānmāṣṣām* |||
- 3 ||| *ramt snai wa(r) · sacet khanel (la)bhet tatra · kr. i rāpo* |||

Rückseite

- 1 ||| *my · n no lār[·y ·]mītrā · hṛ — yadvaj jalārthi* |||
- 2 ||| *(a)nāvilam · kroṣce war snai mārkarce 15 n ·* |||
- 3 ||| *onolmi · aprasannām* |||

Bereits Lévi-Meillet haben dieses Fragment richtig identifiziert, wie aus dem Zitat der ersten Zeile in *MSL.*, xviii, p. 12, ersichtlich ist. Doch ist ihre Lesung zu verbessern. Mit voller Sicherheit sind über dem Akṣara *st* noch Schriftreste zu erkennen. Wir lesen das als *r* und vermuten darüber noch das abgerissene *o*-Zeichen. So erhalten wir als Entsprechung des ersten Pāda von Ud. x, 13 *yasya tv ete samucchinnāḥ* die B-Worte *kete no te kārṣt(o)r*. Hier ist *kete* der Gen. des Relativpronomens (vgl. dazu Nr. 2, V. 3) und *no* = Skt. *tu* (vgl. ebenda Z. 1). Keine Übereinstimmung besteht aber zwischen Skt. *ete* und B *te*, denn letzteres ist ein neutrales Demonstrativpronomen und könnte nur Skt. *tat* übersetzen, während der Skt. *ete* entsprechende maskuline Nom. pl. dieses Pronomens *cai* lautet. Die Ungewissheit, ob nicht unser Übersetzer eine andere Lesart in seiner Vorlage hatte, wird noch verstärkt durch die Form *kārstor*, die wie das schon in dem vorigen Stück (Nr. 5, R. 4) angetroffene *karnor* jedenfalls keinen Pluralnominativ voraussetzen lässt. Die Lesart des entsprechenden Päliverses, Dhṛp. 250: *yassa c'etaṃ samucchinnam*, steht unserer Übersetzung zweifellos näher. Für die Wurzel *kārṣt* *karṣt* „zerschneiden“, die dieses Verbalnomen enthält, und die dem Skt. *chid* genau entspricht, haben wir zahlreiche Belegstellen; sie lautet gleich (*kārṣt*) auch im Tocharischen. — Auf Z. 2 ist der Schluss der Strophe 13 in beiden Sprachen erhalten. Die Bedeutungen von *ompalskoñe* „Versenkung“ und von *yānmāṣṣām* sind schon durch die Veröffentlichungen von Lévi und Meillet bekannt, nur ist deren Lesung *yātmā-* zu *yānmā-* zu verbessern. Dieser Verbalstamm ist nämlich aus der Wurzel *yām* „erreichen, erlangen“ durch Metathesis eines ursprünglichen *n*-Suffixes (im Praesens *nās*) entstanden, wie die tocharische Parallele *yom*: *yomnās-* erweist. Ausser Skt. *adhigam* wie hier übersetzt das Verbum mehrfach in unseren Texten Skt. *prāp*. — Zu den Worten *ramt snai war* „wie ohne Wasser“ Z. 3 ist das Sanskrit in unserer Überlieferung nicht erhalten, vgl. oben Nr. 5, R. 5. Den noch zu Ud. x, 14 gehörigen Worten *sacet khaned* entsprechen in B *kr_ai rāpo(y)*. Beide sind in ihrer Bedeutung schon bekannt; *rāpoy* muss so als 3. Sg. Opt. act. von *rup rāp* „graben“ vervollständigt werden.

Die verstümmelte Übersetzung des ersten Pāda von Ud. x, 15 (*śrāddham*) *prājñam tu seveta* ist auf Z. 1 der Rückseite als *...aiṣaumen no lāre yamitrā* wiederherzustellen. Die sehr häufige Verbindung *lāre yam* (med.), wörtlich „sich lieb machen“, begegnet uns noch öfter als Übersetzung von Skt. *sev* (daneben auch für *bhaj*).

yamitrā ist genau wie Skt. *seveta* 3. Sg. Opt. med. — Vollständig erhalten hat Z. 2 die Wiedergabe des letzten Pāda derselben Strophe *śītaloyam anāvilam*. Der Wortstamm des Adjektivums „kalt“ lautet in B *krost-*, mit Erweichung *krośc-* und *krośś-* (*krauśś-*). *krośce* war heisst „kaltes Wasser“ und entbehrt der Kennzeichnung als adjektivisches Kompositum. Diese erscheint erst am Ende des Pāda in dem Suffix *-ce* (Obl. von *-tse*, vgl. Nr. 2, R. 3), welches also die beiden Ausdrücke *krośce* war und *snai mārkar* zu einer Gruppe zusammenfasst. Das Wort *mārkar*, für das wir sonst nur noch einen Beleg haben, bedeutet nach unserer Stelle unzweifelhaft „Trübung“ entsprechend dem Skt. *āvila*. — Dem Nom. des Plurals *onolmi* „die Lobewesen, Menschen“ Z. 3 steht im Sanskrittext der Strophe x, 16 der Singular *janaḥ* gegenüber.

7. H. 149. 331. Ein nur 5 × 6 cm. grosses, an allen Seiten beschädigtes Fragment, auf dem noch vier Zeilenreste erhalten sind. An den Sanskritworten erkannten wir die Zugehörigkeit zu Udānavarga xii, 8-13. Der Text lautet:

Vorderseite	Rückseite
1 <i>nirvidyate</i>	1 * [<i>s·</i>] <i>empr· tsa se spē</i>
2 <i>sa yesāñ ṇissa ytā</i>	2 <i>gāc chākyamuniḥ sa</i>
3 <i>ṣṣalle · ākhyātāra</i>	3 <i>nne ṣek ṣekā</i> 12 [<i>e</i>]
4 <i>ṣ[ṇ]āṣalyanikṛṇḍana</i>	4 [<i>r</i>]i <i>weṣṣāṇ se</i>

Auf Z. 2 der Vorderseite können wir die Wiedergabe des ersten Pāda der Strophe xii, 9 *ākhyāto vo mayā mārgaḥ* vollständig als *ākṣusa yesāñ ṇissa ytārye* herstellen. *ytārye* „Weg“ (Obl. *ytāri*, vgl. R. 4) ist Femininum und bedingt die Femininendung *-sa* des Partizipiums *ākṣu* „verkündet, gelehrt“ (anderwärts in unseren Texten für Skt. (*pra*)*deśita* belegt). Dieses Verbum (vgl. auch Nr. 2, V. 2) regiert im Tocharischen den Genetiv *yesāñ* „euer“ des Pronomens der 2. Person. *ṇissa* ist wie Skt. *mayā* der Instr. sg. des Pronomens der 1. Person *ñiś* (Nom. und Obl.). — Z. 3 lässt sich nach Skt. *karāṇīyam* das entsprechende *yamaṣṣalle* einsetzen.

In Z. 1 der Rückseite entsprechen die unvollkommen erhaltenen B-Worte dem Anfange von Ud. xii, 12 *eṣo 'ñjaso hy eṣa ca*. Das Skt. *añjasa* übersetzende Wort ist *empreṃtsa* zu lesen. Die femininische Form dieses Adjektivums (vom Mask. auf *-tse*) beruht darauf, dass das dazu zu denkende Bezugswort „Weg“ = *ytārye* in B Femininum ist, wie wir oben sahen. Zu Grunde liegt dieser Ableitung ein bekanntes *empreṃ* „gerade, wahr“, auch substantivisch „Wahrheit“,

welche Bedeutungen durch die in unseren Texten erhaltenen Sanskritaequivalente *samyak* und *satya* gesichert werden. Danach müssen wir natürlich auch für das dem ersten *eṣa* entsprechende Demonstrativum die femininische Form *sā* am Anfange der Zeile ergänzen. Das zweite *eṣa* gibt der Übersetzer durch das mask. *se* wieder, indem er es offenbar auf das folgende Skt. *parākrama* bezieht, als dessen B-Aequivalent wir etwa ein maskulines *spelke* vermuten dürfen. — Das letzte Wort der Strophe xii, 12, *abhikṣṇaṣaḥ*, finden wir auf Z. 3 durch *ṣek ṣekā* „immer und immer wieder“ sinngemäss übersetzt. — Z. 4 endlich haben wir (*ylā*)*ri weṣṣām se* genau entsprechend den Sanskritworten *mārgaṃ vadaty eṣa* aus Ud. xii, 13 zu lesen.

8. H. 149. 236. Ein nicht nur an den Rändern, sondern auch auf der ganzen Fläche stark beschädigtes Blattstück, 10 cm. hoch bei etwa 8 cm. Breite. Die Handschrift war ursprünglich wohl siebenzeilig, wovon noch Reste von 6 Zeilen auf jeder Seite zu lesen sind, die Udānavarga xxii, 2–9 zugehören.

Vorderseite

- 1 ||| *k·mane · ca[ra]* |||
- 2 ||| [*·y·*]*va śarevāri · al·* |||
- 3 ||| *spḥuṭam · y[ai]pormem orkamñ[ai]* |||
- 4 ||| *śanetstse no mā lkāṣṣām* 3 *ta* |||
- 5 ||| [*·o*] *k_use tākoy · aśrutvā [na]* |||
- 6 ||| *rū[pā]ni · [c]o* |||
- 7 (zerstört)

Rückseite

- 1 (zerstört)
- 2 ||| [*m·*] *y(ā)nmā[ṣṣā](m) [kṣ·]* |||
- 3 ||| *pāṣ[ṣo](r)ñ(c)ntan(e) no a[re]lā* |||
- 4 ||| [*t*]*o[tā]r keklyauṣor · 7 alpāśru* |||
- 5 ||| [*n*]*tune anaiśai waulāwau · śila[t·]* |||
- 6 ||| *ś ca bhavati · yek[t]e ke* |||
- 7 ||| [*·e*] *naksentrā · nā* |||

Die auf Z. 1 und 2 der Vorderseite noch vorhandenen B-Wortreste kann man auf Grund der entsprechenden Sanskritwörter der Strophe Ud. xxii, 2 zu *aikemane*, dem Part. praes. med. der Wurzel *aik aiś* „wissen“, bez. *alāṣmontse* = Skt. *āturasya* ganz sicher ergänzen. Die Bedeutung von *alāṣmo* „krank“ hat schon Lévi festgestellt, vgl. *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature*, ed. Hoernle, p. 377 s.v. — Bruchstücke der Übersetzung von Strophe 3 enthalten

die beiden Zeilen 3 und 4. Auf 3 entsprechen sich *yaipormem* und Skt. *praviśya*, *orkamñ[ai]* . . und Skt. *tamasā*. Das Absolutivum *yaipormem* gehört zu der bekannten Wurzel *yap yop* „eintreten“. „Dunkelheit, Finsternis“ heisst in B *orkamñe*, was uns ein Stück aus der Hoernle-Sammlung als Parallele für Skt. *timira* bezeugt. Dieses Abstraktum ist aus dem Adjektivum *orkmo* (m., f. *orkāmña*) „dunkel“ abgeleitet; sein hier zu erwartender Instrumental kann nach unserem Wissen nicht anders als *orkamñesa* angesetzt werden. Vielleicht ist das von uns unsicher gelesene *ai* nur eine durch die Zerstörung der Handschrift an dieser Stelle bedingte Täuschung.— Skt. *ca(kṣuśmān vā¹) na paśyati* finden wir Z. 4 durch *(e)śanetse no mā lkāṣṣām* wiedergegeben. Aus dem Dual *eśane* „die Augen“ (Sing. *ek*) ist mittels des schon wiederholt angetroffenen possessiven Suffixes *-tse* ein dem *cakṣuśmān* gleiches Adjektivum gebildet. Vgl. das Zitat bei Lévi-Meillet, *MSL.*, xviii, p. 24, wo *eśana-* für *eśane-* verdruckt ist. Über die Partikel *no* s. oben, Nr. 2, V. 1.— Auf Z. 5 haben wir als Übersetzung der Worte *api yo bhavet* aus Ud. xxii, 4 wohl *rano k_{se} tākoy* zu lesen, denn die Gleichung *rano* = *api* ist häufig genug in unseren Texten belegt. Der Optativ *tākoy* gehört zum Paradigma des Verbum substantivum, das in beiden Mundarten des Tocharischen aus den beiden Stämmen *nes* (A *nas*) für das Praesens und *tāk* für Praeteritum, Conjunctiv, Optativ sich zusammensetzt. Als dritter Stamm tritt hinzu *ṣai* *sey* (in A *še*) für das Imperfect. Folgende Formenzusammenstellung mag einen Überblick über den Aufbau dieses Paradigmas gewähren, wozu bemerkt sei, dass die Bildung des Infinitivs und des Verbalsubstantivs aus dem Praesensstamme eine nur in diesem Paradigma auftretende Unregelmässigkeit darstellt.

Praes. act. 3. Sg. *nesām*; Part. (medial!) *nesamane*; Inf. *nestsi*, *nessi*; Verbaladj. *nesalye*, *nesalle*; Verbalsubst. *nesalñe*.

Imperfect Sg. *ṣaim* (*ṣeym*), *ṣait*, *ṣai* (*sey*); Pl. *ṣeyem*, *ṣeycer* (*ṣaicer*), *ṣeyem* (*ṣem*).

Praet. 3. Sg. *tāka* (mit enklitischen Pronomina *takāñ*, *takās*, *takāne*).

Co. 3. Sg. *tākam* (gleichlautend auch die 3. Pl.).

Opt. 3. Sg. *tākoy*.

Imperativ Sg. *ptāka*, Pl. *ptākas*.

Part. praet. *tatākau*; Absol. *tatākarmem*.

¹ So ist der unvollständig überlieferte Text von Lüders ergänzt. Die tibetische Übersetzung bietet *miḡ-lān* (= *cakṣuś-mān*) *bñin-du* „though he has eyes“ (Rockhill).

Auf der Rückseite lesen wir in Z. 2 die 3. Sg. Praes. *yānmāṣṣām* für Skt. *prāpnoti* aus Ud. xxii, 6. Dieselbe Form begegnete uns schon für *adhigacchati* in Nr. 6, V. 2, wo wir ihre Bildung dargelegt haben. Dahinter sind nur halb deutlich noch die Buchstaben *ks-* zu erkennen, die uns aber erlauben, ein dem korrespondierenden Skt. *nirvṛtim* entsprechendes *kselāne* „Erlöschen, Vergehen“, die gewöhnliche Wiedergabe von *nirvāṇa*, daraus zu vervollständigen. — Z. 3 enthält die am Anfang und Ende etwas verstümmelte Übersetzung des zweiten Pāda der Strophe 7 *śīleṣu tv asamāhitaḥ*, die wir als *papāṣorñentane no aulāwātte* wiederherzustellen kein Bedenken tragen. *papāṣorñe* = *śīla* kam ebenso bereits in Nr. 5, V. 2 vor, hier tritt das Wort als Lok. (auf *-ne*) des Plurals (auf *-nta*) auf. Unsere Ergänzung zu *aulāwātte* gründet sich, was den Verbalstamm angeht, auf die in Z. 5 erhaltene Übersetzung *anaśai waulāwau* des Skt. *susamāhitaḥ* der Strophe 8. Hier stimmen Original und Übersetzung auch in der Form überein, denn *waulāwau* ist das Part. praet. der Wurzel *wlāw* „sich beherrschen, sich sammeln“, die uns auch als Wiedergabe von Skt. *saṃ-yam* begegnet und sonst öfter bezeugt ist. Die Form *aulāwātte* erschliessen wir aus zahlreichen Parallelen, von denen wir hier nur auf die von Lévi-Meillet in *MSL.*, xviii, p. 20 beigebrachten *anākātte* = Skt. *anindita*, *anāyātte* = *adatta* und *amplākātte* „unerlaubt, ohne Erlaubnis“ hinweisen wollen. Dass das Suffix dieser adjektivischen Bildungen *-tte* und nicht *-nte* gelesen werden muss, erweist die in der Flexion eintretende Erweichung von *tt* zu *cc*: mask. Obl. sg. *-cce*, Nom. pl. *-cci*; fem. Nom. sg. *-cca*, Obl. *-ccai*. Den Worteingang bildet in allen Fällen eine dem a privativum vergleichbare Negation, die in der Gestalt von *a-* (*an-*, *am-*), *e-*, bisweilen auch *o-* (vgl. *ontsoytle lkālne* = Skt. *asecanakadarśana*) variiert. Aus den angeführten Beispielen geht wohl mit Sicherheit hervor, dass wir als Wiedergabe von Skt. *asamāhita* nichts anderes als *aulāwātte* erwarten dürfen.

Der Schluss von Ud. xxii, 7 heisst im Sanskrit *sampadyate śrutam*. Dem substantivisch gebrauchten *śrutam* entspricht in Z. 4 genau das Verbalabstraktum *keklyauṣor* der Wurzel *klyaus* „hören“ (vgl. dazu *karnor* und *kārstor* in Nr. 5 und 6), während sich zur Ergänzung der verstümmelten Wiedergabe von *sampadyate* nur das in einigen Formen bezeugte Verbum *yot* aus unserem Wortschatze darbietet, dessen Bedeutung „zu Stande kommen“ wir aus dieser Stelle erfahren. Die hier zu erschliessende 3. Sg. *yototār* stimmt vollkommen zu der anderwärts belegten 3. Pl. *yotontrā*. — Von der

schon oben, Z. 3, angezogenen Z. 5 ist nur noch auf das Indeclinabile *anaśai* hinzuweisen, das hier Skt. *su* wiedergibt, an anderen Stellen dagegen zur Übersetzung der indischen Praepositionen *pari* und *anu* verwendet wird. Im Tocharischen (in der A-Mundart lautet das Wort *āneñci* — wofür eine Handschrift auch *āneñsi* schreibt —) müssen wir es wohl eher als Adverb ansehen. — Über *yekte* Z. 6 als Wiedergabe von Skt. *alpa* aus Ud. xxii, 9 ist bereits in Nr. 3 gehandelt. — Die bekannte Form *naksentrā* Z. 7 (Praes. med. der Wurzel *nak nāk* „tadeln“), die hier für Skt. *vigarhanti* (ebenfalls aus Strophe 9) steht, bedarf keiner weiteren Erläuterung.

On the Ephedra, the Hūm Plant, and the Soma

By AUREL STEIN

IN choosing the subject for this short paper I am guided not solely by the fact that the archaeological observations which first drew my attention to it were gathered in that field of my Central-Asian explorations with which I have fortunately been able to associate my old friend Professor Rapson as one of the earliest and most helpful of my collaborators. What invests certain curious finds among modest burial remains of the Lop desert with a special quasi-personal interest for me is the distant and puzzling relation they bear to a much discussed question of Vedic and Avestic research, that of the sacred Soma and Haoma.

It is a question which was often touched upon in his lectures by that great scholar and teacher, Professor Rudolf von Roth, during the years 1881-4, when I had the good fortune, figuratively, to sit at his feet as an eager devoted pupil. The question as to the identity of the original Soma plant and its home which he had discussed just at that time in two short papers of masterly clearness,¹ was not to be solved then, and still remains undecided.² But Roth's main contention still holds good that a solution for it could be hoped for only by the study of relevant physical facts, if possible, on the ground of early Aryan occupation.

The archaeological "finds" to which I have alluded above were curiously enough made in a most desolate part of Central Asia, on ground which is far from likely ever to have served as the habitat of an early population speaking the Aryan, i.e. common Indo-Iranian, tongue, and practising that cult of the Soma: Haoma as the hymns of the Rigveda or Avestic texts represent it. In *Innermost Asia*, the

¹ See Roth, "Über den Soma", *ZDMG.* 1881, pp. 681-92; and "Wo wächst der Soma?", *ZDMG.* 1884, pp. 134-9. Excellent English translations of both papers were furnished by Mr. C. J. (subsequently Sir Charles) Lyall, I.C.S., with a letter dated 22nd July, 1884, to the Hon. Sir Stuart Bayley, then Member of the Governor-General's Council. Together with notes of Dr. G. Watt they were supplied in print to officers employed on the Afghan Delimitation Commission. I owe a type-written copy of those translations to the courtesy of the officer in charge, Government of India Records.

² Cf. Macdonell-Keith, *Vedic Index*, ii, pp. 475, under the head *Soma*, for a succinct survey of the numerous widely different opinions recorded by Indologists and others about the identity of the plant figuring in Vedic hymns and later texts.

detailed report on my third Central-Asian expedition, I have given a full account how in February, 1914, in the course of my search for the ancient Chinese route once leading during the centuries immediately before and after the commencement of our era through the now utterly waterless Lop desert, I came upon the remains of a ruined watch-post, L.F., and just outside it of a small cemetery.¹

Their position on a steep "Mesa" or eroded ridge of clay, rising over a hundred feet above the bare plain around, had, together with the utter aridity of the climate, helped to protect the remains from damage both by moisture and by wind-erosion, a most destructive force in this forbidding region. The finds brought to light by clearing the rooms of the little stronghold definitely proved that it had been occupied as a station to keep watch over the route once leading across the absolute desert beyond towards Tun-huang, on the westernmost border of China proper. This route, as proved by plentiful documentary evidence from the ruins of the fortified Chinese station of Lou-lan farther to the south-west, had finally been abandoned early in the fourth century A.D.

The question as to the occupants of the watch-post was answered with full clearness by the exploration of the little cemetery outside. Several of the graves opened proved to contain bodies in a surprising state of preservation, as seen from the photographs reproduced in *Innermost Asia*.² Looking down on figures which, but for the parched skin and the deep sunk eye-cavities seemed like those of men asleep, I could not doubt that the dead belonged to the autochthone semi-nomadic people whom the Chinese Annals describe as the inhabitants of this territory of ancient Lou-lan.

The appearance of heads and faces clearly suggested the *Homo Alpinus* type, which, as Mr. T. A. Joyce's analysis of the anthropometric materials collected by me has shown,³ is best represented nowadays among the Iranian-speaking hillmen of the valleys adjoining the Pāmīrs. It forms a very conspicuous element also in the racial composition of the present population of the Tārīm basin. The look of the dead, their dress and buried belongings, clearly indicated that they and their people had lived the semi-nomadic life of herdsmen, fishermen, and hunters, just as the Lopliks, now to be found on the lower Tārīm river, did down to our times. That these modern

¹ See *Innermost Asia*, i, pp. 263 sqq.

² See *ibid.*, figs. 171, 172.

³ Cf. his Appendices, in *Serindia*, iii, pp. 1351 sq.; *Innermost Asia*, ii, pp. 996 sq.

successors of the ancient Lou-lan people are of Turkish speech and unmistakably Mongolian stock need not concern us here.

The bodies were enveloped in a shroud of coarse canvas. The shroud in the case of the two best preserved burials, both of middle-aged men, had its edge near the head or where it lay across the breast tied up into two little bunches. One of these proved to contain grains of wheat, and the other a quantity of small broken twigs.¹ There could be little doubt about the contents being meant to represent provisions for the dead in another life.

Similar little packets of broken twigs placed in an exactly corresponding fashion were found also in four more graves, including that of a female, at other small burial grounds of the same type but less well preserved, which were subsequently discovered by us in two widely distant localities (L.Q. and L.S.) of the Lop desert.² In most of the other graves at these cemeteries the bodies and their belongings were found in a badly decayed state not permitting of close examination of details. But it may be safely assumed that the provision of such small packets of twigs formed part of the regular funeral practice among the indigenous people who in a more or less nomadic fashion inhabited the Lop tract during the first few centuries of our era before it became a wholly waterless desert.

Specimens of this particular burial-deposit from all the six graves mentioned were submitted by me to Dr. A. B. Rendle, F.R.S., Keeper of the Department of Botany, British Museum, who in a letter dated 4th August, 1925, kindly informed me as follows:—

"The specimens (they are all the same) are undoubtedly fragments of the twigs of *Ephedra*, a low-growing shrub with slender green branches devoid of leaves except for a small membranous sheath at the nodes. It is abundant in the drier regions of the Himalayas and Tibet, and generally in Central and Western Asia."

In the same letter Dr. Rendle was good enough to refer me to an interesting notice in Sir George Watt's *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, which records the identification of the plant now used as the sacred *Homa* in the Zoroastrian ritual of the Pārsis of India with an *Ephedra*. This notice³ describes the *Ephedra* as "a genus of erect or sub-scendent rigid shrubs comprising some eight or ten species . . . met with in Europe, temperate Asia, and South America".

¹ Cf. *Innermost Asia*, i, pp. 265, 268 (L.F. 05, L.F. i, 03).

² Cf. *ibid.*, ii, pp. 736 sq., 740 sq. (for graves L.S. 2, 3, 6); 743, 748 (L.Q. iii).

³ Cf. *Dictionary of Economic Products of India*, iii, pp. 246 sq.

Of one species in India (*Ephedra vulgaris*, Rich.) it is mentioned that it occurs throughout the Himālayas, but is also distributed in Central and Western Asia. Two other Indian species are said to have a more westerly distribution (*E. pachyclada*, Boiss.), extending from Garhwāl to Afghānistān and Persia, and the other, *E. peduncularis*, Boiss., being met with from the Panjāb, Rājputānā, and Sind to Afghānistān and Syria.

What however directly concerns us here is the statement furnished by the subsequent passage of the notice: "Interest has recently been taken in these curious plants from the observation that the dried twigs of an *Ephedra* imported from Persia into Bombay constitute the sacred Homa of the Parsis. A sample of the Homa obtained in Bombay was at first determined as *Periploca aphylla*, an erect leafless perennial with twigs as thick as a goose-quill or less, and possessing a milky sap. Subsequent examination of other samples, however, revealed the fact that the *Homa* of the Parsis was in reality an *Ephedra*, and this determination has since received support from the information recorded by Dr. Aitchison in his botanical report in connection with the Afghan Delimitation Commission, where it is stated that *Ephedra pachyclada*, Boiss., bears, in the Hari-rud valley, the names of *hum*, *huma*, *yehma*. Dr. Aitchison states of that plant that it was found 'a very common shrub, from Northern Baluchistan along our whole route, in the Hari-rud valley, the Badghis district and Persia, growing in stony gravelly soil'. Of *Ephedra foliata*, Boiss., Dr. Aitchison further affirms that it is known as *Hum-i-bandak*."¹

Dr. Rendle in the same communication drew my attention to a note of Dr. Dymock (late Surgeon-General, Indian Medical Service), quoted in Sir G. Watt's *Dictionary*,² and stating: "The Parsi priests say that the *Homa* never decays, and they always keep it for a considerable time before they use it." This observation seemed at first to suggest a possibility that the depositing of *Ephedra* twigs with those ancient Lou-lan people might have been meant merely as a symbolic provision to prevent decay of their bodies, and thus to assure their full enjoyment of a future life.

¹ It fully agrees with Dr. Aitchison's observation about the distribution of the *Ephedra* that I found a low scrub, known locally by the name of *Hām* and closely corresponding in appearance to the above description of the genus, growing plentifully on the gravelly wastes crossed on my journey of 1915 along the Perso-Afghan border between Mujnābād and Durōh. I well remember how bitter the taste was when I tried to chew a little of the green twigs.

² See loc. cit., iii, p. 250.

But this interpretation of the curious burial practice has lost much of its force since it has come to my knowledge that an alkaloid isolated from a species of *Ephedra*, known to the Chinese as *Ma-huang*, has apparently for a long time past been widely used as a powerful drug. Preparations of this alkaloid under the name of Ephedrine have on account of their very valuable pharmacological action on bronchial muscles, mucous membranes, blood-pressure, ophthalmic affections, etc., entered largely into recent medical practice.¹

I have had no opportunity to ascertain how far back and over what parts of Asia this medical use of the bitter principle obtained from *Ephedra* plants can be traced. But on general grounds it appears to me probable that this effective therapeutical use of a plant widely spread in Central Asia may have been practised from early times in the region of the Tārīm basin. If to this is added the evident ease with which the dry twigs of *Ephedra* can be preserved for such use, their provision in those ancient burial deposits of the Lop tract can well be accounted for.

Far more difficult it is to explain how the *Ephedra* plant came to be used for supplying the juice which in the Zoroastrian ritual practice of the present day, both among the "Gabar" communities of Yezd and Kirmān and the Pārsis of India, figures as the representative of the ancient *Haoma*. That this use is not recent can be safely concluded from the popular application to an *Ephedra* of the name *Hūm*, as already referred to, in the border tracts of Persia and Afghānistān. Yet it is obviously impossible to reconcile the character of the juice obtained from this *Hūm* or *Ephedra* plant, extremely bitter and far from palatable even as a medicine, with what Rigveda hymns and Avesta often indicate as to the exhilarating and exciting effects of both Soma and *Haoma*.² It is clear enough that on Iranian ground, too, a substitution for the original plant must have taken place such as Sanskrit texts directly attest for India in the case of the original Soma of the Vedic hymns. But the very limited extent of the materials available bearing on the history of the *realia* of the Zoroastrian cult leaves little hope of direct evidence being ever obtained on the point.

¹ I take my information on this point from Wellcome's *Excerpta Therapeutica*, 1930, pp. 72 sqq.

² Cf. e.g. *RV*, viii, 48, 1, where the Soma is called the drink "to which all the gods and men together stream calling it 'sweetness' self", as quoted by Roth, *ZDMG*, 1881, p. 683.

There can be no doubt that the Haoma of the Avesta was identical with the original Soma plant of the Vedic hymns. Abundant as are the references in the latter to the sacred Soma which served as the libation to the gods at the most important of sacrifices, yet such definite data as we can gather from them regarding the plant itself are very scanty.¹ This vagueness of indications, characteristic of so much else that the earliest poetic literature of India supplies, is duly reflected, as already mentioned, by the widely divergent opinions of scholars as to the identity of the plant.

It would not fall within the scope of this paper systematically to take up afresh this much-discussed question, even if I commanded the time needed for studying it in all its aspects and had access to the whole literature which has accumulated concerning it. But in the course of my Indian service, and especially during the archaeological explorations conducted by me along the North-West Frontier of India in the years 1926-8, I was able to acquaint myself with much of the ground where the areas of early Indo-Aryan and Iranian occupation meet, and this fact may justify my briefly recording here some quasi-geographical observations which deserve to be considered in relation to that question.

One of the few definite data furnished by the texts about the famous plant is that it grew on the mountains. The special importance of this indication is emphasized by the fact that it is supplied by numerous passages of the Rigveda and by the Avesta alike.² This ought to suffice to exclude from the range of consideration both the Hūm plant of Persia and any of the order of the Asclepiadæ to which the species of *Sarcostemma*, the modern representative of the Soma plant in the ritual practice of Brahmanic India, belongs. For as Sir George Watt, in his notes on the above-mentioned translation of Professor von Roth's papers, has justly pointed out, the very numerous species of Asclepiadæ to be found in India are for the most part confined to the tropical and sub-tropical plains, the drier tracts like the Panjāb and Sind "which most resemble Afghānistān containing fewest species". An equally strong argument against any of the Asclepiadæ is raised by Sir George Watt's question: "Can any one who has examined the bitter milky sap of the Asclepiadæ (such as

¹ For a lucid analysis of such data and of the references bearing in general on the cult-practices connected with the Soma, cf. Macdonell-Keith, *Vedic Index*, ii, pp. 474 sqq.

² Cf. *ibid.*, ii, p. 475, note 14.

Calatropis gigantea, the *Akenda*, or *Madar*) suppose that such a liquid could ever be used for more than a medicinal purpose ? ”

Now it is curious to note that in view of the Rigveda's and Avesta's uniform mention of the mountains as the home of the plant an interesting passage of the Avesta has not received more attention. It is found in Yasna x, 11, a text known as the *Hōm-yasht*. Though classed with the “ Younger Avesta ”, it yet undoubtedly contains much early traditional lore. The passage, Yasna x, 11, claims to describe the distribution of the sacred Haoma plant, and runs as follows :—¹

āat θwā athra spānta fradaxšta
mərəya vīzvañcu vibarən
avi īškata upāiri-saēna
avi staēra starō-sāra
avi kusrāda kusrō-patāda
avi paurāna višpaθa
avi spita-gaona guiri.
āat āhva paureatāhva
pouru-sarəddō vīraodahē
haomō gaomo zairi-gaonō.

In keeping with Darmesteter's translation (*Zendavesta*, i, pp. 101 sq.), it may be rendered as follows :—

“ From there [the *Haraiti barəza*, i.e. the Elburz range of Persia] the divine birds have carried you in all directions to the *īškata Upāirisaēna*, to *Staēra* which has the stars on its head, to *Kusrāda Kusrō-patāda*, to the pass (?) of *Paurāna*, to the ‘ White Mountains ’. And in all those places you flourish manifold, oh succulent (?), golden-coloured Haoma.”

The distinct references made in two preceding passages of the same text (Yasna x, 3, 4) to the mountains as the home of the Haoma is a very valuable confirmation of what passages of the Rigveda tell us of the Soma. The same applies also to the description of the Haoma as *zairi-gaona*, “ golden-coloured ”; for it agrees exactly with the colour *hari* ascribed to the Soma plant in the Rigveda. But still more useful for our investigation are the definite topographical indications to be gathered from the Avesta passage I have quoted.

As long ago as 1886 I had occasion in a brief communication to the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists at Vienna to point out that the localities enumerated in this passage must all be looked

¹ See Yasna x, 11, in Geldner's edition.

for in that mountainous north-eastern portion of the present Afghānistān which extends from the Oxus to the south of the Kābul river.¹ I then showed that the Mount *Upāirisaēna* "the mountain above the eagles" [flight], the *Aparsin* of the Bundahish, is identical with the Paropanisus of the Greeks, the Hindukush range north of Kābul²; and that *Kusrāda* and *Kusrō-patāda* correspond in all probability to the mountain-tracts of Ghōr and Ghōrband situated to the north and south of that range.³ In *Paurāna* it is easy to recognize the modern local name *Parwān* borne by the pass and valley through which a well-known route across the central portion of the Hindukush range due north of Kābul descends to the meeting-point of Ghōrband and Panjshir. The *spita-gaona gairi*, the "White Mountains", correspond to the high range called *Spīn-ghar* by the Pashtu-speaking Pathāns along the Peshawar and Kohāt border, and more generally known by its Persian designation of *Safēd-kōh*. In *Staēra* we have perhaps an older Iranian form of the well-known modern name *Tirāh*, the mountain-tract held by the Afrīdis west of the Peshawar valley. The phonetic derivation of the present name *Tirāh* can now be more readily accounted for since we know that the tongue once spoken in Tirāh and still surviving in a few villages north of the Safēd-kōh belongs to that Dardic branch of the Aryan language group which, like the Indian branch, knows the change of *st* to *t*.⁴

¹ This communication was, I regret to confess, through my fault, not printed in the Proceedings of the Congress. The identifications then proposed were mentioned by me in 1887 to my lamented friend Professor James Darmesteter and readily accepted by him; see his *Zend-Avesta*, i, pp. 102 sq., with notes 30-4. For an independent reference to that communication, cf. Geiger-Kuhn, *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, ii, p. 393, note 2.

² The Pahlavi commentary renders the ἀπαξ λεγόμενον *iskata* by *shikast* "cave". Can this interpretation be connected in any way with the legend of Alexander's Greeks which looked for Prometheus' cave in the Indian Caucasus, i.e. the Paropanisus?

³ Here, too, as in the case of the phonetic derivation of *Tirāh* (see below) account may have, perhaps, to be taken of the influence exercised by a local population speaking a Dardic tongue. For the change of initial *k* > *kh* > *gh* cf. Grierson, *Pitūca Languages*, p. 93. The change of initial *k* into *kh* is regular also in certain East Iranian languages: see *ibid.*

The Ghōrband valley lies very close to the area where certainly in later times *Pashai*, a Dard language, was spoken.

It deserves to be noted that the name *Ghōrband* occurs also as the name of a considerable valley which descends to the right bank of the Indus from the watershed towards Upper Swāt. The valley belongs to a hill-tract where until the Pathān conquest of late mediæval times a Dardic language, akin to those still prevailing in the adjacent Indus Kōhistān, was spoken.

⁴ Cf. Grierson-Stein, "Notes on Tirāh," *JRAS.* July, 1925, pp. 405-16; Grierson, *The Pitūca Languages*, p. 133.

The Vedic texts have nothing to offer that in point of geographical definition could compare with the guidance which this passage of the Avesta affords for the location of the sacred plant. But on closer examination it is yet possible to discern in them some indications of quasi-geographical bearing which justify our looking to the hill-ranges due south of the mountain-area marked in the Avesta passage as a likely habitat of the elusive plant that provided the Soma relished by gods and men.

When dealing with the results of the archaeological tour which in the winter of 1927 took me through the whole length of Waziristān and Northern Balūchistān, I had already occasion to point out that these border territories between the Indus valley and Eastern Irān were likely to have been for some length of time in the occupation of Vedic tribes, before they descended from those hills, a poor arid land, though perhaps then not quite so barren as now, to the conquest of the fertile Indus-valley and the Panjāb plains.¹ The rivers *Krumu* and *Gomatī* mentioned in a famous hymn of the Rīgveda, x, 75, have long ago been recognized as identical with the present Kurram and Gumal, in which the whole drainage of Waziristān and the Afghān uplands adjoining westwards finds its way to the Indus. The mention of these two rivers, both comparatively small except when sudden spates fill their beds, distinctly points to such acquaintance with Waziristān as only prolonged Aryan occupation in early Vedic times can adequately account for.

This conclusion is strongly supported by the reference made in another hymn of the Rīgveda, vi, 27, to the river *Yavyāvatī* and to *Hariyūpiyā*, by which may be meant either a locality or a river. The *Yavyāvatī* has been rightly identified by Professor Hillebrandt with the Gumal's main southern tributary, the *Zhōb*, the modern name of which, as I have shown elsewhere, can easily be accounted for as the direct phonetic derivative of the Vedic form.² In *Hariyūpiyā* we may safely recognize the name *Hariōb* borne by the hill-tract which comprises the western headwaters of the Kurram river and is situated beyond the British border to the south-west of the Safēd-kōh.³

¹ See *An Archaeological tour in Waziristān and Northern Balūchistān* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1929, No. 37), pp. 2 sq.

² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 2, note 3. For Professor Hillebrandt's identification, see *Vedische Mythologie*, iii, p. 268.

³ Professor Hillebrandt's identification, *Vedische Mythologie*, iii, p. 268, note 3, seems to have been suggested first by Dr. Brunnhofer (*Iran und Turan*, p. 41). The close phonetic relation between the Vedic and the modern form of this local name is too clear to require specific demonstration.

The mountainous border territories between the Kābul and Kurram rivers in the north and the headwaters of the Zhōb in the south, to which these indications take us, are nowadays held by Pathān tribes. Their inroads have ever been directed towards the fertile plains by the Indus, and their control constitutes a particularly difficult task for the British "Rāj" keeping watch and ward on the North-west Frontier of India. There is good reason to believe that conditions similar to those prevailing now, due to the scantiness of cultivable ground and the adverse conditions in general of a barren mountain land, must at all times have forced the valiant if far less civilized tribes holding those arid hills to look upon the fertile tracts eastwards as their natural raiding ground. Thus in Vedic times, too, I believe the great belt comprising the present Wazīristān and the hill-tracts to the north and south must have witnessed occupation at first and then advance, whether slow or rapid, by Aryan tribes which harried and in the end conquered the riverine plains of the Panjāb.

My purpose here is not to trace what indications might be gathered on this ground about the phase preceding the earliest known great invasion of India from the north-west, but to try and examine whether some knowledge of its physical conditions could help us in the search for the original Soma plant. With regard to the general geographical character of this region, it must be pointed out in the first place that it consists both within and outside the British border of a succession of ranges, more or less parallel, striking as a whole from north-east to south-west, but throwing out minor branches westwards.¹ From one of its easternmost portions, the very conspicuous Takht-i-Sulaimān, rising wall-like above Dera Ismail Khan district by the Indus, the whole of these ranges has been conveniently designated as the Sulaiman system. South of the snowy Safēd-kōh these ranges at several points attain maximum heights up to more than 11,000 feet. But the average height of their crest-lines does not rise much above 8,000 feet; and in great parts of the area, especially south nearer to the Indus, it is still lower. Between these ranges lie long-stretched valleys with average elevations from 3,000 to 5,000 feet. In spite of the width and open nature of great parts of these valleys, the cultivated area is very limited, owing to the arid climate and the scanty supply

¹ For the orographic configuration of this region, the sheets: Afghanistan, Baluchistan, of the Survey of India's *Southern Series* maps on the 1:2,000,000 scale may be conveniently consulted.

of water available for irrigation. This accounts for the semi-nomadic character of most of the present population; combined with the economic pressure resulting from such conditions, it helps to explain its unsettled, largely predatory habits.

In a region which in spite of its rather unattractive character has become fairly well-known in consequence of frequent military operations and in parts through prolonged British occupation, it would have been rather supererogatory for me, who am not a botanist, to look out for the chance of discovering a plant as yet unknown that might solve the riddle of the Soma. But all the same, I used such opportunities as offered during my various tours along this far stretched portion of the Frontier from the Kurram down to Pishin and Kalât, to inquire about any plant growing on its mountains and known to the people for properties that might possibly suggest some connection with the ancient use of the Soma.

The only result of these inquiries has been to direct my attention more closely to a plant of which I had thought more than once before while travelling in distant Central-Asian mountains from the Nan-shan to the ranges west of the Pâmirs. I mean the wild rhubarb. It grows plentifully on the highest portions of the ranges which stretch along the border between Northern Balûchistân and the Afghân provinces of Kandahâr and Ghazni. That it is to be found in abundance also at corresponding elevations in many parts of Afghânistân is shown by a notice of Sir George Watt concerning the species known as *Rheum spiciforme* or *Rheum moorcroftianum*.¹ Like the closely allied *Rheum emodi*, Wall., which, as shown by the same authority, is a widely spread Himâlayan and Central-Asiatic species of the wild rhubarb, it is used medicinally everywhere by the local people.

According to the information collected by me about the headwaters of the Zhôb as well as in the Pishin tract, the juice from the succulent stalks of the plant is prepared into a kind of sweet sherbet, which is said to be on sale in the bazaars of Kandahâr and Quetta

¹ See *Dictionary of Economic Products*, vi, pt. i, p. 487: "This species is found on the drier ranges of the Western Himâlaya from Kumâon (altitude 14,000 to 16,000 feet) to Western Tibet (altitude 9,000 to 14,000 feet) and is distributed to Afghânistân. . . ."

Food.—"In Afghânistân, the plant is always wild, and appears to grow abundantly in many parts. When green, the leaf stalks are *rawash*, and when blanched by heaping up stones and gravel around them, they are called *chakri*; when fresh (in which state they are sometimes brought to Peshawar in spring) they are eaten either raw or cooked. They are also dried for use, to be eaten with other food, and are sometimes made into a preserve." (Stewart.)

during most of the year. Of the wild rhubarb of the Afghān border being used for an intoxicating drink I could learn nothing; nor is such use of the plant to be expected in a region where the Islamic prohibition against wine and spirits of any sort is strictly adhered to. But that the juice pressed from the wild rhubarb can be turned into wine by means of fermentation is adequately proved by the rhubarb wine, the preparation of which from the cultivated rhubarb is still well known and practised in certain parts of England and probably elsewhere also.

Since the above conjectural idea occurred to me of the wild rhubarb from the mountains of the Afghān frontier having possibly served for the Soma drink of the ancient Āryas of those parts, I have noticed the following significant reference in the report which Dr. A. Regel, the botanist employed by the Russian Government during the years 1882-4 on the exploration of the mountain territories north of the Oxus, had furnished to Professor von Roth.¹ The instructions communicated to him through the Russian Academy of Sciences had caused Dr. Regel specifically to look for an *Asclepiad* corresponding to the description which Roth believed could be deduced from certain passages of the *Rigveda* regarding the appearance and character of the plant. In the passage which Roth quotes, from a letter dated 17th January, 1884, Dr. Regel states that he had failed to discover such a plant in the wide region explored by him, and then continues: "The plant which comes nearest to the description is the rhubarb; the more so since the Tājik tribes connect the idea of *sugar* with it, calling it *Shuguri*. But the plant naturally and by itself alone yields no intoxicating beverage, and nothing is known of any admixture in the preparation of the Soma juice by the Aryans. There are here no true *Asclepiads*, though there are some plants resembling the *Sarcostemma*."

It is not necessary for us here to examine in detail the hints which Roth believed to be furnished by certain passages in the *Rigveda* as regards the appearance of the Soma plant, and which together with the substitutes used in the late ritual practice of Southern India induced him to look for it among the *Asclepiadæ*. Those notices have since been rightly declared to be "inadequate to identify the plant".² The various terms (*amśu*, *ksip*, etc.) used for the shoots of the Soma

¹ I quote the relevant passage from Sir Charles Lyall's translation of Roth's paper, *ZDMG.* 1884, pp. 134 sqq.

² See Maedonell-Keith, *Vedic Index*, ii, p. 475.

plant (*andhas*) may have been applied by the Vedic poets as well to the shoots of the wild rhubarb as to those of an *Asclepiad*. The description given of the soma-shoots as "ruddy" (*aruna*) or "tawny" (*hari*) would certainly well suit the colour of the rhubarb. "It is not possible to describe exactly the details of the process of pressing the Soma as practised in the *Rigveda*."¹ But the description of the juice obtained thereby as brown (*babhrū*), tawny (*hari*), or ruddy (*aruna*), and as having a fragrant smell is quite in keeping with what we should have to expect in the case of the juice of the rhubarb. Finally it might well be that the mixing of Soma with milk, curd, or grain which is repeatedly mentioned² was meant to facilitate that fermentation which alone could endow a juice like that obtained from the rhubarb with the exhilarating and exciting effect so clearly indicated in the Vedic hymns.

If our surmise is right as to the wild rhubarb, in one or another of its closely allied species, having been the plant from which the Soma of early Vedic times and the Haoma sung in the *Yasna* was obtained, it will help to confirm the belief that the border territories indicated above, where nowadays the North-west Frontier of India meets Afghanistan, were at an early period held by tribes who called themselves Āryas, and spoke Vedic Sanskrit. But that hypothesis—and I cannot call it more at this stage—will not help us, as Roth had hoped from an eventual identification of the plant, definitely to determine the area which had served as the common home of Indians and Iranians before their languages separated. The very wide distribution of the wild rhubarb in its closely allied species from the Himālayas into the mountains of Central Asia and Eastern Irān would preclude such a conclusion.

But on the other hand this wide distribution of the plant would allow us to explain how the cherished drink could be obtained in places both for men's enjoyment and for sacrificial libation also at a period when we must assume those conquering Āryas to have penetrated far into the plains of the Panjāb, if not beyond; for from the heights of the outer Himālayan ranges it might have been possible to carry the shoots of the plant down even there within limited distances and at certain seasons.

In the *Rigveda* a number of localities are mentioned where Soma

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, ii, p. 477.

² See *ibid.*, ii, p. 477, and Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, i, pp. 219 sqq., there quoted.

was consumed.¹ Among these there is only one which can with reasonable assurance be identified. It is the *Suṣomā*. Its identity with the Soān river in the Rawalpindi District of the Panjāb appears to me highly probable in view of the position which the name occupies in the list of Panjāb rivers recorded in the "Nadistuti" hymn of the R̥gveda (x, 75).² As the Soān has its origin in the "Murree Hills", a Himālayan spur which rises to heights over 9,000 feet comparatively near to the open plain of the Rawalpindi District, transport of the plant to parts of the latter for sacrificial or other use would not have been very difficult.

The inquiry, started by a grave-find in the waterless waste of the Lop desert, has carried us from ground where absolute dryness preserves all remains of human existence, far away to a region where climatic conditions leave little or no hope of antiquarian evidence ever throwing light on the question how the bitter liquid pressed from a *Sarcostemma* came to take the place of the Vedic Soma. But even where after the passing of thousands of years all other evidence of human activities has vanished, in essential aspects their geographical scene remains unchanged. Thus if our examination of such scant indications as Vedic texts afford has helped to determine more closely that scene from which the Aryan conquest of India started, our diversion from a purely antiquarian quest may be held to have brought some advantage in the form of a modest historical gain.

¹ Cf. Macdonell-Kelth, *Vedic Index*, ii, p. 478. Their names are *Ārjika*, *Paṣṭyādvant*, *Śaryānāvant*, *Suṣomā*, the territory of the *Pañcajanāb*.

Apart from *Suṣomā* the only other locality for which a likely identification might be proposed, is *Śaryānāvant*. Its mention in RV. viii, 7, 29, along with the *Suṣomā* has suggested to me that its name might perhaps be connected with that of the *Harro* river, which drains the main portion of the Hazāra District, to the west of Rawalpindi. The phonetic derivation of the modern name would offer no serious difficulty, as the change *ś* > *h* is regular in the Indo-Aryan languages of the Indian North-West.

² Cf. my article "On River Names in the R̥gveda," *JRAS.* 1917, pp. 91-9.

Gandhayukti in the Lalitavistara

By E. J. THOMAS

SINCE the investigations of Oldenberg on the language of the *Lalitavistara*, it is no longer a useful question to ask whether the prose portions or the verses are the older. There is more than one layer of verse as well as of prose. Still less is it sufficient to describe it as "a poem of unknown date and authorship, but probably composed in Nepāl, by some Buddhist poet who lived some time between six hundred and a thousand years after the birth of Buddha". As Oldenberg has shown, there is an older layer of verse in fairly good Sanskrit, which rests on passages in a dialect closely related to Pāli, and which was hence easily sanskritized. There are also the poems in so-called mixed Sanskrit, mixed just because they were once in a dialect that resisted all efforts to fit them with a proper Sanskrit dress, and still later are the verses which may have been originally composed in Sanskrit.

When prose portions were turned into Sanskrit, any Prākṛit features could be easily effaced, whatever the dialect happened to be. There are the evidently older passages, to be distinguished not only by their canonical style, but also by the fact that their parallels appear in Pāli and the *Mahāvastu*. There are those in the freer avadāna style, and further the portions which no doubt the compiler himself added, or, rather, into which he fitted the rest, when to the best of his ability he made the work a unity. We find one passage, however, which can scarcely have originated with the compiler, and which shows no relation to anything properly Buddhistic, but which has parallels in the classical prose romances, *Kādambarī* and the *Daśakumāracarita*. This is the list of arts in which the youthful Bodhisattva excelled. In *Lalitavistara* and *Kādambarī* both lists appear to have the intention of giving the traditional number of the sixty-four arts, and nearly twenty of the items in the two lists essentially correspond. Similar but shorter lists occur in the *Daśakumāracarita* and the *Divyāvadāna*.¹ In both *Lalitavistara* and *Kādambarī* there is the word *patracchedya*, which Kale, in his English notes to the latter, interprets as "the art

¹ *Lal.* 178 (Lefmann 156); *Kād.* 125 (ed. M. R. Kāle); *Daś.* end of chap. i (p. 12, ed. Bühler, p. 25, Nir. ed.); *Divy.* 58, 100, 391. The Pāli appears to have no such list, but the commentator on *Angut.* i, 145, describes about a dozen feats with the bow, and then adds *mahāsatto loke vattamāne sippaṃ sabbam eva sandassesi* (ed. Siam, ii, 165).

of painting figures on walls or the ground", but his interpretation in his Sanskrit commentary appears more to the point, *patrabhaṅgacchedana*. The breaking and cutting of leaves would naturally be the preparation of palm-leaves for making a book. This is the interpretation of Cowell, as I find from notes on *Lalitavistara* made by his pupil, H. T. Francis. The next item on the list is *gandhayukti*, and here Cowell says "odour-mixing". There is no doubt that the combining of scents must be the meaning if the word is Sanskrit, but there appears to be no point in odour-mixing coming immediately after cutting leaves for a book. The next thing after cutting the leaves is book-making, and if *gandhayukti* is a half-sanskritized Prākṛit form representing *granthayukti*, we get the exact word wanted, the fitting together of the leaves to make a book. *Gandha* = *grantha* actually occurs in Pāli. When we turn to the parallel passage in *Kādambarī* we find a quite different word. It is *pustakavyāpāra*, a word which might almost be taken to be a commentator's explanation of *granthayukti*. The word preceding these two in *Kādambarī* is *citrakarma*, painting or illumination, and immediately following is *lekhyakarma*, both of them words that appear to apply to different stages of book-making.

There is no need to think that one author depended directly on the other. The list rather belongs to a work on the instruction of princes, and as the lists in *Divy.* and *Daś.* show, it appears to have been extended in various ways. The word *gandhayukti* occurs in several other places, but they do not add to our knowledge, since they occur as items in lists without any real contexts. It is given by Böhtlingk and Roth on the authority of the *Mahāvīṇīpatti*, with the meaning that it must have if it is Sanskrit, "die Verbindung wohlriechender Stoffe," but this work has merely adopted the word from *Lalitavistara*, as is shown by the fact that it has included most of the other names of the list, together with one or two that look like corrupt readings in the text of *Lalitavistara*. The word also occurs in two lists in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* of Varāhamihira. The first (xv, 12) is a list of persons skilled in certain arts, who are under the nakshatra Citrā. The second (xvi, 17, 18) is of persons under the planet Budha. The first passage gives:—

*Tvāṣṭre bhūṣaṇa-maṇirāga-lekhyā-gāndhārva-gandhayuktijñāh
gaṇitapaṭu-tantuvāyāḥ śālākṣyā rājadhānyāni.*

Kern's translation, which is given in accordance with the commentary, is: "To citrā (are assigned) persons skilled in the art of attire, jewelry, dyeing, painting, music, and perfumery, as well as arithmeticians, weavers, oculists, and king's corn." The second passage

is very similar, and the words *maṇirāga*, *gandhayukti*, *śabda(-vedhīva)*, *gaṇanā* (*gaṇita*), *kavi* (*kāvya*), *hāsyā*, occurring in these two passages, are also in the *Lalitavistara*, and *gāndharva(-veda)*, *lekhyā(-karma)*, *indrajāla*, and *kāvya* are in *Kādambarī*. The commentator naturally takes *gandhayukti* to mean combining of scents, but if the names are taken from an earlier list, his interpretation, probably drawn from an analysis of the word, is of no weight in deciding the earlier meaning. He certainly appears to have wrongly divided *maṇirāga*, knowledge of the colour of jewels, which is one word in *Lalitavistara*, by taking it to mean the knowledge of jewels and of dyeing.

There is another place where *gandhayukti* is mentioned as an art to be practised (*sevītā*). The king's brother-in-law in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* (viii, v. 13) says :—

*Hingujale jīlakabhaddamuṣṭe,
vacāha gaṇṭhī, saṅgḍā śuṇṭhī :
eṣe mae śevīda gandhajuttī,
kadhaṃ na haḡge madhulaśśale ti.*

Ryder translates the last two lines thus :—

That's the mixture of perfumes I eagerly eat :
Why shouldn't my voice be remarkably sweet ?

It may be that it is implied that these aromatic substances, the asa-foetida (*hiṅgu*), the cumin (*jīraka*), the *bhadramusta*, the bunch of orris (?) root (*vacā*), and the ginger with treacle (*saṅgḍā ca śuṇṭhī*), are eaten, but what he actually says is that this (art of) *gandhajuttī* has been practised by him. One would be quite willing to admit that the Prākṛit meaning of *gandha* has become lost here, especially since it is not the normal Prākṛit of the verse, as is shown by *gaṇṭhī* = *granthī* in the second line ; and yet we have the fact that the commentator Pṛthvidhara¹ takes *gandha* = *grantha*. He interprets the last two lines as : *eṣā mayā sevītā granthayuktiḥ, kathaṃ nāhaṃ madhurasvara iti*. A possible explanation would be that he took the interpretation from a commentary on some work where the meaning really was the making of books. This, if it does not throw much light on the use in the *Lalitavistara*, makes it doubtful if there ever was a recognized art of scent-mixing apart from the traditional lists.²

¹ In the edition of the play by N. B. Godabole, Bombay S.S., 1896.

² The word also occurs in the list of the *Kāmasūtra*, i. 3, where it is preceded by *kaṇṇapātrabhāṅga*. This is said to mean different ways of adorning the ears, but it looks more like a corruption of a word with the same meaning as *patracchedya*, in which case the meaning here suggested for *gandhayukti* would be supported.

Two Terms Employed in Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan

By F. W. THOMAS

IN the Kharoṣṭhi records from Chinese Turkestan, of which the edition commenced by the Abbé Boyer, Professor Rapson, and Monsieur Senart, has recently been completed with important dissertations and index by Professor Rapson and Mr. P. S. Noble (*Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions*, i-iii, Oxford, 1920-9), the vocabulary is composed in the main of recognizably Indian terms or of personal or topographical designations belonging to the locality; but we can discriminate a relatively small number of words having other traceable origin or obscure signification. To the last mentioned group we may assign the words *mukeṣi* and *lote* (*loteya*, *lode*).

These two terms, although they do occur apart, are apt to be found in more or less close conjunction; and the general sphere of their meaning may be ascertained by considering one of the passages where they are associated. We may take document No. 474 (p. 171) of the edition, which, except as regards spacing, majuscules, and some added punctuation, is followed in all respects.

In the following, preliminary, English translations the words printed in italics will be reconsidered *infra* :—

Ṣoṭhaṃga Lpīpeyaṣa dadavya.

[1] *mahanuava maharaya lihati. Ṣoṭhaṃga Lpīpeyaṣa maṃtra deti: ahuno iṣa Svaveṭha* [2] *Bhimasena viṃṇati kareti yatha Yave avanemci Kilmeçi Yapḡuṣa śvasu Catīṣa Devi avanemci Kilmeçi śramamṇa Saṃgapalāṣa bharya, taya* [3] *striyae na mukeṣi na loteya nītae. Yahi eta kilamumtra atra eṣati, sa anata pruchī[ta]vo. Yati jaṃṇatriyena aniti siyati, dhaṃ(rm)ena* [4] *putra dhītara samabhaga kartavo. Yati mukeṣi lote na sa kritae siyati, iṣa niṣeya bhaviṣyati.*

Yapḡu.

"To be given to the *Ṣoṭhaṃga Lpīpe*."

The exalted Great King writes. He instructs the *Ṣoṭhaṃga Lpīpe*: "Here now (the) *Svaveṭha Bhimasena* reports that a sister of *Yapḡu*, of *Kilma*, of the *Yave Bazar* (or, *Quarter*), wife of the *śramana*, *Saṃgapala*, of *Kilma*, of the *Catīṣa Devi Bazar*, of (or, to) that woman *neither mukeṣi nor loteya* has been taken over (or, rendered)." When this wedge tablet arrives there (*sc.* in *Niya*), the person designated (*ājñapti* or *°ta*) is to be questioned. If delivery by the father

(*jamūnatriyena* = *janayitrū*) has taken place, the sons and daughter are to be made equal sharers according to the law. If *mukeṣi lote* has not been sold, a decision (*nīṣṭaya*) will be made here."

For the present purpose it is unnecessary to discuss any of the various syntactical questions which arise in regard to this document (they are common to others, and in part they reflect the syntax of the underlying vernacular) or to investigate what exactly were Kilma and the Yave and Catiga Devi Bazar (*āpaṇa*): the places are frequently mentioned in the Niya documents, and clearly they belonged to that district—often instead of the adjectival derivative *avanemci* we have the locative *avanammi* used for the same purpose of furnishing an address (cf. the Ablative in Latin *Publius Velina*, "Publius of the Veline Tribe"). We may also abstain from discussing the exact force of *ahuno*, *ahona* (whether *aha nu*, *aho nu*, *adho nu* or *adhunā*) the equation *śvasu* = *svasṛ* rather than *śvasrū* (cf. *pitu matu*, *dhitu*, etc.), and the designation *Suṛvetha*, *Suṛveṣṭa*, which would be interesting if not a family or clan name or an official title (which is improbable in conjunction with *Ogu*, *Vasu*, etc., Nos. 38, 317, etc.), but = Sanskrit *sviṣṭa*, *svēṣṭa*, "our well-beloved".

As regards the transaction itself, there is considerable difficulty in realizing the situation. The question relates obviously to property belonging, or accruing, to the wife of Samgapala. But who is the person questioned (*pruchitavo*)? And what has been delivered (*aniti*)? What has been taken over or rendered (*nitae*), and what may have been bought (*kritae*), is clearly the *loteya*, with, or without, *mukeṣi*. For light upon these matters we may turn to some other documents wherein the terms occur.

The case recorded in No. 279 presents several similarities. Here the Vasu Suṛvarṇa Masuga reports:—

[2] *yatha Yave avanammi Kilmece Kala Acuñ[i]yaṣa śvasu, Cakuvāae nama, Ajiyama avanammi Kilmece Pḡenaṣa bharya aniti huati; taya striyae Yave avanammi* [3] *lote [muke]ṣi na nitaya; tatra taya putra dhidara jitaṃti; Yave avanammi Kilmeceye Camcā Pḡenaṣa dhitu bharya anita, tade avasiṭhe sarvi Ajiyama a[ṣa]nammi tanuvae hutamti; matuae* [4] *[bha]ḡena Yave avanammi Camcāṣa bharya Sarpina huda. Yo pitu Pḡena dhitu Sarpinae namaṣṇaga dita, tena parihaṣina Pḡenaṣa putrehi śaka . . .* [5] . . . *[v]itaṃti na jitaṃti . . .*

"A sister, by name Cakuvae, of Kala Acuñi, of Kilma, of the Yave Bazar, is delivered (*aniti*) wife to Pḡena, of Kilma, of the Ajiyama Bazar; of (or, to) that woman the *lote [muke]ṣi* in the Yave Bazar

has not been taken over (or, rendered) : to her there sons and daughters have been born. A daughter of Pgena is delivered (*anita*) wife to Campeā, of Kilma, of the Yaṇe Bazar ; the rest of them (*tataḥ avaśiṣṭāḥ*) are all in the Ajiyama Bazar on their own (property or side) : in place of (*bhaḡena*) the mother is Sarpina, the wife of Campeā, of (or, in) the Yaṇe Bazar. What the father Pgena has given on loan (*namamṇaḡa*) to the daughter Sarpina, in regard to that . . ."

Here, as concerns the grammar, we may remark that *Cakuvæae*, the genitive, is used in place of the nominative *Cakuvæe*, a phenomenon not rare in the documents ; but perhaps here, as in another passage to be cited (and probably in a number of other passages, or as a rule), due to the word *nāma* following, as in vulgar English is said " name of Jones ". The forms *aniti* and *anita*, which certainly appear to be used indifferently, may perhaps be discriminated, if we understand *aniti* as a noun, abstract for concrete. In the defective conclusion of the document, which we have left untranslated, the word *parihaṣina* offers a pleasing variety of possibilities, whether from *pari-has-*, or from *paridharṣ-*, or from *pari-bhāṣ-*, or from *pari-bhaṣ-* (a synonym for *pari-bharts-*).

It is, however, clear that what is *anita* or *aniti* is the wife, the *bhāryā*. The like appears from a third document, No. 555 (p. 203)¹ :—

Ṣoṭhamḡa Lpīpeyasa dadavo.

[1] *Kopemṇaṣa vaṃti stri Koparṣaniae nama ; yati ede striyana mukeṣi na diṭaḡa syati, yati ede striyana ṣadha swachamḍi na sarajidæ* [2] *siyati, tena vidhanena yatha dham(rm)ena vibhaṣidavo : athava jaṃṇatrena anidæ siyaṃti, tena vidhanena yatha dham(rm)ena pruchidavo.*

" To be given to the *Ṣoṭhamḡa Lpīpe*.

" With *Kopemṇa* is a woman *Koparṣanie*. If this woman's *mukeṣi* has not been given, if with this woman it has not been independently agreed (*saṃraṇḡitaka*), the matter is to be decided (or discussed, *vibhaṣidavo*) by procedure according to law. But, if she should have been delivered by her father (*jaṃṇatr(iy)ena*), inquiry must be made by procedure according to law."

Here, again, it is clear that " delivery by the father " was a recognized and independent method of " conveying " a woman ;

¹ In No. 334 (pp. 121-2) also there are several references to women who are *anita* (in the Catigā Devi Bazar or elsewhere) ; further, in No. 573 (p. 210) " the mother of Aralpi is *aniti* from the Ajiyama bazar " (*taṣa Aralpiyasa matu Ajiyama aṇanade aniti huati*). In Pali also (e.g. *Petarattḡa*, i, 7², *Sattu-nipāta* 110 *Digha-nikāya*, ii, 245) *āneti* is similarly used of women.

and in regard to this point we need only cite the further instance in No. 621 (p. 234), where Supriya, daughter of the *śramaṇa* Sundara, is wife of Cato, *anīta camūatrena* "delivered by her father".

In connection with this passage we need not discuss the meanings assigned to the *vibhaṣidavo* and *sarajidāe*; they may be confirmed by references to the other occurrences of the two words. Nor need we say anything further concerning the genitive *Koparṣaniae* (from *Koparṣani* or *Koparṣanie*), which, in fact, might be correct as meaning "In regard to Koparṣanie". But the form *striyana* requires consideration. The word for "woman" has ordinarily the forms *stri* and *striya*, whereof the latter may also be the accusative, instrumental, genitive, etc. *Striyana* is always a genitive plural. Since in this case only one woman is concerned, the plural is inappropriate; nor can we here understand "the *mukeṣi* of women", since the word "woman" is required with the *ede*, (1) on the general ground of style, (2) because of the parallelism with the following clause with *striyana*. Therefore, since we may neglect the possibility of *ana* = *ājñā* here, for reason (2) among others, we must necessarily read *striya na*, with the negative. In both clauses there must be a negative, since otherwise no legal question would have arisen; but there is no room for two negatives in each of them. Therefore the correct reading must be:—

yati ede striya na mukeṣina dītaga syati,
yati ede striya na śadha svachandina sarajidāe siyati.

And this is confirmed by the circumstance that the Sanskrit for "of one's own accord" is not *svacchande* (*svachandī*), but *svacchandena* (*svachandina*). Accordingly the correct rendering is:—

"If this woman have not been given by the *mukeṣi*, if with this woman an agreement have not been made of her own accord."

We might have expected in the dialect the form *mukeṣiyena* in the Instrumental; but there are possible parallels to *mukeṣina*, such as *Koyimāṇdhina* in No. 272.

We see, therefore, that in the bestowal of women there might be intervention of a person other than the father, an official called *mukeṣi*: and this, in fact, we find directly stated in No. 338 (p. 123):—

ma atra maṁtra śrunidavya : yo asmahū Kilma(c)ciyana parasya mulade striyana mukeṣi kiḍ'aga, sa Camaka janati, tasya maṁtra śrunidavya.

"Let no counsel be heard there: he who for us Kilma people

has been made *mukeṣi* of women from outside estates, he, Camaka, knows; let his counsel be heard."

Returning now to Nos. 474 and 279, we shall emend the readings and translations as follows:—

474: *taya striyae na mukeṣina loteya nītae.*

"the *lote* of that woman has not been taken over by the *mukeṣi*."

It was for this omission that the *mukeṣi*, as person designated (*ājñaptṛ* or °*ta*), was to be interrogated (*pruchitavo*).

yati mukeṣi lote na sa kṛitae siyati,

"if the *mukeṣi* should not have bought the *lote*."

279: *lote (muke)ṣina nitaya*

"the *lote* has been taken over by the *mukeṣi*."

It accordingly appears that the bestowal of a woman might take place in at least three different ways: she might either be delivered (*ānūtā*) by her father, or make (no doubt, if independent) her own agreement, or be handed over by a *mukeṣi*, who would take over (*nīta*) and perhaps buy (*kṛita*) her *lote*. This may point to a rather independent position of grown women, whose property would have the security of a public guardian, a situation not at all unnatural in unadvanced communities; but it may have been due to the special character of the *lote*.

What, then, was the *lote*? Was it a bride-price paid by the bridegroom? There is no indication whatever of that: moreover, there would be no reason for its omission in the case of a woman bestowed by her father, and no strong reason for the intervention of a *mukeṣi*. Furthermore, we shall find the word *lote* used without reference to women.

We do not learn anything from No. 481 (p. 174), where Yāpḡ reports that—

edasa śvasu Suḡnumae nama Dharm(rm)apri Sumadatasā ca matu na loti mukeṣi diti (na lote mukeṣi deti).

"The *mukeṣi* does not hand over the *lote* of his (Yāpḡ's) sister Sugnume (or, °*ma*), mother of Dharmapri and Sumadata."

or, again, from No. 30 (p. 32), where Asu Lpipe reports that—*Opa'ē peta-āvanemci Saḡapeyasa dhītu Cīḡa Opa'ē peta-āvana Kilmeyammi anita: taya lode śvasu Cīḡa Saḡapeyasa ichita deyamnae; eda śvasu amñesa dīta, na kiṃci Saḡapeyasa dīta.*

"A daughter, Cīḡa, of Saḡape, of the Opa'ē *peta* ('sheep' = *petvan*?) bazar was brought to the Opa'ē *peta*-bazar in Kilmeya:

a sister Cingā was desired (*or* intended) to give her *lode* to Sagape : the sister gave it to others, and nothing was given to Sagape."

where the syntax and the relations of the persons are both somewhat doubtful.

But in No. 621 the man Sagamovi, son of Caṃcā, who had run away to Kuci with Supriya, the wife of Cato, and after a long residence there was allowed by the Mahārāja to re-enter the kingdom, was, nevertheless, persecuted by Supriya's father and friends, who

stri Supriyae prace viheṣa kareṃti lode pruchaṃti,
 "make trouble on account of the woman Supriya and demand *lode*."

This the royal letter forbids them to do further.

In a flight to Kuci with the wife of Cato not much property can have been carried away by Sagamovi. Consequently what was demanded by Sundara must have been some equivalent for the services of the lost wife.

In No. 585 (p. 219) Kulavardhana, in a letter to Mahā-cojhbo Somjāga, makes a statement as follows :—

[4] *avi ca atra asma[5]bhi Kilmaci maṃnuṣa dajha aṣi Aṃṇḡgiya nāma : tena uthita tanu pranasa lote tita* [6] *manuṣa Cimḡgeya nama paṣavi 4 2 : ede paṣu hutanti 10 2 : eda karya mahi na rucate* : [Rev. 1] *manuṣa jivaṃtaḡa asti : eda Aṃṇḡgiyena ahuno anatemi iṣa aniyānaye : loteya na laṃcaḡa* [Rev. 2] *tita : yaṭi atra lote mukeṣi laṃcaḡa dasyati : atremi Kalpotsa niḡiya lihitaḡa kari* [Rev. 3] *ṣyati*.

"Furthermore, there (*sc.* in Niya) I had a slave, a Kilma man named Aṃṇḡgiya : he arose and gave (*as*) the *lote* of his own (*tanu*) life a man named Cimḡgeya (and) 6 beasts : these beasts have become 12 : this matter has not my approval ; the man is alive ; I have now given orders for Aṃṇḡgiya to bring him (them) here ; the *lote* has not been impounded (?) : if there (in Niya) the *mukeṣi* shall impound them (?), Kalpotsa there will write for a decision at law (*niḡiya*)."

In this passage there are problems in addition to that of the word *lote*. The phrase *laṃcaḡa da-* is a compound expression which may have a second object ; but what is the exact sense of *laṃcaḡa* is not clear. The frequent occurrence of the phrase *laṃcaḡa paripal-* (Nos. 283, 358, 362, 475) suggests the meaning "keep impounded" ; but, on the other hand, *paripal-* may mean "await", and there are some passages where the opposite sense of "give up", "hand over," is more attractive, and we may think of the word *lāñcā*,¹ for which the Sanskrit *Koṣas* give the meaning "gift". While on the whole preferring

¹ We can hardly here introduce Tokhārī *lāñcā*, "king" (*quasi* "confiscated").

the sense of "impounding", we may concede the possibility of the opposite. In any case the phrase is a legal technicality.

Again, in the phrase—

"Amñgiya has given (as) the *lote* of his own life a man . . ."
are we to understand—

(a) "has given as a ransom or price (*lote*) of his life a man . . .," or

(b) "has given [as ransom] for his life his earnings or possessions (*lote*), namely a man . . ."?

In other words, does *lote* denote a value or procedure, or, rather, a material object? Inasmuch as we have found it designating something which could be bought (*kritae*, No. 474), or could remain behind when the owner moved to another quarter (No. 279), and inasmuch as here it is something which can be impounded or released (*lamcaḡa da-*), the second rendering seems to deserve the preference. In any case we see that not only women, but also slaves could possess *lote*.

What, then, is the outcome of these considerations? It seems that women and slaves, and perhaps other persons as well, could possess *lote*, their own property or earnings. The transference of these usually required the intervention of an official designated *mukeṣi*, who in some cases would buy them, i.e. take them over on payment, while in other cases he might detain (temporarily) or transfer them. Why? A probable reason is that these possessions or earnings were often of a semi-communal nature, as in the case of common tillage, washing for jade, or other water-rights, rearing of cattle on common land, and so forth, or industries such as weaving, silk-making, shop-keeping, which were not transportable. Among other occasions there was, as we have seen, the case of women from outside districts working in the fields. As regards methods of group cultivation, we may refer to the Tibetan document translated in *JRAS.*, 1928, pp. 572-3. A married woman could have her personal earnings or gains, and it was perhaps the profits or earnings of the last years that (in No. 621) Sundara demanded from the truant Sagamovi and Supriya, when they returned from Kuci. Upon the death of the woman her *lote*, or its value, if sold, would pass to her sons and daughters; and naturally there were disputes.

Can anything be said concerning the origin of these terms *lote* or *mukeṣi*? The field of inquiry would seem to be a wide one. It would not be unnatural if they belonged to the local language of the region, which for the present is scarcely within our ken. Or they might be Chinese. Nor is even an Iranian or Aramaic origin excluded,

since in the Shan-shan kingdom, to which these documents belong, we have in connection with legal transactions evidence of prominence of persons with Persian names (*JRAS.*, 1928, p. 399); with the Persians might come Aramaic business men and their terminology. To suggest a possibility of even Greek would be, no doubt, a luxury. But in the case of *lote* an Indian source is perhaps not undiscoverable. There exists an old word *lota* or *lotra* (*Mahā-Bhārata*, etc.), which has been derived from *lopra*, and for which, among other meanings, is given the sense of "booty" or "goods obtained by robbery". This word should, no doubt, be derived simply from the $\sqrt{lū}$ without the intervention of *lup*. As to the words connected with the Greek *ληΐς*, *ληστής*, *ἀπολαύω*, etc., Latin *Laverna*, *lucrum*, etc., German *Lohn*, etc., it is sufficient to refer to the etymological dictionaries, some of which (Whitley Stokes, *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*, p. 237; Uhlenbeck, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*) actually cite the Sanskrit *lota*, *lotra* under this head. In view of the exact equivalent in Latin *lucrum* we might perhaps claim for **lautlom*, **lūtlom*, an Ur-Indo-European status. The transition to the sense of "gains" or "earnings" is sufficiently illustrated by the Latin word itself and the German *Lohn*.

With this same word *lote* or *lode* we may reasonably connect the *alota*, *aloṭa*, and *vilota* of Nos. 56, 357, and 494. In No. 56 we read :—
avi Saṅapeyasa Cingā taḍṭita aloṭa grahida.

"also he has beaten Saṅape's [daughter] Cingā and plundered her."

In No. 357—

taṃ kala pruchidavo yo raja vilota

may mean :—

"at that time may be investigated any plunderings from the realm" (during the mentioned troubles with Khotan).

In No. 494—

Khotamniyana aloṭa vilotade purva

may mean :—

"before the plunderings from or by the Khotanis", with the prepositions *ā* and *vi* as in *āvāha* and *vivāha*.

In this sense the $\sqrt{lū}$ seems to have been generally replaced in Sanskrit by *luṭ* (*steḷe* or *vilotaṇe*), *luṇṭh*, *luṇḍ*, or *lup*. The words *ālotaṇa* and *vilotaṇa* are there usually connected in sense with *luṭ* "mix". But we should take note of *vilota* "thief", and *lotana*, and of *vilotaṇa* where it is given in the various Dhātupāthas as the sense of $\sqrt{bādh}$ and $\sqrt{luṭ}$.

For the word *mukeṣi* we may probably exclude a Chinese origin. For in one of the Chinese documents from the Lop-Nor region, a document dated in A.D. 263 and therefore more or less contemporaneous with our Kharoṣṭhī records, Chavannes has found (*Documents Chinois*, No. 738, p. 160) a title which he transliterates *mou-hia-che* (*she*). The Chinese syllables 幕下史 had, according to Karlgren's *Analytical Dictionary* (Nos. 638, 134, 885), an old pronunciation *māk-'ya-'ši*, Cantonese *mok-ha-sī*, Japanese *mak(u)-ka(ge)-ši*. In view of the frequent equivalence of *ya* and *e* in the Kharoṣṭhī and other documents (also sometimes in India, as noted *JRAS.*, 1915, p. 96), it seems highly possible that Chavannes' *mou-hia-che* (*she*) is identifiable with *mukeṣi*; in that case a Chinese origin is out of the question. The possibility of a Western source I must leave to others to investigate. But it is interesting to note that the word may be present in a well known Indian inscription of the Sakas. The longest record on the Mathurā Lion Capital contains the difficult line which has been read (*Epigraphia Indica*, ix, p. 141)—

ma(mra)kiṭe(hi)ra(?)ya saṣpae bhusaveti(?)

and which Professor Konow now (*Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, p. 48) proposes to read—

Muki(śri)raya saṣpa (a)bhusavi(ta)

If we could read—

mukeṣi (or śri) rayā saṣpa abhusavi(ta)

and understand—

mukeṣi-rāya saṣva abhyucchrāpita

as meaning "all my guardianship wealth was set up", i.e. devoted to the religious donation (comparing the *usapāpita* = *ucchrāpāpita*, from *ud* and *śri*, in the Lumbinī inscription (Bühler in *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. v, p. 5)), the sense would be most appropriate. We might then understand that the custom of having a guardian of woman's property had actually been brought into India by the Sakas along with the word *mukeṣi*.

It is quite credible that they should have introduced it into Western India also. But, considering the distance in time which separates the word from the Marāṭhī *mokāsā* "village land assigned to an individual either rent-free or at a low quit-rent on condition of service", *mokāṣi* or *mokāsi* "holder of a *mokāsā*" (Wilson's *Glossary* and Molesworth's *Dictionary*)—the word has also penetrated into the Dravidian languages of Southern India and from India into (Indian)

Persian *mukāsa* "an Indian term for a village held free by the Poligar on condition of protecting property of travellers" (Steingass)—I am not prepared to take any responsibility for such a suggestion. The form could hardly have survived, except in literary language (where we do not find it) or in the Dravidian, where I understand that the Marāṭhī word has no *correct* Arabic etymology; but it may, nevertheless, be of that or other Semitic origin.

It must be confessed, however, that the reading *mukīṣi* or *mukīṣri* is by no means certain: the third *akṣara* has more resemblance to the *ḍi* of Professor Rapson's plate than to any other Kharoṣṭhī sign, and we might think of a connection with *makūṭa*, *mukūṭa* (**makyta*), and establish some appropriate sense; which is not unimaginable in connection with the *rāya* (*rai*) of a queen. To pursue the matter further might take us too far from Central Asia.

The Future Stem in Aśoka

By R. L. TURNER

THE normal suffix of the future in Sanskrit was *-syā-*. The root had full grade, e.g. *kartsyāti*, *jeṣyāti*. It follows that in the futures of dissyllabic (*set*) roots the suffix was preceded by *i* (< IE. *ə*), e.g. *jani-ṣyāti*, *bhavi-ṣyāti*. Even monosyllabic (*aniṣ*) roots ending in *-r* (*-r*) had an *i* between the root and the suffix,¹ e.g. *mar-i-ṣyāti*. The R̥gveda adheres to this division except for one apparent exception, *asiṣyāt-*, fut. part. of *āsyati*. But, despite *āstra-* and *astā-*, *āsyati* perhaps contains a dissyllabic root ***esē(i)* (cf. *āsira-* 'ray'). Of this *āsy-ati* (which, as a transitive verb, probably does not contain the suffix *-ye-* of the intransitives of the type *tāp-yati*) and *āsira-* show full grade in the first syllable; *ā-sāt* 'he has slain' and *sāy-aka-* 'javelin' show full grade in the second syllable. In that case *asi-ṣyā-* should be analysed like *jani-ṣyā-*.²

The future stem of the causative of which RV. has two examples—*dhārayiṣyā-*, *vāsayiṣyā-*—shows two tendencies at work in the development of this tense: firstly the extension of the suffix *-iṣyā-*, secondly its addition to a present stem. The gradual extension of the *-iṣya-* suffix can be observed in Sanskrit itself. Beside RV. *vartsiyā-* and *kraṁsiyā-* AV. has *vartisiyā-* and *gamiṣyā-*.

In the Inscriptions of Aśoka these two tendencies are seen further developed. In all, future forms of twenty-one different verbal roots are found.

Of these, eight are futures of the causative present stem (as in RV.): Shah. Man. *likhapeṣāmi*, *anapeṣānti*, *pravaḍh[e]śānti*, *hapeṣati*; Gir. *likhāpayisati*, *ānāpayisati*, *vaḍhayisati*, *hāpesati*; Kal. *lekhāpeṣati*, *anāpayisānti*, *vadhīyisati*,³ *hāpayisati*; Dhau. Jaug. *likhiyisāmi*,³ *ānāpayisati*, *vaḍhayisati*, *nikhāmayisāmi* and *atikāmayisati*, *ālādhayisatha*; Pill. *palibhasayisam*, *nijhapayisānti*.

Among the futures of simple roots five *set* roots and one ending

¹ Perhaps of IE. origin (< *ə*): cf. Greek futures in *-έω* of roots ending in a sonant, e.g. *φθεπέω*, *μενέω*. The same vowel appears in the desiderative suffix *-εσ-* (beside *-so-*) of roots ending in *-r* in Sanskrit, e.g. *mūmūrṣati* < **m^h-m^h-r-ε-s-* (see Meillet, Introduction, p. 192).

² On the other hand, if *āsyati* was from the outset an *aniṣ* root, *asiṣyāt* may be the first example of the tendency to create a new general future suffix *-iṣya-*, the addition of which to a consonant-ending root avoided any change of the final consonant: **ateyāti* 'will throw' (< **as-eyāti*) collides with *ateyāti* 'will eat', and is replaced by *as-iṣyāti*.

³ *iṣi-* < *ayi-*, see p. 532.

in -r have old -i-*gya*-, namely Pill. *pavithhalisaṃti* (Brāh. *starīṣyati*), Dhau. Jaug. *nikhamisati* (Sk. *kramīṣyati* and *kramṣyati*), *khamisati* (Sk. *kṣamīṣyati* and *kṣamṣyati*); Pill. *paliyovadisamti* (AV. *vadīṣyati*), Maski *hesati*¹ (RV. *bhaviṣyati*).

Four *aniṣ* roots have -i-*gya*-, namely Shah. *anuvatisamti*, Gir. *anuvatisare*, Kal. *anuvatisamti*, Dhau. Jaug. *anuvatisamti* (RV. *vartṣyati*, but AV. *vartīṣyati*); Shah. *vaḍhisati*, Pill. *vaḍhīṣati*, Rup. Mys. *vaḍhisiti* (Sk. *vartṣyati* and *vardhīṣyati*); Shah. *anuśaśisamti*, Gir. *anuśaśisamti*, Kal. Dhau. Jaug. *anuśaśisamti* (Brāh. *śaśīṣyati*); Pill. *abhyuṇnamisati* (Brāh. *naṃsyati*, but Class. *naṃṣyati*).

Of these it may be remarked that the replacement of -*gya*- by -i-*gya*- avoids the ambiguity of *vartṣyati* as future of both *vartate* and *vārdhate*, and the differentiation from the present stem of *naṃsyati* and **śātsyati* (< **śās-syati*).

The identification of the root-form of the future with that of the present stem is fully carried out in Dhau. Jaug. Pill. *jānisamti* (Sk. 3rd pl. pres. *jānānti*, but fut. *jñāsyati*).

The future of the passive is similarly formed by the addition of the suffix -i-*gya*- to the passive present stem: Shah. *arabhisamti*, Gir. *ārabbhisare* (with -*bbh*- in each case from Sk. pres. *ārabbhyate*), Kal. *ālābhiyisamti* (perhaps a mistake for *ālabbhiyisamti*, the reading of Dhau. Jaug.); Shah. *anuvidhiyisamti*, Kal. *anuvidhiyisamti* (Sk. pres. pass. *dhiyāte*); Pill. *anupaṭipajīsati*² and *saṃpaṭipajīsati* (Sk. pres. *padīyate*); Dhau. Jaug. *yujīsanti*³ (with -*jj*- from Sk. pres. pass. *yujyāte*).

¹ The reading is very doubtful. Hultzsch prefers *hesanti*. Woolner (Aśoka Text, p. xxxv) supports *hesati* with Pa. *hesanti*. The development *ari* > *e* at this early period is peculiar to another class of words, which like the verb 'to be' show other special phonetic developments: thus *āhāvira*, as a word of address > *Aś thaira*-, Pa. *thera* -: similarly at a much later period the words of address *svāmīn*-, *svāmīni*-, became Mar. *āḥī* with unexpected loss of -*r*-, and Kash. *shucēnū* with unexpected *w* < -*m*- (see Turner, Nep. Dict., p. 621 b 50). Among the numerals (notably a class of words in which special phonetic developments are found) **trayedasa* > *traidasa*, *treḍasa*, *tedasa* with unexpected *ai* or *e* < *aye*.

² The long *i* of -*pajīsanti* does not indicate compensatory lengthening of *i* before *s* < *ss*, but rather a confusion of both long and short *i* (cf. *poṣi*-, *kachati*) which was characteristic of Eastern dialects. The tendency was persistent; and centuries later *i* and *ū* due to compensatory lengthening were again shortened in Nepali, Assamese, Bengali, and Oriya. In the spelling of the inscription the scribe perhaps noted the fact that final -*i* was shorter than interior -*i*-.

³ Hultzsch (Inscr. of Aś., p. cx) wrongly takes this as an active future. There would be no starting-point for an active future with stem-form *yujīgya*-, since the present active stem is *yujj-* (Sk. 3rd pl. *yujjānti*, Pa. *yujjati*). On the other hand, Sk. *yujyāte* 'is fit, ought' is attested also in Pa. *yujjati*, Pk. *yujjaṭ*.

Five verbs form the future with *-sya-* instead of expected *-iśya-*.

In Dhau. Jaug. *hosati*, Pill. *hosanti*, *hohanti*, Calc. *hosatī* the root syllables of Sk. *bhavi-syāti* (cf. *hesati* above) have been remodelled on the present *hoti* (< *bhāvati*). In the Delhi-Topra Pillar Edict VII *hosanti* and *hohanti* stand side by side. There is perhaps a slight difference of meaning. In l. 23 *chāyopagāni hosanti pasumunisānaṃ* it has a fuller verbal force: 'in order that there may be shade for men and animals.' In ll. 25, 26 in the three times repeated *viyāpaṭā hohanti* it is simply an auxiliary: 'that they may be employed.'

I have shown elsewhere (JRAS., 1927, pp. 232 ff.) that *MI.-ss-* as a component of a suffix or termination might have, and in most dialects did have, a special development into *-s-* and *-h-*. It is possible that in all the futures we should read *-s-* (*-ś-*), and not *-ss-* (*-śś-*); but we have no criterion of judgment. In one, however, *hohanti*, this special development is certainly displayed, just where it might earliest be expected, namely in the simple auxiliary.

Two other futures show the same development: beside Jaug. *esatha* (Sk. *esyātha*) Dhau. has *chatha*. It may be noted that the same verb has a special early opening of *-dh-* in RV. 2nd sg. imperat. *ihi* beside, e.g., *śrudhi* (Turner, JRAS., 1927, p. 228).

The Pillar Edicts all have *dāhamti*. In the language of these the normal development of Sk. *dāsyāti* would be *dassati* as in Pali; but, as will be shown below, *ā* was introduced for *a* from other forms of the verb and, the Eastern dialects not tolerating the group long vowel + two consonants, the consonant was shortened (as in Pa. *dāsati* and *dāhati*). The early development of *-s-* > *-h-* in this verb may be due to the fact that it forms a group with *dānaṃ* (cf. the accentuation of Latin *donó dedit*, see E. Fraenkel, *Iktus und Akzent im lateinischen Sprechvers*, p. 44).

One other verb in Pali, namely *kāhati*, shows the same development. The verb 'to do' is liable in other languages to special phonetic development, e.g. Nepali *garnu* < **karnū*; Syrian Romani *kerār* < **karār*; OPers. *kunautiy* < **kynauti* (see Meillet, *Vieux Perse*, p. 50); Sakan *yindī* 'does', *yida-* 'done' < *kṛta-* (cf. E. Leumann, *Zur nordar. Spr. u. Lit.*, p. 132, who explains unexpected *y-* < *k-* as due to the frequent use of this verb as an auxiliary, e.g. *dītu yindī* 'he sees'); Eng. *does* [*das*] < **dūz*; and perhaps Sk. *kurmāḥ* < **kurumāḥ* (cf. *kure-ānti*) with complete loss of *-u-*.

In some of the modern dialects of E. Hindi and Bihari, where the old future still survives, the change of the suffix *-iśya-* to *-iha-* or

-ihī- has affected all verbs. It is of importance to general linguistic theory to note that this change in its first incidence affected certain verbs only.

It is fitting to note here also other special phonetic changes affecting the future suffix. For Prakrit Pischel (Pk. Gr., p. 362 ff.) has noted the forms -issi- and -ihī- beside -issa- and -iha-. The reality of these forms is attested not only in the modern languages (as, e.g., Lah. *marṣī* 'he will die', Bhojpuri *pīhī* 'he will drink'), but also in one Eastern form of Aśoka, Rup. Mys. *vadhisiti*. The longer the word, the shorter is each of its component sounds. It is therefore not surprising to find *vadḍhissati* > *vadḍhis(s)itī* (the more readily in that the *ṣ* has an *i* both before and after it), while *vadḍhati* remained unchanged. For the same reason -āmī, which remained in the present stem, became -am in the future. In Kal. IV 11 the reading *vadḍhiyisati* and in Dhau. XIV 2 the reading *likhiyi-* are fairly certain. But the verbs are active. They appear to have a special development of the suffixal element in which -ayi- > -iyi-. Such a form may have given rise to the Prakrit futures in -ihī- (Pischel, Pk. Gr., p. 363), in which the long vowel would be explained by an earlier -iyihī- < -ayissa-.

In All. Kauś. 3, Sām. 5, Sār. 4, Bühler and Boyer read *bhokhati*; for this Hultsch reads *bhākhati*. Both Kauś. and Sām. are here almost illegible, but on Sār. the letter is quite clear. There appears to me to be no trace whatsoever of the stroke denoting *ā*; the word is *bhakhati*. This may possibly be read *bhaṅkhati* < Sk. *bhaṅkṣyati* 'will break'; but forms of this verb without the nasal have survived in most IA. languages (of the type Sindhi *bhajanu* 'to be broken' < *bhājyate*, Hindi *bhāgnā* 'to flee' < *bhagnā-*), and we may be justified in reading *bhakkhati* < **bhakṣyati*, which was replaced in Sanskrit by *bhaṅkṣyati* with the nasal from the present, as in *bhaṅktvā* beside *bhaktvā*, *abhañji* beside *abhāji*, by which confusion with the corresponding forms of *bhājati* 'shares' was avoided.

Hultsch (Inserr. of Aś., p. cx) derives Dhau. Jaug. *cagatha* and Pill. *caghati* from *śakṣyati*. Leaving aside the question of initial *c*,¹ the form is rather that of Sk. *saghnōti*, and in form is not a future, but a present. The Pa. *sagghasi* (quoted by Hultsch) also has nothing to do with *śaknōti*, but is similarly derived from *saghnōti*, which further survives in WPah. *poguli hagnū* 'to be able', Lah. *saggaṇ*,

¹ Perhaps due to contamination with Sk. *caḥṣ-*. Woolner, Aśoka Glossary, p. 85, suggests Hindi etc. *cāḥṇā* 'to desire', which is probably ultimately related with *caḥṣ-* (Turner, Nep. Diet., p. 173 b 10).

Si. *saghaṇu* ; Nep. *saghānuu* 'to help' (see Nep. Dict., p. 579 a 20). Beside the desiderative of *śak-* in Sk. *śikṣati* (surviving in Shina kolistani *śiçēi* 'teaches', Bhadrawahi *śikhṇū*, etc.), a desiderative of *sagh-* (or *sah-*) existed in *sīkṣati* (surviving in Shina *śiçēi*). The use of the present of the verb 'to be able' for the future is paralleled in English: *I can go to-morrow* = *I shall be able to go to-morrow*; *I will arrange matters so that you can watch*.

Shah. *vraṁṣanti* < **vraṁṣyanti* may represent an older form than Sk. *vrajiṣyati*; or, in face of *vrajitā-*, it may be an analogical formation of the same type as RV. *kraṁsyāti* (after *namṣyāti*) for *kramiṣyāti*.

Lastly, for the future of the verb 'to do' the Inscriptions of Aśoka present three different forms:—

Shah. Man. *kaṣa-* in *kaṣam*, *kaṣami* (Man.), *kaṣati*, *kaṣanti*.

Gir. *kāsa-* in *kāṣati*, *kāṣanti*.¹

Kal. Dhau. Jang. Laur. Delhi-Topra *kacha-* in *kachāmi*, *kachati*, *kachatī* (Topra), *kachanti*.

In each case the written single intervocalic consonant may represent an actual double consonant; and the three stems may in consequence be read as *kaṣṣa-*, *kāssa-*, *kaccha-*. Also, as far as writing goes, the root vowel of Shah. Man. *kaṣa-* may be either short or long; but in the absence of any evidence to the contrary I have assumed it to be short.

In addition to the Aśokan forms, we have RV. *kariṣyā-* whence Pk. *karissa-*; Pa. *kassa-*, *kāsa-*, *kāha-*; Pk. *kāham* (M. JM. AMg.), *karissam* and *kaliṣkadi*. The forms with *ai* or *e* (*karaissam*, *karissam*, *kalehii*, etc.) are modelled after the present *karedi*.

As indicated above, *-s-* and *-h-* of these forms represent earlier *-ss-*. Thus Pk. *karihii* rests on earlier *karissai* and Pa. *kāhati* on earlier *kāṣati*.

Pa. *kassati* may represent earlier *kassati* or *kāssati*.

We are left then with five forms of this future in Indo-Aryan: *kariṣyāti*, *kaṣ(s)ati*, *kā(s)ati*, *kāṣati*, *ka(c)hati*.

All other roots ending in *-r* have in Sanskrit the suffix *-iṣya-* for the future. And this is the suffix presented by RV. *kariṣyāti*. The antiquity of this is further attested by the suffix **ṣ-so-* in the desiderative *cikīṣati*. Nevertheless the form **karṣyati* has been

¹ Gir. also has *kasanti* in one passage, vii, 2, *te sarvaṁ eva kāsanti ekadesam eva kāsanti*. The reading appears to be quite certain. There are three possible explanations. Either it is a mistake of the engraver or a 'Magadhism' or it represents an actual shorter pronunciation of the repeated verb. That it is the older *kass-* (< **karṣyati*, see below) not yet wholly displaced by *kāsa-*, is unlikely.

rightly assumed as the origin of Aś. *kaṣ(s)ati* (Michelson, A.J.Phil., 1909, p. 289) and Pa. *kassati* (W. Geiger, Gram. Pali, § 153). It is possible that **karṣyati* is a new formation which replaced *kariṣyāti*. But more probably, since this verb alone of those roots in *-r* presents such a form, it is another instance of abnormal phonetic development associated with the verb 'to do', i.e. *kariṣyāti* > **karṣyati*, as **kurumah* > *kurmāh*.

Except in the North-West (Shah. and Man.), *ṣṣ* was not preserved, but became *ss* (**karṣyati* > *kassati*). A future of the type *kassati* is, however, ambiguous. Not only has it the same form as the present *kassati* < *kārṣati* 'draws, ploughs', but it is not distinguished in suffix from many presents ending in *-assati*, e.g. *passati* < *pāśyati*, *hassati* 'laughs' < **hasyati* or *hārṣati*, *nassati* < *nāśyati*, etc.

Forms of the few, but frequently used, roots in *-ā* (*dā-*, *dhā-*, *sthā-*, *pā-*, *mā-* and a few others) have profoundly affected the whole Indo-Aryan conjugation. The suffix of their causatives, *-āpaya-*, early replaced *-aya-*, and to-day in nearly all IA. languages provides the normal form of causative (Guj. *-āv-vũ*, Hi. *-ā-nā*, Mar. *-āvi-ṇē*, etc.; see J. Bloch, La Langue marathe, p. 230). Their passives in *-īya-* provided a model, which everywhere took the place of *-ya-* (of which *y*, either being assimilated to a preceding consonant or being altogether lost after a vowel, left no clearly discernible sign of passive form); and where the passive survives in Mod.IA. it is formed with this suffix *-īya-* for all verbal stems (Shina *-iž-*, Si. *-ij-*, Lah. *-i-*, Mar. *-īj-*, Hi. *-īy-*, OBg. *-ī-*, Nep. *-i-*, etc.).

In their futures *-āśya-* (*dāśyāti*, etc.) became *-āssa-*. In the West and North-West the groups short vowel + two consonants and long vowel + two consonants remained distinct, and so still remain in the North-West to-day: e.g. in Sindhi *ass* > *as*, but *āss* > *ās* (Turner, Proc. Second Or. Congr. Calcutta, 1922, p. 493; Bull. SOS., v, p. 132). These futures therefore were not confused with the common presents in *-assati*. At the same time there were few presents ending in *-āssati*, such as *vāśyate* > **vāssati* > Si. *vāsaṇu*, or causative passives such as *nāśyate* > **nāssati*, which doubtless tended to be replaced by the simple present *nassati* < *nāśyati* or by the passive of the new causative stem **nāśāviadi*. A future in *-āssati*, then, in distinction to one in *-assati*, might retain its sense of futurity comparatively unimpaired.

It was this form *-āssati* which was employed to replace *-assati* of the ambiguous *kassati*, and a new *kāssati* was created. In somewhat

the same way the separate survival of *-ass-* and *-āss-* in the language of the Girnar Inscription served to distinguish *vāsa-* 'year' (i.e. *vāssa- < vārṣā-*) from a presumed **vassā-* 'rain' (cf. Kash. *uoś* m. 'shower' < *vārṣa-*, Si. *vasa* f. 'rain' < *varṣā-*).

In Pali and Prakrit the infinitive and the gerundive (which normally have the same vocalization as the future) of the verb *kar-* were similarly affected by the verbs in *-ā*: under the influence of *dātum*, *dātavya-*, etc., Pa. *kattum*, *kattabba-*, Pk. *kattum*, *kattavva-* were replaced by Pa. *kātum*, *kātabba-*, Pk. *kādum*, *kādavva-*.

In the North-West presents ending in *-aṣṣati* (resting only on Sk. *-arṣati*, e.g. *kārṣati*, *ghārṣati*, *dhārṣati*, *vārṣati*) were rare. It is precisely in this area that **karṣyati > kaṣṣati* remains a future.

If the roots in *-ā* provided a new future for *kar-* in the Girnar area, why not also in all those other areas in which *rṣ > ss*? Yet this was not so: for we find here another form, *kaccha-*.

We have seen that in the West and North-West the groups *ass* and *āss* remained distinct. Further East, however, both Pali and the literary Prakrits attest their confusion; both appear as *ass*, which irrespective of its origin at a much later period became *ās* in Central Pahari, Nepali, Assamese, Bengali, Oriya, Bihari, Hindi, Gujarati, and Marathi, remaining *ass* only in that dialect, probably in the neighbourhood of Ambala, from which Hindi obtains such words as *aṇḍā < āṇḍā-*, *kaṇṭhā < kaṇṭhaka-*. Here, then, futures of the type *dāsyāti* became *dassati* and were as indistinguishable from presents as we have already seen *kassati* to have been in the Girnar area. For a time they were maintained as futures: Pa. *dassati*, *ḥassati*, *hassati*, *passati*. But eventually they were replaced in two ways: either *-assati* was replaced by *-issati* or *-essati < -iṣyati* or *-ayīṣyati* (Pa. *piṣṣati* 'will drink', *heṣṣati* 'will leave'), or *ā* was reintroduced from verb forms in which it had been phonetically maintained (e.g. *dātum*, *dātabba-*, *dāpeti*, etc.), and the new syllable *-āss-* shortened by the loss of one *s* (Pa. *dāsati*, *dāhati*). This phonetic process has a frequent parallel in the re-establishment of the prefix *ā* before a word beginning with two consonants, e.g. *ājñā > aññā*, which was replaced by *āñā*, with *ā-* after *ā-jānāti*, etc.

In this area, then, it was to another type of future suffix that recourse was had to overcome the ambiguity of *kassati*. Sanskrit futures ending in *-t-sya-*, *-p-sya-*, and over part of the area in question those ending in *-k-sya-*, would all become *-ccha-*: Pa. *checcati < chetsyati*, *bhecchati < bhetsyāti*, *vacchati < vatsyati*, *lacchati < lapsyati*;

Pk. *checcham*, *bheccham*, *roccham* < **rotsyati*, *veccham* < **vetsyati*, *daccham* < **drakṣyāti*, *vuccham* < **vakṣyati*, *bhoccham* < **bhokṣyati*. It is to the influence of this future in -*cca-* that Woolner (Aśoka Text, p. xxxv, footnote) rightly ascribes the formation of *kacchati*.¹ This supposition is supported by the appearance in Prakrit of similar analogical forms, viz. *soccham* 'will hear', which is much more probably a replacement of *soṣṣam* < **śroṣyāmi* than a development of **śroksyāmi* future of *śruṣ-* (Pischel, Pk. Gr., § 531). So much indeed was -*cca-* felt to denote futurity that the present stem *gacchati* becomes a future in Pk. AMg. *gaccham* ('I will go'); Pischel's hypothesis (ib., § 523) of an early **gaksyāmi* is unlikely.

On the other hand in those areas in which futures in -*k-ṣya-* became -*kkha-*, there was a tendency for the forms, if they remained, to lose their future meaning and to become presents. Pa. *dakkhati* (< Sk. *drakṣyāti*) is still a future, but already in Pali it is being used as a present to fill the awkward gap in the paradigm of this root (for Sanskrit has not a present stem, but uses another root altogether), and contaminated with *pekkhati* (< **prēkṣate*) provides most Mod.IA. languages with the verb 'to see': Hi. *dekhnā*, etc. (see J. Bloch, Festschrift für Wackernagel, p. 143). There are others. Sk. *yojati* or *yojáyati* survives in Shina *yucái* 'wins'; Pj. *jonā* 'to yoke', Lah. *jovaṇ*; Mar. *jovṇē* 'to swarm thickly'; Sgh. *yodanu* 'to unite'. It is the future *yokṣyāti* > MI. **yokkhati* which provides Mod.IA. with a verb 'to consider, weigh in the mind, weigh': Ku. *jokhṇo*, Ass. *zokhiba*, Bg. *jokhā*, *jōkā*, Or. *jokhibā* (also 'to unite'), Hi. *jokhnā*, Pj. *jokhnā*, Si. *jokhaṇu*, Guj. *jokhvū*, Mar. *jokhnē* (loanword with *kh*, not *s*). The etymology is confirmed by WHi. *jonā* 'to weigh'.

Sk. *druh-*, *droh-* would not be distinguished over most of the Mod.IA. area from Sk. *duh-*, *doh-* (Hi. *dohnā*, etc. 'to milk'). Thus while Sk. *droha-* or *drōgha-* survives in Si. *drohu* m. 'injury', WPj. *dharaoh* m. (beside Si. *ḍoho* m. 'milker', Pj. *dohā* m.), it is perhaps the future stem *dhroksyati* which has furnished Ku. *dhoko* 'deceit', Nep. Bg. Or. *dhokā*, Hi. *dhok(h)ā* m., Pj. *dhokkhā* m.; Guj. *dhoko* m. 'fear', Mar. *dhokā* m.

¹ In the Glossary (p. 77), however, he suggests a form **kartsyati*, for which there appears to be no justification. Johanson's explanation (Shāhb., § 7, b, quoted by Hultsch, Inscr. of Aś., p. lxxxiii), that *kacchati* < **kajjati* < **karyati*, has nothing to recommend it. Moreover, the AMg. passive *kajjaṭ*, with which comparison is made, is not from **karyati*, but either from *kijjaṭ* affected by the vowel of the active *karedi*, or from the passive causative *kāryate*.

Already in AV. **nakṣyāti*, the expected future of *naśyati*, has been replaced by *naśiṣyati* although it crops up again in *nañkṣyati* of MBh. (perhaps contaminated with *naś-* 'to reach' or with later futures of the type *bhañkṣyati* discussed above). But **nakṣyati* survives as a present stem in Guj. *nākhvā* 'to throw away' (OGuj. *nāmkhapa-hāra* 'one who throws away'), Kash. *nōcharun* 'to ruin'.¹

¹ In both the OGuj. (which I owe to Mr. T. N. Dave) and the Kash. forms the nasalization is probably secondarily derived from the initial nasal.

The Head-offering to the Goddess in Pallava Sculpture

By J. PH. VOGEL

(PLATES V-VIII)

THE remarkable group of five rock-cut temples at Māmallapuram or Māvalivaram, to the south of Madras, has often been described. Popular imagination has associated these wonderful shrines with the Pāṇḍavas; thus it has happened that the one which is smallest in size has become known as the *rath* of Draupadi. Evidently this temple was in reality dedicated to some form of the goddess Durgā, whose effigy, standing on the severed head of the Buffalo-demon, is found carved upon the outer wall, whereas her vehicle in the form of a well-conceived but unfinished lion-statue may be seen at no great distance.

The back wall of the cella shows a relief, the centre of which is occupied by a four-armed goddess holding a *cakra* and a *śankha*; her second right hand is raised in the attitude of protection, whilst the second left hand is placed on the hip (Plate I). The well-known French archaeologist, M. Jouveau-Dubreuil, maintains that this figure represents the terrible goddess Cāmundā “qui est représentée partout : dans le sanctuaire et sur les façades, notamment sur la façade de l'Est où Kālī se tient debout sur la tête de buffle”.¹

I do not, however, wish to discuss the identity of this divinity. The object of the present paper is not the goddess worshipped in the so-called *rath* of Draupadi, but one of her attendants. At her feet are two kneeling figures, both apparently male personages. The one to the proper right of the central figure is shown in a very striking attitude. With his left hand he grasps his tuft of hair, which apparently he is in the act of cutting with a sword held in his right hand. This, at least, was the explanation which occurred to me as the most probable after a happy visit to the “Seven Pagodas” about Christmas of the year 1910. In my *Iconographical Notes on the Seven Pagodas*,² I proposed this interpretation, while referring to the well-known practice of the hair-offering found among various nations.

Mr. A. H. Longhurst, of the Archaeological Survey, who in recent years has published a very full and accurate description of Pallava

¹ G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Archéologie du Sud de l'Inde*, vol. ii, p. 41.

² *ASIAR*. 1910-11, p. 53, pl. xxviii.

Architecture, has adopted my suggestion. "The kneeling worshipper on Durgā's proper right," Mr. Longhurst says,¹ "is portrayed cutting off his long tresses with his sword as an offering to the goddess, a custom still in vogue in Southern India and performed by both men and women. It is a rather striking figure and occurs again in a panel representing the same goddess in the so-called Varāha-Maṇḍapa."

The panel in the Varāha-Maṇḍapa² (one of the cave-temples of Māmallapuram), to which Mr. Longhurst refers, shows a group of figures, of which the four-armed goddess occupies the centre (Plate II). As in the case of the so-called Draupadī, she is attended by four flying Ganas, whereas in the two upper corners a lion and a gazelle are partly visible. Of the two male figures kneeling at the feet of the goddess, the one on her right-hand side is turned with his back to the spectator. With his left hand he holds his long hair and with his right his sword. Here again the representation might suggest that the personage in question is about to cut off his hair, although it will be noticed that the sword is held at a level considerably lower than the tuft of hair.

The lower cave of Trichinopoly affords a third example of the same *motif* (Plate III), but here we find it impossible to maintain the explanation first suggested. The personage who is shown kneeling at the feet of the four-armed goddess, while seizing his hair-tuft exactly as in the two instances already quoted, clearly applies the sword held in his right hand not to his hair, but to his neck. The question may, therefore, legitimately be asked: is not it a head-offering instead of a hair-offering that the unknown sculptor intended to represent?

The question here formulated may, I believe, be answered in the affirmative if we adduce a fourth example of this curious subject. It occurs on a Śiva temple at Pullamangai, near the village of Paśupati-koyil, which is situated at a distance of 10 miles to the south of Tanjore.³ The back wall of the central shrine is decorated with a very graceful figure of the eight-armed Durgā standing on a severed buffalo-head with magnificent horns. The goddess is placed in a niche surmounted by an elaborately carved *makara-toraṇa*. The two spaces intervening between this niche and the two outer pilasters supporting the stone eaves show two groups of figures which evidently are intended

¹ A. H. Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture. Part II (Intermediate or Māmallā Period). Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 33, Calcutta, 1928, p. 17.

² *ASJAR*. 1910-11, p. 58. A. H. Longhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 33, pl. xxid. Cf. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. i, p. 341, pl. c.

³ R. Sewell, *Lists of the antiquarian remains in the Presidency of Madras*, vol. i, Madras, 1882, p. 277.

for attendants of the dreaded goddess. First of all we notice the same two animals, the lion and the deer, which occupy the upper corners of the panel in the Varāha-Maṇḍapa at Māmallapuram. The latter animal, which has forked horns, is preceded by a *gaṇa*. Under each of the two animals there is a male person kneeling. The one to the right of Durgā is shown in the same position as the corresponding figures discussed above, but in the present case there can be no doubt that he is represented in the action of cutting off his own head as an offering to the goddess. In the same way the kneeling person on the left hand side of the goddess appears to be cutting a piece of flesh from his thigh.

The Śiva temple of Pullamangai bears several Tamil inscriptions recording various donations to the temple and dated in the reign of Parakesarivarman and other rulers of the Coḷa dynasty.¹ The sculptural decoration lacks the dignified simplicity and strength of Pallava art, but excels by a richness and gracefulness which is free from the exaggerations of later Dravidian architecture. It is evident that the group of the goddess Durgā and her attendants is a later form of what we have seen on the earlier monuments of the Pallavas. We may, therefore, safely conclude that in each of the examples which we have been able to quote the person kneeling to the right-hand side of the goddess is shown in the act of offering his own head as an offering. In all probability the devotee of the goddess represented in this manner was one of the founders of the temple in question and thus gave expression to his supreme devotion to the deity and to his readiness to bring her even the greatest sacrifice—that of his own head.

We do not wish here to discuss the question whether it would be physically possible to decapitate oneself in the fashion portrayed in the sculptures. It would be an act at any rate requiring not only a high degree of self-determination but also an unusual dexterity. This much is certain, that in ancient India this mode of self-sacrifice was considered to lie within the range of possibility. This we may infer from the occurrence of the same *motif* in Sanskrit literature. I may be allowed to quote a few instances from Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*.²

First of all we have the well known story of the hero Viravara, which is found in two slightly different versions in that great collection of stories. In the second version it is the fourth tale of the Vetāla. It forms, therefore, also part of other redactions of that highly popular

¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1921-22*, Madras, 1923, pp. 48 f.

² *Kathās*, llii, 86-193, and lxxviii, 83-102 (= Vetāla iv). Cf. Penzer, *Ocean of Story*, vol. iv, pp. 173-81, and vi, p. 196.

collection *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*. Moreover, the same pathetic story is also included in the *Hitopadeśa*.¹

The story, according to the second version of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (*Vetāla*, iv), may be summarized as follows. In order to prolong the life of his master, king Śūdraka, the hero Viravara, who here is called a Brāhman, offers the head of his son Sattvavara to the goddess Caṇḍī. His daughter thereupon dies from grief, and his wife resolves to throw herself on the funeral pyre on which the bodies of her two children have been laid. Then Viravara resolves to gratify Ambikā by sacrificing himself. After a hymn of praise addressed to the goddess Kālī Mahiṣāsura-mārīṇī, he cuts off his own head with a stroke of the sword. King Śūdraka, touched by so great devotion, is about to follow the example of his faithful servant, but a voice from heaven prevents him from doing so. Finally all are brought back to life.

The other version of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* presents certain points of difference. Here, too, the hero of the story is a Brāhman called Viravara. But the king, his master, is Vikramatuṅga residing at Vikramapura. When Viravara, after uttering a hymn of praise to the goddess Caṇḍikā-devī is ready to sever his head from his body, a heavenly voice (*bhārati . . . āśarīvā*) commands him not to act rashly, and offers him a boon. Thereupon Viravara begs from her the life of king Vikramatuṅga as well as the lives of his wife and children.

The version of the *Hitopadeśa* agrees with that of the *Vetāla* story of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. That the prose version calls Viravara a Rājaputra seems natural and more original. The king is Śūdraka. The weeping woman who warns the hero of the fate threatening the king is not the Earth-goddess, but the Lakṣmī of king Śūdraka. After offering the head of his son to the goddess, who here is called Bhagavatī Sarvamaṅgalā, the Rājput Viravara cuts off his own head and his wife does the same. Then the king, who has witnessed the scene, seizes his sword to cut off his own head, but the goddess appears in person and holds him back. All are revived.

The sixth *Vetāla* tale of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* affords another very curious example of the head-offering to the goddess.² The hero of the story is a washerman, named Dhavala, who, after having taken wife, has entered a famous shrine of Gaurī at Śobhavatī, and in his fervent desire to please the deity, cuts off his head, which first he has

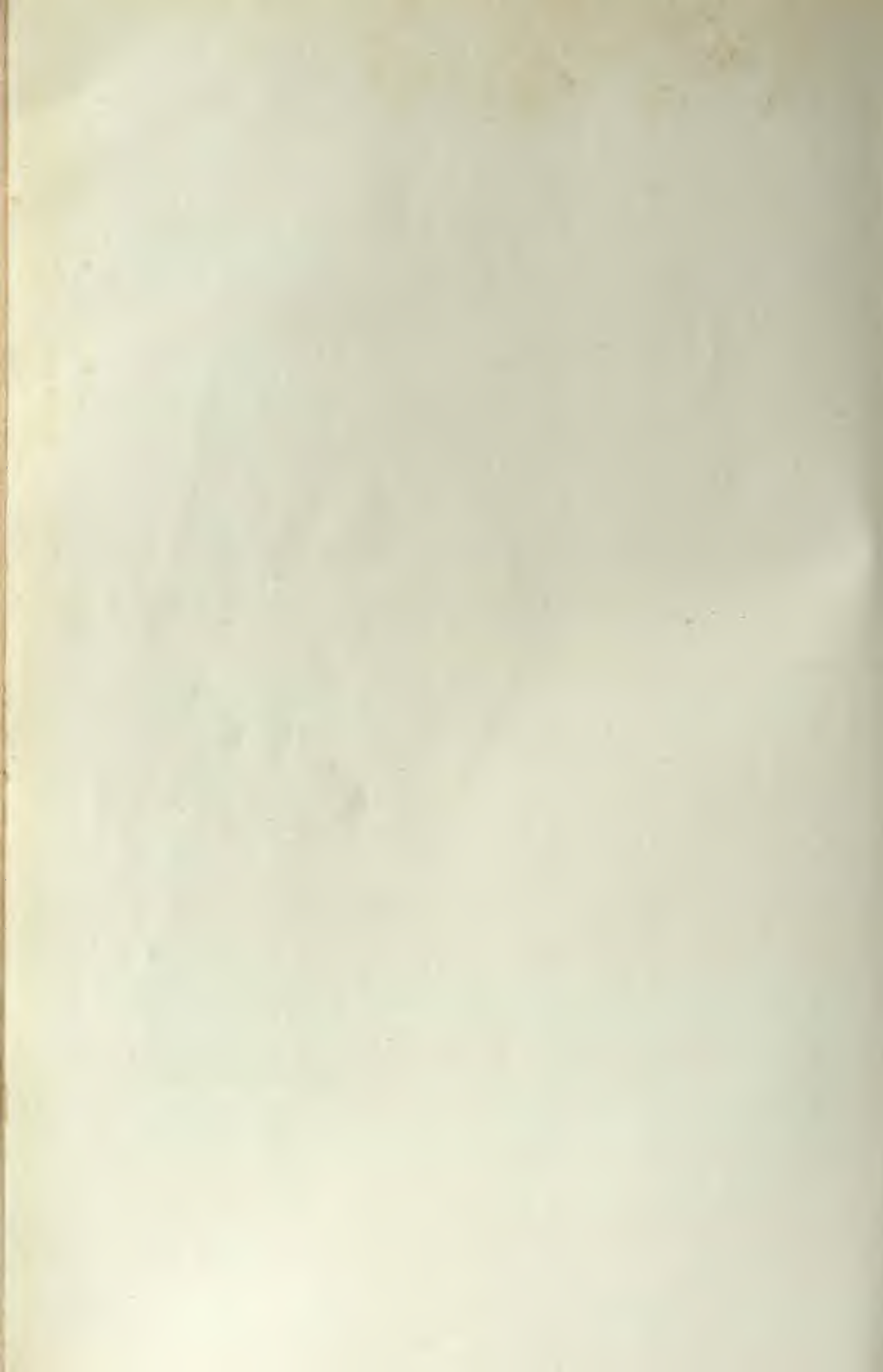
¹ *Hit.* iii, *kathā* 8.

² *Kathās.* lxxx (= *Vetāla* vi). Cf. Penzer, vol. vi, pp. 204-7. We may also compare *op. cit.*, vi, 78-82. Penzer, vol. i, p. 66.



IMAGE OF DURGĀ IN "RATH OF DRAUPADĪ", MĀMALLAPURAM OR "SEVEN
PAGODAS".

(To face p. 642.)



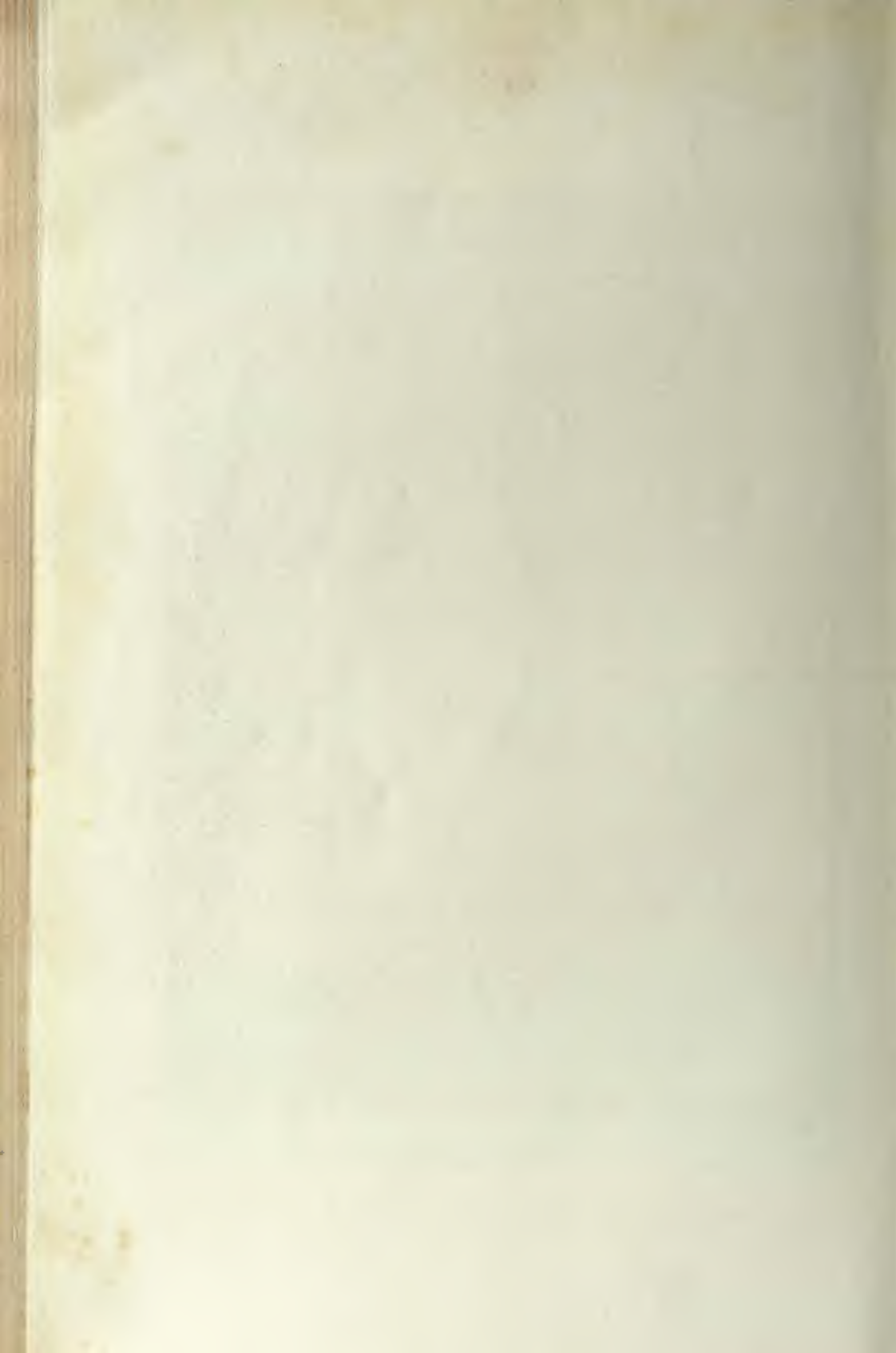


PANEL OF PĀRVATĪ WITH LION AND DEER IN VARĀHA CAVE, MĀMALLAPURAM.



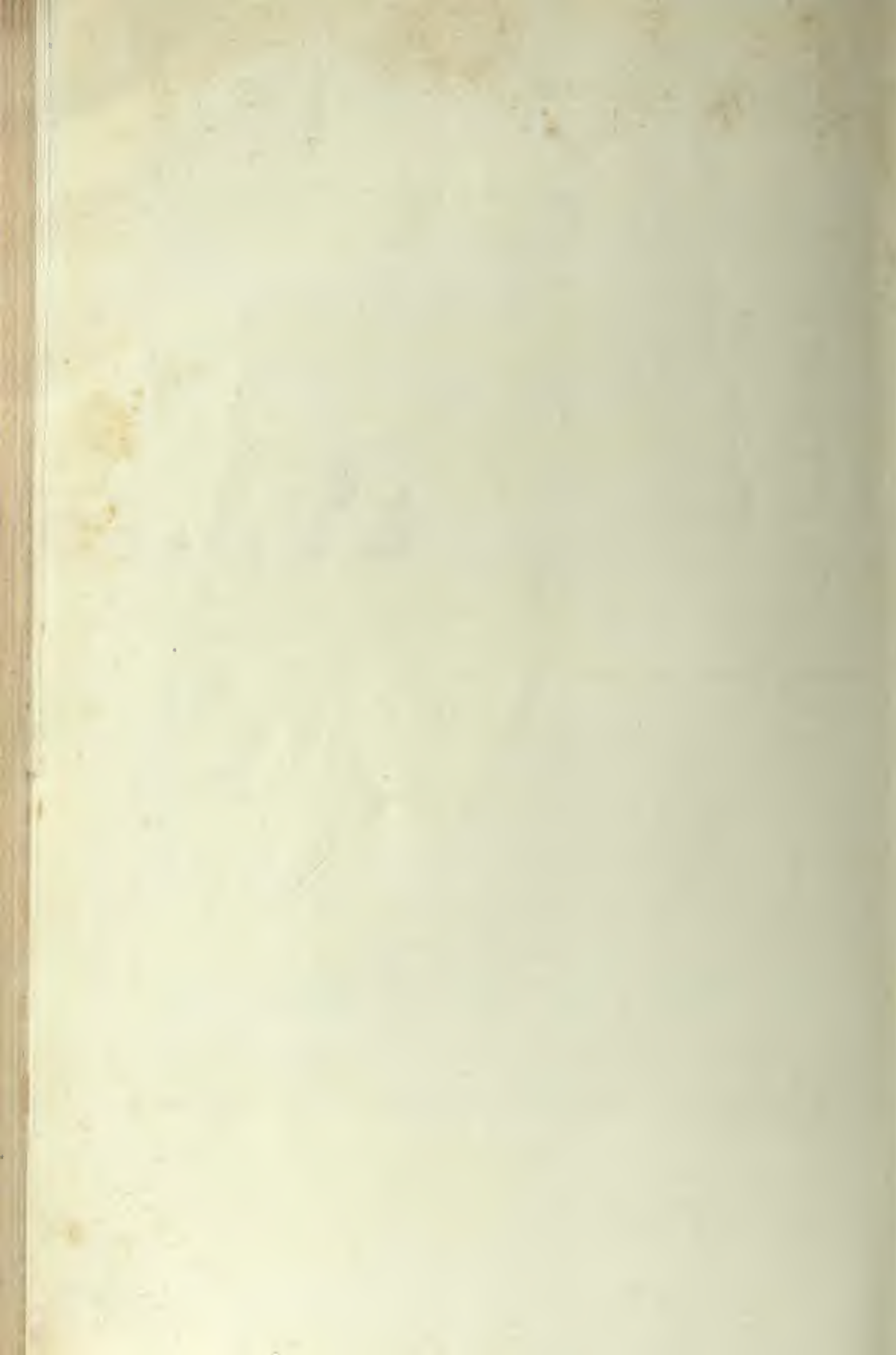


ROCK-CUT TEMPLES AT TRICHINOPOLY. IMAGE OF DURGĀ IN LOWER CAVE.





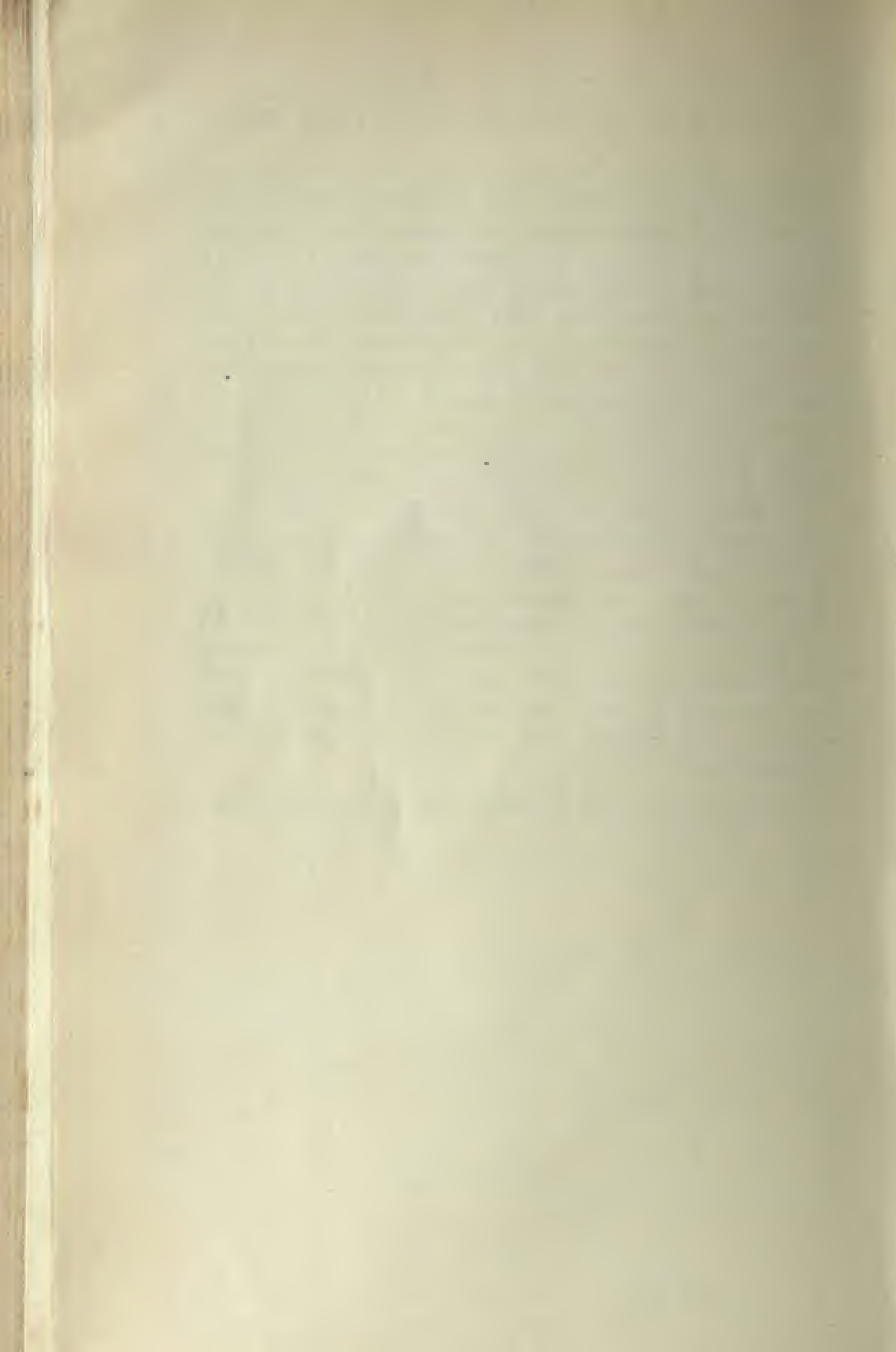
SCULPTURE IN RELIEF OF DURGĀ, ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE CENTRAL SHRINE OF THE ŚIVA TEMPLE AT PULĻAMANGAI, PAŚUPATIKŌYIL.



fastened to the chain of the bell, evidently to make the procedure somewhat easier. His brother-in-law who together with the newly married bride is waiting outside, at last goes inside the temple, and seeing what has happened, he follows the example of so noble a sacrifice. When the bride becomes aware of the suicide of both her spouse and her brother, she is seized by despair and wishes to hang herself from an *asoka*-tree. She is prevented from this self-chosen death by a heavenly voice which offers her a boon. It goes without saying that she asks the life of her husband and brother, but being told to replace the two heads on the trunks of those two beloved persons, in her confusion she interchanges the heads. The story ends with the query : who of the two men is now to be her husband ?

The examples quoted will suffice to show that the sacrifice of one's own head was a well-known *motif*. The deity to whom this supreme sacrifice is made is always a goddess. This is a point of great interest, because the same is the case with the sculptural representations which we have been able to adduce above. That the offering of one's own head is known to have been actually practised in India appears from an interesting paper by Mr. Hira Lal, who speaks of certain sects "who used to cut off their heads and tongues in a mandapa especially erected for the purpose with a religious fervour worthy of a better cause."¹

¹ Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, "The Golaki Matha," *JBORS.*, vol. xiii (1927), p. 144.



On the Etymology and Interpretation of Certain Words and Phrases in the Aśoka Edicts

By M. DE Z. WICKREMASINGHE

IN the course of my tutorial work on the Palæography and Epigraphy of India and Ceylon, I have had to read the Aśoka inscriptions with some of my pupils. As a result, I have come across the following words and phrases which to my mind seem to demand an interpretation other than that already supplied by scholars interested in the subject.

- (1) Rock Edict III. Gīrnār. *Parisā pi yute aññapayisati gaṇanāyaṃ hetuto ca vyañjanato ca.*

This sentence, which occurs with dialectic differences in other versions of the third rock edict, has already been discussed by previous writers. I would, nevertheless, translate it thus:—"The Council (of Mahāmātras) shall also give orders to the yuktas (in respect of these rules) in detail [i.e. item by item] regard being had to (their) *raison d'être* and to the letter (of the law)."

Here *gaṇanāyaṃ* (loc. of *gaṇanā*) is used adverbially to mean "numerically" or "item by item", just as in Sinhalese *gaṇanavasayen* (Skt. *gaṇanā-viśayena*) is used with the same idea to emphasize the details of a statement. The expression *hetuto ca atthato ca vyañjanato ca* is used in Pali to mean "according to the *raison d'être*, the spirit and the letter (of the law)". This seems to me to give a better sense than the translation "to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter".

- (2) Rock Edict IV. Gīrnār. *Ta aja devānaṃ-priyasa Priyadasino rāṇo dhamma-caraṇena (bhe)rī-ghoso aho dhamma-ghoso vimāna-dasaṇā ca hasti-da[sa]ṇā ca agi-kh[a]māhāni ca [a]ñāni ca divyāni rūpāni dasaṇipā janaṃ.*

This gives a true picture of a Hindu religious procession, exhibiting divine emblems such as the *vimānas* of the planetary gods, the thrones or *vāhanas* of gods (here *hasti* stands for *Airāvātā* of Indra), pots containing burning matter (incense) in honour of Agni, images of Viṣṇu, Śiva, and other gods of the Hindu pantheon. All these are

carried even at the present day to the accompaniment of tom-tom beatings. This is exactly what is meant here. I would, therefore, take *dasayitpā* as an adjunct of *bherī-ghosa*, especially as these emblems are absolutely non-Buddhistic and would translate the passage thus :—

“ But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of ¹ King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin, the sound of drums (accompanied by) exhibiting to the people the representations of celestial chariots (of the planetary gods) and of elephants (as the seat of Indra), masses of fire (in honour of Agni) and other divine figures (of the Hindu pantheon, all this) has become the sound of morality.”

Aśoka wanted perhaps to say that all these tumultuous Hindu processions have now turned into processions or peaceful assemblies proclaiming his moral code and holding discourses thereon. This is probably the sort of harmless and meritorious *samājās* referred to in Rock Edict I, 6. In the Neville collection of the British Museum Library there is a large and valuable collection of Pali and Sinhalese Manuscripts containing sermons delivered at such gatherings.

- (3) Rock Edict VI. Gīrnār. *s[a]ve kāle bhūmī[a]mānasa me orodhanamhi gabhāgāramhi vacamhi va vinūtamhi ca uyānesu ca savatra paṭivedakā śītā athe me [ja]nasa paṭivedetha iti.*

To understand the real meaning of this passage, it would, in my opinion, be necessary to try and get an idea of Aśoka's position when he had his sixth edict issued. He had just completed the conquest of Kalinga which he annexed to his empire. So he was naturally fully satisfied with the vast territories he was then in possession of, and it might be presumed that he thought the next best thing he should do was to follow the advice given in Hitopadeśa, namely “one should preserve what one has acquired”, and the best way of doing this was to devote all his time henceforth to the welfare of his subjects. In addition to this there is no doubt that the horrors of the Kalinga war caused a complete revolution in the character of Asoka. He was seized with remorse, and became absolutely penitent, with the result that he determined to be an adherent to the principles of *ahimsā*, *mettā*, *karuṇā*, *muditā*, as well as *dāna*—all of which covered more or less common ground, not only with Buddhism, to which he was especially inclined, but also with the doctrines of other contemporary schools of thought. From his many records we see that he acted

¹ Possibly the genitive here has the signification “instituted by”.

upon his convictions, not only to gain merit with a view to have a happy after-life, but also because the exercise of these principles would go a great way to make himself popular and give satisfaction to his subjects.

So he declared, like many an Indian and Ceylon king in later times, that in the past kings had not attended to public business at all times, but in the future he would be accessible to every one of his subjects.

In stating this he practically ignored his grandfather's declaration to the same effect. Thus we see that during Aśoka's time kings attended to public affairs only at special times, and this is confirmed by the time-table given by Kauṭilya in his Arthaśāstra in respect of duties of kings. On certain occasions when the king is in certain places no one is allowed to disturb his privacy, and this is mostly in connection with his domestic matters, or, rather, with his private life in his various palaces. Emperor Aśoka had many palaces with harems, parks, and other adjuncts which go to complete the establishments of great Indian potentates.

Hence in the interpretation of the technical words used by Aśoka as places of seclusion in his sixth edict, we should bear in mind that they were all situated within the grounds of his various palaces. The places in question as shown in the foregoing passage are:—(a) *orodhanam*, (b) *gabhāgāram*, (c) *vacam*, (d) *vinītam*, and finally (e) *uyānam*.

All scholars agree as to the meaning of (a) and (b), the latter was probably a suite of rooms in close proximity to the former. But as regards *vaca* and *vinīta* opinions differ.

Some time ago my attention was drawn to the word *vaca* or *vraca* used in the sixth edict as an unsatisfactory explanation in connecting it with Skt. *vraja* "cow-pen" for Skt. *-ja* seldom becomes Pkt. *-ca*.¹ In this my colleague agrees with Michelson who also pointed out this phonetic difficulty. The late lamented Dr. Hultsch equated *vraca* or *vaca* with Skt. *vraja*, no doubt on the authority of Hemacandra and of the Shāhbāzgarhī record where the form *vracanti* is used for *vrajanti*. The Prakrit lexicon, Abhidhānarājendra, also gives *vraja* as one of the three meanings of *vaca*, the other two meanings being *vrta* and *mada*; but in spite of all these suggested etymologies, *vaca* or *vraca* can also, phonetically speaking, be a derivative of Skt.

¹ Except in M. and Ś. See Pischel's *Prakrit Grammar*, §§ 202.

vratya or *vrātya*¹ (cf. Skt. *satya*, P. *sacca*, Skt. *Kātyāyana*, P. *Kaccāyana*). The neuter *vrātyam* may be taken to mean a place where certain religious rites are performed, most probably a temple of the *Vrātya*² cult. It is possible that in the time of Aśoka this cult which was most likely an indigenous one was observed in strict privacy by Indian kings and their household in common with the ordinary people in the country. So *vacamhi* or *vacaspi*, whatever the derivation might be should be rendered by "in the chapel (or temple)." Even in the present day ruling princes in India have their own private places of worship attached to their respective establishments. The addition of *va* or *eva* gives emphasis to the secrecy of *vrātya* worship.

Vinīta. The etymology is quite clear, though the signification is somewhat obscure. But if we take into consideration the arrangement of the technical words, we notice that *vinītamhi* comes between *vacamhi* and the final *uyānesu* as if it was a place between or rather linking the latter two. We may, therefore, not be far wrong if we take it to mean a path leading to the various parks—a sort of well-constructed and decorated path along which the king either alone or with his queens and their attendants goes to amuse himself in the parks of which there were many kinds. Naturally no king or ruling prince would like to be disturbed with public business at this time. I would, therefore, translate the above passage thus:—"Reporters are posted everywhere (with instructions) to report to me the affairs of the people at all times whether I be eating (or be) in the harem, (or) in the inner apartments (or) even in the temple (or) on the (adorned) pathway (or finally) in the parks."

¹ It is true that if we take the form *rāñā* (Girnār, IV) to represent *rāñā* (Skt. *rājñā*) and regard it as typical of the Girnār dialect, then Skt. *vrātya* can be in Girnār dialect only *vrācca*, i.e. *vāca* or *vāca* and not *vaca* or *vraca*. But there are no instances to my knowledge of the retention of the Skt. medial *ā* before a double consonant without either reducing the latter in Pkt. and Pāli to a single consonant or shortening the vowel and allowing it to remain long only by position (cf. Piechel's *Prakrit Grammar*, par. 87). So Skt. *lokāgra* can in Pkt. and Pāli be either *lokagga* or *lokāga*, but never *lokāgga*, except perhaps in modern Indo-Āryan dialects through the later influence of Sanskrit.

² See Professor Winternitz's interesting contribution to *Die Zeitschrift für Buddhismus* on the *Vrātyas*, where he has summarized the views of previous writers on the subject.

The R̥gveda and the Panjab

By A. C. WOOLNER

SPEAKING of the materials furnished by the R̥gveda, Dr. A. B. Keith has rightly said that "conclusions can be drawn only with much caution. It is easy to frame and support by plausible evidence various hypotheses, to which the only effective objection is that other hypotheses are equally legitimate, and that facts are too imperfect to allow of conclusions being drawn". (*The Cambridge History of India*, vol. i, p. 78, 1922.)

That position seems to be sound, but in the same paragraph the writer commits himself to an evident acceptance of the view that "the bulk at least" of the hymns of the R̥gveda were composed "south of the modern Ambala".

The revelations of Harappa and Mohen-jo-dāro and the possibility of finding archaeological strata contemporary with the beginning of the Vedic age in the Panjab lend a new interest to evidence of the Veda and it is reasonable to challenge the bases of any prevailing belief with regard to the location of the main settlements of the Vedic Aryans. The belief that the principal settlements of the Aryans were in the country of the Sarasvatī south of Ambala is based in the first instance on certain ideas about the Panjab, i.e. that there are no mountains visible except "in the north-west corner at Rawalpindi"¹ or "south of the modern Ambala", that the Panjab has little share in the phenomena of thunder and lightning, and that the seasonal phenomena of the country of the Five Rivers are so regular and the phenomena of dawn so glorious that we may seek there the origin of hymns to Dawn and of the concept of the laws of Varuṇa.

To this is to be added the evidence of one or two hymns as adduced by Pischel and Geldner (*Vedische Studien*, vol. ii, p. 218; vol. iii, p. 152).

Now, anyone who has been familiar with the Panjab for a number of years and has travelled all over it at different times of the year, must admit that the ideas about it that have just been quoted are not accurate. The mountains are visible all the way from Rawalpindi to Ambala, if you are near enough and the air is clear. Though the average rainfall is small, storms are often violent and rain irregular.

¹ A. A. Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 145, 1900.

While it is true that sunrise is generally more beautiful in the west of the Panjab than in the east and north, yet when the air is dry wonderful dawns can be seen south of Ambala. These ideas in fact can be traced to Professor Hopkins, who visited India for one cold weather and described the Panjab in 1888 (*JAOS*, vol. xix, second half, p. 19 ff.). He was very disappointed in the Panjab and wrote a spritely article which is very far from being accurate, but has been quoted by others who have not visited the Panjab or even, one would suppose, studied a large scale map.

Professor Hopkins wrote: "And from the Sutlej to the Ravi what a view of unbounded flatness." "The student goes still further west,¹ and what does he see? A veritable desert, green only by the river's bank; a level land, from which no mountains are visible; . . . and not till he reaches the very north-western corner of the Panjab does he see mountains, at a distance."

As a matter of fact the mountains are quite evident on a clear day (without cloud or haze) from Jalandhar, Amritsar, and Gujrat, and dominate the landscape at Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur, and Sialkot.² For 100 miles along the road from Gujrat to Rawalpindi the snow mountains are obvious, and at Jhelum one runs into hill country the east end of the Salt Range.

Along the line of the foothills of the Himalayas there is a strip of country say 50 miles wide, well in view of the mountains, very fertile, with a rainfall distinctly greater than in the west of the Panjab. This is where population is densest, and contains historical sites like Jalandhar and Sialkot. If by way of hypothesis the width of the strip be doubled, adding a strip of drier land³ but still all near enough

¹ He meant north-west.

² They are practically invisible at Lahore, though the gleam of distant snow mountains can be seen about dawn from a tower on an exceptionally clear morning.

³ The use of wells indicates that the water-line was not very deep. The word *dhānu* usually translated "desert" need not always mean a sandy desert devoid of plants.

Vide Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, *sub voce*. The *dhānāni* are flooded, iv, 17, 2; 19, 7; they are rained on, v, 33, 6; plants grown on them, iv, 33, 7; they are made easy to cross evidently because *ājijana ūgadhīr*, v, 83, 10; and there is something for horses and cattle to eat. Again *dhānānu* *iva prapd* if translated "like a spring in a desert" suggests an oasis as in the Rajputāna desert, but perhaps "like a waterhole in a dry tract" may be nearer the truth.

The *Dhānu* has been derived from *dhan* "to run", the idea being of running sand (Walde, *Lateinisches Etym. Wörterbuch*, *sub fon s*). It does not seem necessary to separate it from *dhanu*, *dhaneas* meaning "bow". The original meaning may have been curved land—so applied to a sandbank or island (*dhānu*) or to land not flat enough for irrigation (*dhānu*) and so to flatter waste land.

to the mountains for a knowledge of them and for the use of stone,¹ we have a range of country about the size of Portugal, which apparently would account for the geographical data of the Ṛgveda as well as the district south of Ambala. That is no proof that the Aryan settlers occupied this area, but if we are to suppose they neglected the greater part of it, we may ask what the reason could have been.

Regularity of seasonal phenomena is not characteristic of the Panjab. We have no regular rains in the monsoon season, though we generally have one or two violent storms with heavy rain and often floods during that period. That is why the University of the Panjab works through the heat of May and June and has no rains' term July to September like the Universities of the United Provinces. A study of Panjab finance would show how sorely we are tried by the irregularity of seasonal phenomena; by absence of rain at the right time, by heavy rain at the wrong time, by hail, and by floods. A powerful but incalculable Storm God needs more propitiation in the Panjab than the deity which brings the warm, beneficent rain to the rest of India. In the Panjab we are more at the mercy of "depressions from Persia" during the winter and spring, and also of the sudden spates in the spring. Even to-day, when so much water is drawn out of the rivers by the huge canal system, there are sudden rises which often do enormous damage. Somewhere about the beginning of April the boat-bridges across sections of the Indus are broken and instead of driving 10 or 12 miles across the silt with an occasional boat-bridge over a channel, one has to cross in a steamer to get to Dera Ismail Khan or Dera Ghazi Khan. It takes some hours' fighting against the current. This is the Indus of which the American pilgrim wrote: "So he goes on till he arrives at the Indus—the mighty Indus and sadly wades across it!"

The phenomena of dawn being more subjective are not so definitely recorded. The present writer has seen some thousands of dawns in the Panjab, but they vary so with the weather that it is difficult to make any sharp distinction between the Panjab and the north

¹ The Vedic Aryans made regular use of stone. So in ii, 24, 4, *ātmāyām avatām* "well with mouth of stone"; cf. x, 101, 7, *ātmānakṛa* "stone-wheel" rather perhaps "circle of stone"; x, 101, 10, *ātmānamayībhīḥ* | *vāśībhīḥ* "axes made of stone" and so on.

A hundred fortresses of stone (iv, 39, 20) suggest hill country, so do the "stony barriers" of x, 67, 3. In the west and centre of the Panjab there are no rocks and no stones. To throw something at a dog one must find a piece of brick or potsherd or be content with a lump of earth.

of the United Provinces or between the east and west of the Panjab. On the whole, it appears that the finest colour effects are seen in the drier regions and in dry weather before the season of dust storms and heat haze. A great many dawns are very grey affairs.

Are we not inclined to exaggerate the æsthetic aspect of *Uṣas*? Professor Hopkins speaks of the colours of sunrise and sunset. Now the Vedic hymns say very little about sunset. The Dawn is the propitious time, the end of the terrors of night and the beginning of the auspicious rites and of the activities of man. She is beautiful, of course, like a dancing girl, with her bright raiment and her kine are red, but her constancy and the regularity of her appearance, and all the blessings connected with her, not forgetting her Lover the Sun, are more important than the varying colour schemes of the dawn. There is, however, no need to press this point, as it is generally supposed that the Dawn hymns as a whole developed further west or north-west than the region of the *Sarasvatī*.

Pischel (*Vedische Studien*, vol. ii, p. 218, 1892) identified the *Āpayā* of *R.V.* iii, 23, 4, with the *Āpagā* assigned by the *Mahābhārata* to Kurukṣetra. Thus he had very reasonably the *Sarasvatī*, the *Dr̥ṣadvatī* and the *Āpayā* as the three principal rivers of that region. Now the *ṛsis* of iii, 23 are two *Bhāratas*. Hence Pischel concluded the *Bharatas* were settled in Kurukṣetra, and that when the *Bharatas* are said (iii, 33, 10) to have come to the *Vipāś* and *Śutudrī* from a distance, we should understand that they had come from the east. Some at least of the Vedic poets, he says, were well acquainted with Kurukṣetra.

Geldner (*Vedische Studien*, vol. iii, p. 152, 1901), discussing the traditions about Gotama the son of *Rahūgana*, the *ṛṣi* of i, 74.93, accepts as probable the story of the *Śatapatha* that he was the *purohita* of King *Māthava* of *Videgha* who lived on the *Sarasvatī*. This presence of a *ṛṣi* (though presumably a late one) on the *Sarasvatī* leads him to say that the evidence of the *Brāhmaṇa* confirms the correctness of what Hopkins and Pischel have said, and that the *Sarasvatī* region was the proper home of the *Ṛgveda*. The Aryans he thought could not have settled long in the Panjab. "In den weiten, meist dünnen und wüsten Ebenen des Panjab, die zwischen Indus und *Sarasvatī* liegen, war das *R.V.*-Volk nicht ansässig, weil dort überhaupt kein Volk sich dauernd ansiedeln konnte." Geldner was doubtless thinking of the western Panjab, or of the dry *bārs* between rivers inhabited till recently by a sparse population of jungly tribes. Of the eastern

Panjab he seems to ignore all but the south-east corner. We might admit that the Bharatas settled on the Sarasvatī. Their dominance of what came to be called Madhyadeśa might help to explain the survival of the Bharata name. But that does not compel us to locate all the Vedic tribes and all their poets on the same river. To say with Pischel some at least of the Vedic poets were well acquainted with Kurukṣetra is one thing, but to say the bulk of the Vedic hymns were composed in that region is quite another.

As a matter of fact the bulk of the hymns afford no geographical indications whatever. The indications of many others are ambiguous. There are, however, some points which seem to indicate that the poets were not confined to the district south of Ambala, but familiar with a wider area.

There are two references to hail, one where the Maruts are described as violent, shaking mountains, roaring and covered with hail (*hrādunī-vṛta*, v, 54, 3), the other in a description of a fight between Indra and the Serpent, with thunder and lightning, mist and hail (i, 32, 13).

Hail is more frequent in the north Panjab and more destructive, but it occurs in the south also as well as in the hills. So these passages cannot help us much. A phrase that does seem to indicate real wintry conditions is that of x, 68, 10, *himēva parṇā muṣītā vīmāni* "like woods robbed of their leaves by the cold": Indian trees further south may shed dead leaves in the late winter or early spring, but they are never bare. Trees that are bare in winter suggest the hills or the north Panjab.

The knowledge shown of rivers in the north and on the west of the Indus would be surprising if the bulk of the hymns were composed in Kurukṣetra.¹ Whatever be the exact meaning of Indra's attack on Uṣas and his smashing of her wagon, the statement that her broken car lay in the Beas would seem to indicate a poet to the west of that river (iv, 30, ii). Again the rivers are sometime described as roaring. That is true rather of their upper courses before they reach the level plains. Not only the Sarasvatī roars (vi, 61, 8)² and bursts the ridges of the hills (vi, 61, 2), but also the Indus, which goes roaring like a bull.

¹ Geiger indeed (loc. cit.) allows the Vedic poets a knowledge of the Panjab, but thinks the Bharatas invaded it in a series of *digvijayas*. But they would not raid an empty desert. Who then were the settlers in districts worth raiding? If they were not Aryans, were they non-Aryan tribes strong enough to hold their own against the Aryans? That would be very interesting if there was any evidence to support it. Geiger offered none beyond the fact that two Bharata poets belonged to the Sarasvatī country.

² Zimmer took this to be the Indus.

(x, 75, 3). In ii, 25, 5 all the rivers are said to resound—*dhunayanta*. In iv, 26, 2 Indra says, "I guided forth the loudly roaring waters" (*vāvasānd*).

In a number of passages describing the activities of Indra, when he burst the mountains to bring out the rivers or the kine, it is quite unnecessary to resort to the later explanations in terms of monsoon clouds. A phrase like i, 32, 1—*prā vakṣāṇā abhinat pārvatānām*—has much force if taken in its natural meaning. So in the next verse he slew the serpent "lying on the mountain", then the waters came out towards the sea like lowing kine. Similarly, ii, 15, 8—*ri pārvatasya dr̥mhitāny airat* "he burst apart the fastnesses of the mountain", conveys an idea quite different to that of a thundercloud at the beginning of the monsoon. When Indra cut (*aradat*) the channels for the rivers (as for the Beas and Sutlej, iii, 33, 6) are we to understand the shallow shifting courses in the middle plains with occasional floods, when these channels are hidden, or the ways cut for them out of the mountains? In x, 75, 2 Varuna cut the channels for the Indus, which goes *bhūmyā ādhi prayātā—sāmunā* "over the steep ridges of the earth". Such passages suggest that the Vedic poets were aware that the great rivers cut their way out from the mountains. That phenomenon is more striking than the origin of the Kurukṣetra rivers, and the withholding of the waters during the winter is more mysterious than the drying up of local streams when there is no rain. Such indications may be far from conclusive. Nevertheless, it may be remembered that the Vedic Aryans were a virile enterprising people who subsequently imposed their language on most of India. They possessed horses, asses, and camels, and used chariots and wagons.

So the hypothesis that they knew the whole Panjab and occupied the best parts of it seems quite as possible as others. There would then be no need to suppose the bulk of the Vedic hymns were composed in Ambala district.¹

¹ It has been assumed above that the Panjab climate was much the same as it is now, or some forty years ago before the great extension of irrigation. There may have been periods of progressive desiccation. The *Bār* or waste land between the Ravi and the Chenab, now irrigated and colonized, does not seem to have been always such a barren waste as it was recently. The area contains a large number of "theha" mounds strewn with pottery which indicate the sites of well-populated villages. (Deva Singh, *Colonization in the Rechna Doab*, p. 6, Monograph No. 7, Panjab Government Record Office Publications.) The study of "Indo-Sumerian" or "Indus Valley" sites like Harappa may throw some light on this question. Supposing that the Vedic Panjab had more rain and more pasture with less desert, the contention expressed in this article would not be affected.

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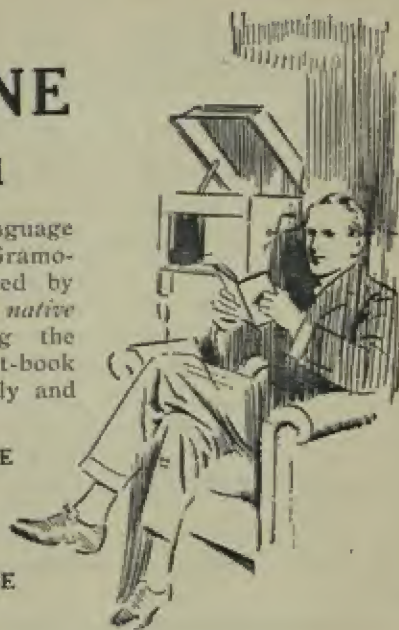
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PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

Les Formes turques et mongoles dans la nomenclature zoologique du *Nuzhatu-l-ḵulūb*

Par PAUL PELLIOU

[Lieut.-Colonel J. STEPHENSON, *The Zoological Section of the Nuzhatu-l-Qulūb of Ḥamdullāh al-Mustaḥḥi al-Qazwīnī*, edited, translated and annotated, London, 1928, in-8°, xix + 100 + 127 pages; = "Oriental Translation Fund," n.s., vol. xxx.]

ON savait depuis longtemps que Ḥamdullāh al-Mustaḥḥi al-Qazwīnī, dans la partie d'histoire naturelle de son *Nuzhatu-l-ḵulūb* de 1339, avait donné les noms de beaucoup d'animaux, et parfois de minéraux et de plantes, en turc et en mongol, mais le texte n'était accessible qu'en manuscrit ou dans une médiocre édition lithographique de Bombay parue en 1893-4.¹ On doit donc savoir gré au Colonel Stephenson qui nous donne aujourd'hui le texte persan de la section zoologique, avec une traduction annotée; cette édition a été établie, outre l'édition de Bombay, sur six manuscrits de Londres, de Paris et de Vienne. Le meilleur des manuscrits est, paraît-il, celui de Paris (Bibl. Nat., Anc. fonds persan 139); après examen, j'estime d'ailleurs que ce n'est pas beaucoup dire.

¹ C'est par un lapsus que E. G. Browne (*A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Domination*, p. 99) parle de l'édition donnée par M. G. Le Strange en 1915 dans la "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series comme si elle renfermait l'œuvre entière; cette édition n'en contient que la section géographique. Je n'ai pas eu accès à l'édition de Bombay.

En tout cas, pour les noms d'animaux donnés en turc et en mongol, les résultats obtenus par l'éditeur ne sont guère satisfaisants. Il a adopté plus ou moins arbitrairement telle ou telle leçon sans indiquer les variantes des manuscrits, a sauté un certain nombre de noms ou omis d'indiquer qu'ils avaient existé mais étaient laissés en blanc dans ses textes, a négligé de consulter un turcisant ou un mongolisant, et enfin a ignoré deux articles qui lui auraient évité nombre de méprises, l'un dû à M. N. N. Poppe et précisément consacré aux noms mongols et turcs de *Ḳazwīnī*,¹ l'autre où j'ai étudié la liste parallèle d'Evliyā-Čelebī.² Mais M. Poppe ne disposait que d'une liste relevée sur un seul texte de *Ḳazwīnī* par Barthold, d'autre part la liste d'Evliyā-Čelebī est moins riche que celle de *Ḳazwīnī*. Je crois donc bon de reprendre ici toute cette nomenclature, après avoir collationné les noms turcs et mongols sur le ms. de la Bibliothèque Nationale (= P) et en m'arrêtant surtout à ce qu'il reste à préciser dans les travaux antérieurs.³

1° (pp. 2-3).—"Chameau"; t. دوة "devé", mo. تَمَكُن "tamkun" (St.). Lire mo. *tāmāgān*. Cf. Po., 195; Pe., 287; compte rendu Po., 577 (je maintiens la remarque qui y est relevée). *Ḳazwīnī* ajoute (cette phrase manque dans P) qu'en turc on appelle le mâle بقر "baqar" (St.) et la femelle اِيَكَن "inkān" (St.). Ces deux mots ne sont pas dans Po. Je ne doute guère qu'il faille lire le premier mot بَقَرَا (= بُوغَرَا), *buğra*, chameau mâle.⁴ Le second mot est tu. *inān* (mo. *ingān*), "chamelle" (la transcription *inān* de M. Brockelmann, *Kāšgarī*, 62, ne paraît pas justifiée).

2° (pp. 3-4).—"Mule"; t. قاطر "qāṭir" (P قَاتِر), mo. لاوسا "lā'ūsa" (St.). Cf. Po., 196 et 207; Pe., 287. Le t. *qāṭir* ne fait pas difficulté. Il est surprenant que M. St., d'accord avec P., ait la forme mo. correcte *lausā*, sans indication de variantes, alors que le ms. utilisé par Po. écrivait *lausā*, dont la leçon semble appuyée par Evliyā-Čelebī.

¹ "Mongol'skie nazvaniya životnykh v trade Khamdallakha Kazvini," dans *Zap. Koll. Vostokovedov*, I [1925], 195-208.

² "Le prétendu vocabulaire mongol des *Ḳaitak* du Daghestan," dans *J.A.*, 1927, I, 279-94; cf. le compte rendu qu'en a donné M. Poppe dans *Zap. Koll. Vost.*, III [1928], 576-9.

³ J'indique d'abord, sous chaque numéro, la page de la traduction de M. Stephenson, puis sa lecture et sa transcription suivies de "St."; Po. désigne l'article de M. Poppe; Pe. désigne le mien; t. = turc; mo. = mongol.

⁴ Les mss. auraient-ils subi la contamination de l'arabe بَقَر *baqar*, "bœuf" ?

3° (p. 3).—"Bœuf"; t. سقر "saqar (?)", mo. هوكر "hōkar" (St.). Cf. Po., 196 et 207; Pe., 288. Il faut lire t. siq̄r = سقر sīȳr, et mo. hūkār (> mo. écrit class. ūkār).

4° (p. 5).—"Buffle"; mo. او "ō" (St.). Le mot n'est pas dans Evliyā-Čelebī. Dans Po., p. 197 et 206, il est indiqué (par erreur de sa source ?) comme mo. selon ẖazwīnī, mais est écrit uī (= اوی) et correctement identifié à t. uī (< ud). Toutefois uī signifie "bœuf" et non "buffle"; le nom turc du buffle est su-sīȳr, "bœuf d'eau," dans *Codex Coman.*, p. 129; le nom mo. moderne est usun-u ūkār, "bœuf d'eau." Dans P 121b, le nom turc du buffle est laissé en blanc, et son nom mongol est simplement donné sous la forme hūkār.

5° (p. 6).—"Âne"; t. ایشل "īshak", mo. ایلچکن "ilchakan" (St.). Cf. Po., 197 et 207 (où on a [par erreur ?] ایلشکن comme forme mo. de ẖazwīnī). Pas dans Evliyā-Čelebī. Lire t. ešāk, mo. ālḡḡān (P a bien -ḡ- et non -č-, mais il en est d'ailleurs ainsi même quand il faut -č- vraiment).

6° (p. 6).—"Chat"; t. چتل "jatak", mo. ملغون "malghūn" (St.). Cf. Po., 197 et 207; Pe., 288. Lire t. چتل čätük; cf. čätük dans Brockelmann, *Kāšgarī*, 53; aussi dans Houtsma, *Ein türk.-arab. Glossar.*, 69; le mot semble omis accidentellement dans le dictionnaire de Radlov; Ibn Muḥannā le donne pour le turc comme pour le mongol. D'après Po., ẖazwīnī indiquerait t. pišik; Evliyā-Čelebī a t. kādi, ce qui est la forme osmanlie. Pišik est également un nom du chat en osm. et en ḡay.; mais on voit mal comment M. St. a "jatak" sans variante si le ms. sur lequel s'appuie la liste de M. Po. a pišik (cf. ici *infra*, n° 21b); les noms "altaïques" du chat mériteront d'ailleurs tout un article. Pour le mo., la forme de ẖazwīnī chez Po. est miyu, mais P 122b a مغون et Evliyā-Čelebī écrit miyun; il faut presque sûrement rétablir میغوی miyui dans les deux textes.

7° (p. 7).—"Mouton"; t. قویون "qoyun" (St.). Po., 207, a t. qoī, et à bon droit; car P 122b dit en réalité que les Turcs appellent le mouton قوی qoī et les Mongols قوین qobin (à corriger en قونین qonin).

8° (pp. 8-9).—"Cheval"; t. آت "āt", mo. "mūrī" (St.). Cf. Po., 197 et 207; Pe., 280. Lire mo. morī (sur ce mot, cf. Polivanov, dans *Izv. Ak. Nauk*, 1927, 1202-3). Selon M. St., ẖazwīnī ajoute

qu'un "étalon" se dit en t. *ايغر* "aighir" et en mo. *اخره* "ahra'a". Ces mots ne sont pas dans Po., mais cf. Evliyâ-Çelebî dans Pe., 280. T. *aiyir* est correct; pour le mo., il faut lire *اڭرىا* *aŭrya*, mais la faute du 'aïn pour le yaïn se retrouve dans Evliyâ-Çelebî. D'après Kazwîni, "jument" se dit *قسراق* "qîsrâq" en ture, *كؤن* "kûn" en mo. (St.). Pour ces mots, omis dans la liste Po., cf. Pe., 280. Sur t. *qîsraq*, cf. *T'oung Pao*, 1930, 301; le mot mo. est à lire *gâün*. Un "poulain", selon Kazwîni, se dit *قولون* "qûlûn" en ture, *اوتغان* "ûtghân" en mongol (St.). Ces mots ne sont pas dans la liste Po., mais on les retrouve, sous une forme identique, chez Evliyâ-Çelebî (Pe., 281, et compte rendu Po., 578; aussi *Izv. Ak. Nauk*, 1927, 1258); t. *qulun* est correct, mais il faut corriger le mo. en *اوتغان* *unayan* (ou *unuyan*, *un'yan*). Le "cheval hongre" se dit *اختا* *ahta* en ture selon Kazwîni, qui ajoute que ce terme est bien connu en persan; on sait qu'il existe aussi en mongol (*aqta*, *ahta*). Kazwîni dit encore qu'en ture un "cheval lent" se dit *ناشقه* "nâshiqa"; un "ambleur", *يورقه* "yûrqa"; un "cheval de course", *قوردونه* "qûrdûna"; un "trotteur", *قاترال* "qâtārāk" (St.). Ces mots sont en réalité mongols. Le premier est à lire *našiqa* (= *našiya*); cf. Ibn Muḥannā *ناشيغا* *našiḡa* (Melioranskiĭ, *Arab-filolog o tureckom yazyke*, 151), ms. arabo-mongol de Leide *ناشيقي* *našiḡai* (Poppe, dans *Izv. Ak. Nauk*, 1928, 71), mo. écrit *naŭayai*. *Yorqa* (= *yorya*; cf. Kāšyārī, *yoriya*, dans Brockelmann, 94) est ture, au sens d'"ambleur", mais le ms. P 123b n'a *yorqa* que par une correction, sous laquelle on reconnaît *جوريه* *ŭoriya*, c'est-à-dire le *جوريا* *ŭoriya* (< **ŭoriya*), "ambleur", du ms. arabo-mongol de Leide, mo. écrit *ŭiruya* (cf. Poppe, dans *Izv. Ak. Nauk*, 1927, 1273). *Qurduna* se relie à *qurdun*, qui, en mo., signifie "vite", et est précisément donné dans le ms. arabo-mongol de Leide au sens de "coureur" (cf. Poppe, *ibid.*, 63). "Qatarak" (orthographe anormale) est à rapprocher de mo. *qatarī*-, "trotter" (mais *qatarā*- dans *Hist. secr. des Mongols*, § 64), *qatarci*-, "trotteur"; t. *jay*-, (emprunté ?) *qatra*-, "chevaucher rapidement." Il n'est pas exclu que Kazwîni ait aussi donné primitivement les noms vraiment tures qui manquent aujourd'hui à nos manuscrits.

9° (p. 10).—"Chèvre"; t. *كجي* "kechī", mo. *ايمان* "aīmān"

(St.). Cf. Po., 197 et 207; pas dans Evliyâ-Çelebî. Lire t. *kâci* (en osm. et jay.; tar. *kâçki*), mo. *imân* (< *ima'an*).

10° (p. 10).—"Chacal"; t. چغال "*chaghāl*" (St.). Cf. Poppe, 207 (*jayāl*). Je crois qu'il faut lire *çayal*, comme l'a fait M. St. (cf. osm. *çagal*; qîpçaq *çayal* dans Houtsma, 71); le t. tar. a *şayal* (< pers. *şayāl*). Après la mention du nom turc du chacal, il y avait la mention d'un nom mongol, omis dans P 124a, et sans que sa place ait été laissée en blanc comme à l'ordinaire. M. St. a supprimé tacitement et systématiquement toutes les indications de noms turcs ou mongols quand ces noms eux-mêmes manquaient dans les mss.; on a déjà vu qu'il les a parfois même omis quand ils y figuraient.

[10a (p. 11).—"Belette" (*dalaq*). M. St. n'indique que les noms arabes et persans. Mais P 124b ajoute que les Turcs appellent la belette... (le nom est laissé en blanc) et les Mongols سوسار *susar* (ces mots ne sont pas dans les listes de Po.). Nous avons donc ici la source d'un des seuls mots vraiment mongols prêtés aux Kaitak par Evliyâ-Çelebî et qui semblaient manquer dans Kazwîni (cf. Pe., 282). Vu la dépendance étroite des deux textes, il est possible — mais non certain — qu'Evliyâ-Çelebî ait également copié le nom turc de la "belette" (osm. *gâlinjik*) et qu'il ait par suite connu un ms. de Kazwîni où le nom turc n'était pas laissé en blanc. Aux indications de Pe. 282 sur les formes *susar*, *sausar*, etc., ajouter Kâşyarî (Broeckelmann, 173, traduisant *dalaq*), سارسال *sarsal* (lire سارسال *sarsal* ?).]

11° (p. 11).—"Lièvre"; t. طوشقان "*tâushqân*" (mss. de Paris) et توشقان "*taushqân*" (autres mss.), mo. تاوالاي "*tāwalai*" (St.). Cf. Po., 198 et 207; Pe., 282. Lire t. *tauşqan* ou *tawîşqan*, mo. *taulai*.

12° (p. 12).—"Bouquetin"; t. تکه "*tèké*", mo. اقونا "*aqūnā*" (St.). Cf. Po., 198; le mot n'est pas dans Evliyâ-Çelebî. *Tākā* existe dans presque tous les dialectes turcs et a même passé en persan (cf. *Ccd. Coman.*, p. 128). M. Po., qui n'indique pas *tākā*, prête à Kazwîni, pour "bouquetin" (p. 208), un prétendu mot "turc" نرش *nrš* qui résulte d'une méprise; le texte dit que les Turcs appellent "son mâle" (نرش) du nom de *tākā*. La forme mo. de Kazwîni recueillie par Po., 198, est اوقغاي *uqyāi*, que M. Po. rétablit en **uqyan*, mo. écrit *uqana* et *uquna*. La forme mo. écrite

attestée au XIV^e siècle est en réalité déjà *uquna*, et اوقناى est probablement à corriger en اوقنا *uq^una*; en tout cas, il faut lire *uquna* dans St.; P 125a écrit اوقنا. P a ensuite une série de mots se rapportant aux bouquetins, mais dont les formes turques et mongoles sont laissées en blanc; M. St. ne dit rien de ce passage.

13° (p. 13).—"Renard"; t. تيلكو "*tilkū*", mo. هنكن "*hankan*" (St.). Cf. Po., 198 et 208, et mes remarques de *JA.*, 1925, I, 235-6; le mot n'est pas dans Evliyâ-Çelebî. *Tilkū* est correct; lire mo. *hūnāgān*.¹

14° (p. 14).—Sur le *χutū*, il fallait surtout se référer aux articles de M. Laufer dans le *T'oung Pao* de 1913 (315-70) et de 1916 (348-389); le *χutū* ou *χutūq* apparaît aussi dans Kāšyārî, mais M. Brockelmann (p. 112; et plus précis dans *Asia Major*, II, 112) a gardé la leçon جتوق *čatuq* et pensé à tort que *χutū* ou *χutūq* en était altéré.

15° (p. 14).—"Porc"; t. طقوز "*tanqūz*", mo. قافا "*qāfā*". Cf. Po., 198-9 et 208; Pe., 282. Il faut lire t. *tonquz* (= *toñuz*) et mo. قاقا *qaga* (= mo. écrit *yaqai*).

16° (p. 15).—"Hérisson"²; t. کړپي "*kirpī*", mo. چاريه "*jāriya*" (St.). Cf. Po., 199, 206 et 207. Pour le nom turc, la transcription *kirpi* de M. St. est plus correcte que celle de *kirbi* suivie par M. Po. Quant à l'autre nom turc "*kirbi tāgān*" de Po., 207, il paraît sorti de quelque faute de texte ou de quelque méprise, et je ne crois ni à l'explication qu'en donne M. Po. dans son texte, ni à celle de sa note 2. Pour le nom mo., Barthold l'avait recueilli sous la forme چاربه "*čarba*", et M. Po. a bâti un raisonnement sur cette forme qu'il lit **čarāba*, en l'opposant à mo. écrit *čaraya*, *čarā'a* (cf. aussi *Izv. Ak. Nauk*, 1927, 1271). Mais il est certain que چاريه "*čariya*" est seulement une mauvaise leçon pour le چاريه *čariya*

¹ A cette même p. 13, le "*parčās*" de M. St. doit être primitivement un nom de peuple (= *Bartas*, *Burtas*; cf. les diverses formes chez Vullera).

² En arabe, دلدل *duldul*; M. St. le traduit par "porc-épie", et rend par "hérisson" le mot قنفذ *qunfaḍ* de la p. 24 (cf. *infra*, n° 28a); mais *duldul* signifie aussi parfois "hérisson", et c'est le sens des équivalents qui en sont donnés en turc et en mongol par Kazwini. Toutefois Kazwini spécifie que son *duldul* est plus grand que le *χār-pušt* (nom persan usuel du "hérisson"); il a donc dû confondre les noms ici.

(< **jarīya*) correctement donné par M. St.; c'est en effet *jarīya* qu'on a au xiv^e siècle dans le *Houa-yi yi-yu*. P 126a laisse le mot mo. en blanc.

17° (p. 16).—"Blaireau?"; t. رِسْق *"pursuq"* (St.). Le mot que j'ai traduit hypothétiquement par "blaireau" est le pers. رودل *rūdāk*, de sens assez incertain. Mais *"pursuq"*, qui a passé aussi en persan (Vullers le rend par *mustela*, "fouine," "belette"), est sûrement le t. *porsuq*, *borsuq* (> russe *barsuk*), "blaireau" (cf. aussi *bursumaq* [lire *borsumaq*?], "blaireau," de Brockelmann, *Kāšyārī*, 44). Le mot n'est pas dans Po. Par contre, P 126b, après le nom ture, parle d'un nom mongol et d'un nom arabe (celui-ci laissé en blanc). Le nom mongol est écrit دريعان; je ne doute pas qu'il faille lire دریغان *doriyan*, = mo. écrit *doroyon*, *doryon* (ma. *dorgon*), "blaireau"; on a دُرْغان *dorqan*, "blaireau," dans le vocabulaire arabo-mongol de Leide (*IAN*, 1928, 56). En fin de liste mongole, Po. 206 a un mot دارکویه, laissé sans traduction; on pourrait être tenté d'y voir une mauvaise leçon du nom mo. du blaireau; mais je crois plutôt qu'il s'agit du n° 61d, *infra*.

18° (p. 17).—"Tortue"; persan کشف *"kashaf"* et باخه *"bākha"*; ture قاورجا قلیق *"qāwarjā qiliq"* et باقه *"bāqa"* (St.). Cf. Po., 199, 206, 208. La liste communiquée à M. Po. indiquait à tort que *Ḳazwīnī* citait *bāqa* comme un mot mongol; d'autre part, M. Po. fait des formes turques des noms de la "grenouille", au lieu que, malgré les confusions qui se sont parfois produites entre les noms de ces deux animaux en ture et en mongol, le texte de *Ḳazwīnī* montre clairement qu'il s'agit ici de la tortue; la grenouille reparaitra d'ailleurs plus loin. *Baqa* ou *baya*, avec le double sens, est bien connu en ture. Quant au premier nom ture, M. Po. l'a eu sous la forme خاور باقلىق et l'a coupé en "xavr?" + "baqalīq", "baqalīq" étant "l'endroit où il y a des grenouilles". Mais il me paraît clair qu'il faut lire en un seul mot *qaurēaqliq* ou *qaurēaqliq* (< *qaburēaqliq*), "l[animal] à écaille"; cf. *Kāšyārī*, *qabīrcaq*, "caisse" (Brockelmann, 139); jay. *qaburēaq*, tel. *qabīrēaq*, kirg. *qabīrēaq*, "écaille." Il doit même s'agir d'un seul terme *qaurēaqliq baqa*, mot à mot "grenouille à écaille" = "tortue". C'est là le qīpēaq قېرچاق *qaburēaqḡu baya*, "tortue," de Houtsma, 87 (mais Houtsma transcrit à tort *boya*, au lieu de *baya*,

de même qu'il a à tort *qurboya*, p. 88, pour *qurbaça*, "grenouille"). Les noms t. et mo. sont laissés en blanc dans P 127a.

19° (p. 17).—"Salamandre." Il fallait renvoyer avant tout à Laufer, "Asbestos and salamander," dans *T'oung Pao*, 1905, 299-373.

20° (p. 18).—"Zibeline"; t. كيش "kīsh", mo. بلغان "balghān" (St.). Cf. Po., 199 et 207; Pe., 283. T. *kīš* est correct; lire mo. *bul'γan* (mo. écrit *bulayan*).

21° (p. 18).—"Écureuil"; mo. كرمون "karmūn" (St.). Cf. Po., 199; Pe., 283. Lire *kārāmūn*. Le mot arabo-persan employé par Kazwīnī est *sinṣāb* (aussi connu en osm.), qui désigne bien l'"écureuil" (cf. aussi *Cod. Comin.*, p. 97). Kazwīnī n'a donc pas commis la confusion avec l'"hermine" que la traduction qui avait été remise à M. Po. lui avait fait croire, et dont j'ai parlé d'après lui.

[21a (p. 19).—"Lézard" (ar. *ḡabb*; pers. *sūsmār* [= scr. *śisumāra*, avec différenciations sémantiques]). Kazwīnī donnait aussi un nom turc et un nom mongol, qui sont laissés en blanc dans le ms. de Paris. Je suppose que c'est ce mot turc qui est représenté par le mystérieux اوجكى *imr*, "lézard", de Po. 208.]

[21b (p. 19).—"Chat sauvage." P 128a indique un nom turc et un nom mongol. Le nom turc est laissé en blanc; le nom mo. est donné comme موشول *müšük*. *Müšük* est inconnu en mo., mais bien attesté en jay. et en turkī, où c'est un nom usuel du "chat" domestique, alors qu'en turkī le "chat sauvage" est *möhen* (cf. ? mo. *malur*, ma. *malahi*, id.); toutefois von Le Coq (*Sprücheörter und Lieder*, 98) a noté à Turfan *mölüng müšük* comme désignation de "kleinere Wildkatzen jeder Art". Je suppose que le *müšük* est ici en réalité le mot turc, et que c'est le mot mongol qui aurait dû être laissé en blanc. Le *pīšik*, "chat", de la liste de M. Poppe est peut-être à rapporter ici (variante de *müšük*), et non au paragraphe du "chat" domestique (cf. *supra*, n° 6). Le "*muš*", "chat", de Brockelmann (*Kāšgarī*, 123) est probablement à transcrire *müš*.

22° (p. 19).—"Antilope"; t. كيل "gēyik", mo. جيران "jairan" (St.). Cf. Po., 199-200 et 207; Pe., 284-5. Lire *kiik* et *fērān*.

23° (p. 21).—"Putois"; t. مDAQ "madaq" et كوسان "kūsān" (St.). Le sens est garanti par le nom arabe (*zaribān*); le persan مرزنگل m'est obscur. Le premier mot turc, écrit بدو dans P 128b, ne me rappelle rien. Quant au second, il est certainement à lire *kūsān* et est identique à t. tel., kob. *küzān*, "putois," *qara-kūsān*

et *qara-küzân* dans *Cod. Coman.*, 98 et 128 ; cf. aussi Kâşyarî (dans Brockelmann, 119), كُزُن *küzün* (corr. كُوزَن *küzân* ?). M. Po., 208, donne parmi les mots tures de Kazwîni un mot "*tersaq*" qu'il traduit par "taupe" (= t. alt. *tärsäk*) ; on pourrait songer à une équivalence inexacte et une mauvaise leçon pour *küzân* ; mais peut-être s'agit-il d'un tout autre mot. P 1286 mentionne aussi un nom mongol, qui est laissé en blanc.

24° (p. 21).—"Rat" ; t. سیچان "*sichân*", mo. ثولقونا "*thūlqūnā*" (St.). Cf. pour la forme turque, Po., 207, et Pe., 283 ; *sīcān* est turkmène selon Houtsma, 76. Le mot mo. n'est pas dans la liste de M. Po. ; mais il faut évidemment le lire قولقونا *qul^uquna* (mo. écrit *quluyuna* et *quluyana*) ; la forme du Hova-yi yi-yu est *qulugana*. Comme mot mo. correspondant à t. *sīcān*, Evliyā-Čelebî indique جومران *jum^uran*, "marmotte," dont certaines formes dialectales signifient "taupe" et même "grosse souris" (cf. Pe., 283-4). Si le mot d'Evliyā-Čelebî était vraiment mongol, ce serait le seul mot vraiment mongol qu'on ne trouve pas avant lui chez Kazwîni ; mais peut-être *jum^uran* était-il donné dans certains mss. de Kazwîni (à propos d'un autre animal ?), ou encore Evliyā-Čelebî le doit-il à quelque dialecte ture de prononciation "kirghize". Aux indications données dans Pe. sur *jum^uran*, j'hésite à joindre *yamlan* de Kâşyarî (Brockelmann, p. 76), "espèce de souris" ; *yālmān* [lire *yalman*] de Houtsma, 108, "gerboise" ; tel. *yalman*, "petit animal" (Radlov, III, 189) ; *yalman* d'Ibn Muḥannā, "souris de campagne" (فار البری ; cf. Melioranskii, *Arab filolog o tureckomazykye*, 062).

25° (p. 22).—"Cheval sauvage," "hémione" ; t. قولان "*qūlān*". Cf. Po., 207, et compte rendu de *Zap. Koll. Vost.*, III, 578. Un nom mo. est laissé en blanc dans P 1296.

26° (p. 23).—"Éléphant" ; mo. جاهون "*jāhūn*" et لعان "*la'ān*" (St.). Cf. Po., 200 et 207 ; Pe., 285-6. Pour le second terme, lire يغان *yayan* (P 1296 a لعان) ; le premier représente le même mot, sous la forme dialectale *ja'un* (issue de [ou fautive pour] *ja'an* > *jān*). Cf. aussi compte rendu de M. Po. dans *Zap. Koll. Vost.*, III, 579 (la remarque qui l'a surpris veut simplement dire qu'on ne doit pas rapprocher le *h* de *jāhūn* du *h* de *adu^uusun* sans signaler au lecteur qu'ils ne sont pas phonétiquement équivalents). Kâşyarî donne en ture *yayan* et *yaha* (Brockelmann, 72 et 77).

27° (p. 24).—"Hermine" ; mo. اوتام "*autam*" (St.). La liste

fournie à M. Po., 206, indiquait *utm* comme le mot mo. pour "castor" chez ẖazwīnī. Bien que n'ayant alors accès à cette liste que par M. Po., j'ai supposé déjà (Pe., 286) que le mo. *اوستم umstm* (?) indiqué par Evliyā-Čelebī pour [pelisse d'] "hermine" était le même que le *utm* de ẖazwīnī; l'édition de M. St. montre qu'on avait fourni à M. Po. une traduction inexacte et que, chez ẖazwīnī également, il s'agit bien de l'hermine (*qāqum*) et non du "castor". Le mot pour "pelisse de" (*kürkū*) employé en turc par Evliyā-Čelebī est une addition qui n'implique pas la présence d'un second élément dans son *umstm* (il dit de même en turc "pelisse d'écureuil" pour le seul mot mo. *kārdmūn*, "écureuil"). Le nom mo. écrit de l'hermine est *üyāng* (cf. Pe., 286, et la correction justifiée de M. Po. dans *Zap. Koll. Vost.*, III, 577-8, qui écarte *ünā*, *ünān*). Vu l'accord des mss. de ẖazwīnī, je ne doute pas que l'*umstm* d'Evliyā-Čelebī ne soit une forme altérée, où, en particulier, l'*s* est une mauvaise restitution d'une ligne horizontale un peu allongée. Par ailleurs, je crois que, dans ẖazwīnī lui-même, il faut corriger *اويم* en *اويم* **üyām*, forme secondaire de *üyāng* (et **üyān*).

28° (p. 24).—"Singe"; pers. *بوزینه* "būzīna", turc *بیجن* "bīhan" (St.). Cf. Po., 200. Lire pour le second mot *بیجن* *bečīn*. M. Po. dit que le mot est donné comme turc par ẖazwīnī, mais qu'il est en réalité mongol, et il suppose en outre que ẖazwīnī a voulu le noter sous la prononciation *bečīn*; je n'en vois pas de raison suffisante, car les mss. confondent souvent *ج* *j* et *چ* *č*, le *Houa-yi yi-yu* a bien *bāčīn*, et d'autre part *bāčīn* est attesté en turc dès l'épigraphie de l'Orkhon. Les formes persane et mongolo-turque sont apparentées, de même que le russe *obez'yana* (le *Cod. Coman.*, p. 128, écrit "abursina" [= **abuzina* ?] pour le persan). Le mot méritera une monographie. Cf. aussi Laufer, dans *T'oung Pao*, 1916, 74. Une forme mo. est laissée en blanc dans P 130b.

[28a (p. 24).—"Hérisson" (*qunfuδ*); cf. *supra*, n° 16. M. St. n'indique pas ici de noms turc ou mongol; toutefois P 130b dit que le *qunfuδ* est appelé *کیربی* *kirbi* (lire *kirpi*) par les "Persans" (lire "Turcs", bien que *kirpū* apparaisse dialectalement dans Vullers, II, 812), et laisse en blanc un nom mongol.]

29° (p. 25).—"Cerf"¹; le mâle est t. *سقون* "saqūn", la femelle

¹ Le mot arabe est *مهاة* *mahāt*; M. St. l'a pris dans son autre sens de "bœuf sauvage", qui est exclu ici.

t. مارال "mārāl" (St.). Po., 207, indique "buḡu soyun" et "maral", comme mâle et femelle du cerf chez Ḳazwīnī, en ajoutant que ces termes existent aussi en mongol. Le mot *buḡu*, "cerf," n'est pas dans le texte imprimé de Ḳazwīnī, et il y aurait lieu de vérifier s'il figurait bien dans le ms. qui est à la base de la liste de M. Po. Lire *siḡun* = *sīḡun* (cf. Kāšyārī, *sīḡun*, dans Brockelmann, 178; t. *jay. soyun*; osm. etc., *sīḡīn*) et *maral*.

30° (p. 27).—"Lion"; t. "arslān" (St.). Cf. Po., 200 et 206, qui l'a classé parmi les mots mongols de Ḳazwīnī (celui-ci ne le donne que comme mot turc; toutefois P 131b laisse en blanc un nom mongol, peut-être identique). Cf. aussi, pour le turc, Bang, *Ueber die türk. Namen einiger Grosskatzen*, 126-7, et, pour le mongol, Poppe, dans *Izv. Ak. Nauk*, 1927, 1256.

31° (p. 28).—"Tigre" (*babr*); t. يولبارس "yolbars" (St.). Cf. Po., 207 ("yulbars"); P 132 laisse en blanc un nom mongol.

32° (p. 29).—"Ours"; t. آيو "ayū"; mo. اوتك "otka" (St.). Cf. Po., 200, 206, 207; Pe., 281-2; aussi Poppe dans *Izv. Ak. Nauk*, 1927, 1258. La forme "*ayui*" fournie à M. Po. pour le mot turc ne paraît pas justifiée; P 132b écrit ايو. Quant au mot mo., lire *ötögä* ou *ötöğä*. Vu la dépendance étroite qu'il y a entre Evliyā-Čelebī et Ḳazwīnī, le يو mongol altéré d'Evliyā-Čelebī est bien à rétablir en اوتك *ötögä* comme je l'avais proposé, et non en آيو *ayu* comme l'a préféré M. Po. (*Zap. Koll. Vost.*, III, 579).

33° (p. 29).—"Loup"; t. قورت "qurt", mo. حينه "hīna" (St.). Cf. Po., 200-201 et 207; Pe., 286. La liste fournie à M. Po. donne pour le turc "*qurt bōri*", c'est-à-dire qu'elle juxtapose les deux mots turcs signifiant "loup"; mais si *bōri* a figuré dans le texte primitif de Ḳazwīnī, il faudra probablement lire "*qurt et bōri*". Quant au mot mo., lire حينه *čina* (= mo. écrit *čina*). La même faute "*hīna*" est copiée dans Evliyā-Čelebī; elle se trouve en fait dans tous les mss. connus de Ḳazwīnī.

34° (p. 31).—"Hyène"; t. ديلتو "diltū" (St.). C'est évidemment là le mot "turc" transcrit *iltu* et laissé sans traduction dans Po., 208. Les noms arabe (*dabu'*) et persan (*kāftār*) ne laissent pas de doute sur le sens. Le nom ordinaire de l'hyène en turc est *sirtlan*, mais le mot donné par Ḳazwīnī n'est pas inexplicable; seulement, il n'est pas turc, mais mongol. Aussi bien dans le vocabulaire arabo-

mongol d'Ibn Muḥannā que dans le vocabulaire arabo-mongol de Leide, l'"hyène" est appelée دلتو جانا *deltü čana* (= *deltü čina*), "loup à crinière" (cf. Poppe, dans *Izv. Ak. Nauk*, 1928, 56), et la même expression pour "hyène" se retrouve dans l'osmanli *yälâli qurt*, "loup à crinière" (cf. *T'oung Pao*, 1930, 309). C'est le mongol *deltü*, "à crinière," qui est devenu chez Kaẓwîni le nom "ture" de l'hyène. Les noms turc et mo. de l'hyène sont laissés en blanc dans P 133b; c'est probablement le mot mongol qui, dans d'autres mss., a pris indûment la place du mot turc.

35° (p. 32).—"Lynx"; t. قرا قولاق "*qarā qūlāq*"; mo. سيلادسون "*sīlādasūn*" (St.). Cf. Po., 201, 206, 207. Le nom turc *qara-qulaq*, mot à mot, "oreille noire", est bien connu (P 134a a à tort قرا کوز *qara-köz*, "œil noir"), et je compte consacrer un jour une note spéciale aux noms asiatiques du lynx. Pour le mo., la liste remise à M. Po. portait شیرلاسون *širlāsūn*, et M. Po. suppose que mo. écrit "*šilügüsūn*" est issu d'un *širlügüsūn*. Mais j'ai montré (Pe., 287) qu'Evliyā-Čelebî ayant شیولاسون *šiülāsūn*, c'est également la forme qu'il faut lire au lieu de "*širlāsūn*". Mais par ailleurs P 134a écrit شيلاسون = *šilāsūn*, dont le "*sīlādasūn*" de M. St. n'est qu'une altération graphique; et ce doit être là la leçon primitive de Kaẓwîni.

36° (p. 33).—"Once"; t. پارس "*pārs*" (St.). Cf. Po., 201, 206, 207. Ce mot est plus probablement à lire ici *bars* que *pars*. P 134b mentionne un nom mo., laissé en blanc.

37° (p. 34).—"Chien"; t. ایت "*it*"; mo. نوقا "*nuqa*" (St.). Po., 201, 206, 207; Pe., 282. Le mot mo. est *noyai*. D'après l'édition de M. St., Kaẓwîni aurait donc *noqa*, et non le *noqai* fourni à M. Po. et que j'ai indiqué d'après lui. Dans ces conditions, il n'est plus évident que le نوقا d'Evliyā-Čelebî soit à corriger en نوقای, et nous pouvons avoir une graphie *noqa* = *noyai* du type de qaqā = *yaqai*.

38° (p. 35).—"Léopard", "panthère"; t. قپلان "*qaplān*" (St.). M. Po., 207, lit *qablan* et traduit par "tigre"; mais ar. *namir*, pers. *pālāng*, désignent le "léopard" ou la "panthère" et non le "tigre", et par ailleurs c'est *qaplan* qui est la forme turque normale; *qablan* est la forme empruntée en mongol (cf. *Hist. secrète des Mongols*,

§ 71, et *Izv. Ak. Nauk*, 1928, 62). P 135b indique une forme mo., laissée en blanc.

39° (p. 36).—"Puce"; t. برکه "barka". Lire *bürgā*; le sens est garanti par ar. *burgūth*, pers. بركه, et c'est par inadvertance que M. Po., 207, traduit t. *bürgā* par "pou". Le mot *bürgā* a passé en mongol; bien qu'il manque à nos dictionnaires du mo. écrit, il est donné tel quel dans le *Houa-yi yi-yu* et M. Po., 206, l'a signalé en kalmouk sous la forme *bürkā*. Ibn Muḥannā (Melioranskī, *ZVOIRAO*, XV, 110) donne pour le mo. بيريک *birik*, évidemment apparenté à *bürkā*, *bürgā* (cf. t. osm. *pirā*). La liste fournie à M. Po. prête en outre à Kazwīnī un mot mo. برغان *bryān*, signifiant "puce"; il n'y a rien de tel dans l'édition de M. St., mais P 136a indique une forme mo., laissée en blanc; peut-être faut-il lire برجان **bürčān*. Pour ture *bürčā* emprunté en mongol, cf. Poppe dans *Izv. Ak. Nauk*, 1927, 1264.

40° (p. 36).—"Dragon"; t. لو "lū"; mo. موغور "moghūr" (St.). Cf. Po., 201, 206, 207. Le mot *lu*, *lou*, "dragon," est bien connu en ture et en mongol (cf. *infra*, n° 50). Pour le mot mo., la liste fournie à M. Po. écrit *moyai*, où M. Po. a vu très naturellement mo. *moyai*, "serpent." Mais il y a des difficultés, parce que *moyai* reparaitra ensuite plus loin pour le serpent sous la forme *moqa*, parce que les noms arabe et persan montrent qu'il s'agit bien ici du dragon, enfin parce que le "moγur" de l'éd. St. (il est bien dans P 136a) introduit ici un nouvel élément d'incertitude. La solution de M. Po. est cependant la seule qui s'offre jusqu'ici, et dans le *Cod. Coman.*, 128 et 129, on a le même mot ture *sazyān* ou *sazaγān* pour "serpent" et pour "dragon".

41° (p. 37).—"Sauterelle"; t. جگردول "jigurdūk" (St.). Cf. Po., 207: *ḡāgārdūk*. Lire probablement **ēgūrdūk*, variante de *ēgūrkā*. Cf. mo. *čürgā* (*Houa-yi yi-yu*); *ēgūrgā* du ms. de Leide (*Izv. Ak. Nauk*, 1927, 1272). P 136b mentionne une forme mo., laissée en blanc.

42° (p. 38).—"Serpent"; t. يیلان "yīlān"; mo. موقا "mūqā" (St.). Cf. Po., 202, 206. Lire *moqa* (= mo. écrit *moyai*); la liste fournie à M. Po. écrivait *moya*.

43° (p. 40).—"Scarabée"; t. قنقور "qanqūr" (St.). Lire قنقوز *qonquz* (= *qonuz*). Cf. Po., 207, qui a la forme correcte. P 138a mentionne une forme mo., laissée en blanc.

44° (p. 44).—"Scorpion"; t. جيان "jīyān" (St.). Lire *čayan*, et cf. Po., 208. P 139b indique fautivement حات en turc, حيان en mo.

45° (p. 44).—"Araignée"; t. ارمجول "urumjūk"; mo. آهمين "āhamīn" (St.). N'est pas dans Po. Lire t. örümjūk. La forme mo. est fautive pour *hālfin* ou *halfin* (mo. écrit *a'alfin*), et a été copiée sous la forme *ahhīn* par Evliyā-Čelebī. Cf. JA., 1925, I, 207-9, et Pe., 288. P 139b, qui a aussi *ahhīn*, confirme l'emprunt par Evliyā-Čelebī.

46° (p. 45).—"Tique"; t. كنه "gèné" (St.). Cf. Po., 207. Lire *kānā*. P 140a indique un nom mongol, laissé en blanc.

47° (p. 45).—"Aspic (?)"; t. كلرس "kalras" (St.). Pas dans Po. Le sens de l'ar. قريني *qarīni* m'est inconnu (le mot est-il correct ?); mais le sens résulte du nom pers. *mār-i-bālīn*, évidemment identique au *mār-i-bālīsī* de Vullers. Le mot turc est peut-être altéré, mais je ne sais comment le corriger. Peut-être lire **kalārs*, qui serait à la base de t. *kālār* et *kālās*, "lézard" (cf. Kāšgarī, dans Brockelmann, 103, et Radlov, II, 1113, 1114).¹ P 140a mentionne aussi un nom mo., laissé en blanc.

48° (p. 45).—"Pou"; t. بيت "bīt"; mo. بوسون "būsūn" (St.). Lire mo. *bösün*. Cf. Po., 202, 207; Pe., 288.

49° (p. 46).—"Fourmi"; t. جومالی "jūmalī", mo. قومریقا "qamūrīqa". Cf. Po., 202, 206, 208; Pe., 289. La liste fournie à M. Po. donnait *čumalī* pour le turc, et *jubalī* pour le mongol, mais *jubalī* est une forme dialectale turque (pas attestée telle quelle)²; par ailleurs, Evliyā-Čelebī indiquait t. *qarīnfa* (cf. Kāšgarī, *qarīnča*, *qarīnčaq*, dans Brockelmann, 148), mo. قومریقا *qumrīya*; dans

¹ Cf. aussi Houtsma, *Ein türk.-arab. Glossar.*, p. 98, où کالاز *kālāz* est une mauvaise correction de Houtsma pour كلرس *kālār* que le texte donne justement. Voir aussi Ibn Muḥannā, کلسن **kālāsūn* (Malov, dans ZK V., III, 244). J'ai entendu *kelā* à Korla, *kelāk* à Kučā. Il faut toutefois se rappeler que le sens de "lézard" ne va guère avec le terme persan, et qu'il y a un autre paragraphe pour le "lézard" (*supra*, n° 21a); mon hypothèse sur le كلرس de Kaẓwīnī est donc faite sous toutes réserves.

² Je crois que mieux vaudrait transcrire la première forme *čumālī*; cf. *čomālī* dans F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, II, 35²³, suivi par Brockelmann, Kāšgarī, 58 (mais à lire vraisemblablement *čumālī* dans les deux cas); dans Radlov, tar. *čumalā*, jay. *čumādū* (?), bar. *čumōlda*; seuls des dialectes septentrionaux ont des formes non palatalisées: tel. *čimalī*, leb., tub. *čibālī*, kmd. *čubalyī*.

les deux cas, il faut lire pour le soi-disant mot mongol قورمۇرتقا *qumurtqa*, qui est turc, et la faute commune, aussi bien que l'attribution aux Mongols de ce mot turc, établissent une fois de plus qu'Evliyā-Čelebî dépend bien de Kazwîni pour ses mots "mongols". Par ailleurs, cette nouvelle divergence entre la liste fournie à M. Po. et l'édition de M. St. rend bien désirable l'étude minutieuse du ms. utilisé par Barthold.

50° (p. 51).—"Crocodile"; t. اوت "ot"; mo. يلقسون *pīlqasūn* (St.). Cf. Po., 202 et 208; Pe., 289. Le mot t. "ot" ou "ut" est peut-être identique au t. bui que j'ai indiqué dans Pe., 289, mais en ce cas l'un de ces deux mots inconnus serait altéré de l'autre. Mais il y a une autre possibilité. Dans P 143a, le nom turc, laissé d'abord en blanc, a été complété ultérieurement d'une autre main en لوى *lu*, transcription très admissible (et d'ailleurs attestée en t. jay.) de t. et mo. lu (ou lū), "dragon" (< ch. 龍 *long*, **li^uong*),¹ écrit plus haut *lu* sous le n° 40. Précisément, nous voyons dans Kāšgarî (Brockelmann, 123) le mot pers. *nāk* (< scr. *nāga*, et qui a pris en persan le sens de "crocodile") employé en turc pour désigner l'année du "dragon". Quant au mo. *pīlqasūn*, la leçon de l'édition de M. St. apporte une nouvelle complication au بلقسون *blqsun* de la liste fournie à M. Po., بلسقون *bslqun* de celle d'Evliyā-Čelebî (cf. aussi *T'oung Pao*, 1930, 18, où j'ai prêté par inadvertance à M. Po., sur une métathèse **baslaqun* < **balqasun*, un raisonnement qu'il n'a pas eu à tenir, puisqu'il croyait avoir *blqsun* aussi bien dans Evliyā-Čelebî que dans Kazwîni). En outre, P 143a semble avoir بلقسون *slqsun* presque plutôt que بلسقون, et en tout cas, même en n'admettant que deux crochets au début du mot, le second serait celui d'un *ī* et il faudrait donc lire **bīlqasun*, ce qui ne cadre plus avec l'étymologie par *balīq* que M. Po. a proposée. Je note à tout

¹ Contrairement à cette étymologie, admise après d'autres par M. Radnev, M. Vladimircov (*Izv. Ak. Nauk*, 1917, 1490) a dit que mo. écrit *lu* (pron. *lō* ou *lū*) était emprunté au tib. *klū*, qui traduit le sanscr. *nāga*. Je ne crois pas que ce soit juste, quelque opinion qu'on puisse avoir sur l'étymologie même de *klū*. Les Mongols doivent certainement leur *lu* aux Ouigours (*lu* = *lū* en ouigour ancien, *lu* en ouigour tardif), et, avant les Ouigours, on a déjà deux fois *lū* en turc runique pour l'année du "dragon" (*lūi yīl*, dans Radlov, *Die alttürk. Inschr. der Mongolei*, 3^e livr., 251 et 252); à cette date, un emprunt au tibétain est pratiquement hors de question. Nous connaissons aujourd'hui nombre d'autres mots chinois transcrits au Moyen Âge dans des écritures d'Asie Centrale et où les nasales gutturales finales du chinois ne sont pas notées. Par ailleurs *long* (**li^uong*) comportait une mouillure qui justifie une prononciation *lū* ou *lūi* dans le mot emprunté.

hasard, pour l'hypothèse de M. Po., que le vocabulaire arabo-mongol de Leide a une expression *دیرا بلسون* (**balsayun dirā*), où **dirā* signifierait "toit" (cf. Poppe, dans *Izv. Ak. Nauk*, 1928, 57; mais ce **balsayun* n'est pas relevé à son ordre alphabétique, *ibid.*, 1927, 1265-6). Si ce **balsayun* se confirmait et provenait d'une métathèse de *balayasun* > *balyasun* en **balasayun* > **balsayun* (avec une nuance sémantique analogue à celle qui fait expliquer *balayācī*, dans le *Yuan che*, par "gardien des greniers [impériaux]"?), l'explication du nom de la ville de Balasayun par le mo. *balyasun* en serait singulièrement renforcée.

[50a (p. 53).—"Crabe". P 143b mentionne un nom turc et un nom mongol, laissés en blanc.]

51° (p. 53).—"Poisson"; t. *بالق* "*bāliq*", mo. *جیغاسون* "*jīghāsūn*". Cf. Po., 202 et 207; *balīq* et *jiyasun* sont corrects.

52° (p. 59).—"Grenouille"; t. *قورباقا* "*qūrbaqā*"; mo. *بزغوغ* "*bazghaugh*" (St.). Ce doivent être là les mots qui ont été fournis à M. Po. (206 et 207) sous les formes de t. *qurmaq*, "grenouille," et mo. *بزغو* *bryu*, "amphibie." *Qurbaqa* et *qurmaq* sont connus tous les deux en turc comme nom de la "grenouille"; P 146b a bien *qurbaqa*. Le nom mongol ordinaire de la "grenouille" est *mānāgāi*. Quant au prétendu mo. *bzyuy* (ou *bryu*?), j'hésite d'autant plus à en faire usage qu'il est peut-être contaminé par *بزغ* *bāzāy*, un des noms persans de la grenouille.

[52a (p. 60).—"Castor" (*kaḍā'at*). P 147a mentionne un nom turc et un nom mongol, laissés en blanc.]

53° (p. 61).—"Castor" (*kunduz*) (ici "loutre"); mo. *قالیون* "*qālīūn*" (St.). Cf. Po., 202-3; = mo. écrit *qalī'un*; mais *qalī'un* est en principe la "martre" ou la "loutre", non le "castor". P 147a mentionne un nom turc, laissé en blanc.

54° (p. 62).—"Oie" (*ücaz*); t. *اوردل* "*ürdek*", mo. *نوقا و سون* "*nūqā et sūn*" (St.). Cf. Po., 203 et 207. Lire t. *ördäk* et mo. *نوقوسون* *noqosun* (= mo. écrit *noyosun*); mais ces mots signifient "canard" et non "oie". P 147b orthographe *noqausun* comme les autres mss.

55° (p. 63).—"Plongeon," "grèbe"; t. *قاشقالدق* "*qashqaldāq*" (St.); cf. Po., 207. Le sens est déterminé par celui du turc *qaşqaldağ* (en turki *qaşqaldağ* et *qalqaşdağ*; Kāşyari [p. 150], *qaşyalağ*); le mot "arabe" [ou persan plutôt?] *بابکون*, que M. St. lit *bābagūn*,

m'est inconnu. En outre, M. Po., 206, indique un mot "mongol" inconnu سماغ "smay" pour "plongeon" (un nom arabe et un nom mo. sont laissés en blanc dans P 148a). Il a dû se produire là quelque confusion, car une note de M. St. signale que l'édition de Bombay ajoute que le "bābagūn" est appelé en persan "samāgh", donc سماغ. Il me paraît vraisemblable que ce mot, sur lequel M. St. n'a rien trouvé, soit celui que Vullers a enregistré sous la forme سامانی samānī, comme le nom d'un "oiseau qui surgit de la mer [ou du fleuve]".

56° (p. 63).—"Faucon" (bāz; t. قارجيقا "qārjīqā" (St.). Cf. Po., 207. Lire qarīqa (= qarīyāi), "vautour"; le mot est également connu en mongol. Un nom mo. est laissé en blanc dans P 148a.

57° (p. 63).—"Épervier"; t. قرقو "qarqū" (St.). Pas dans Po. Lire qirqu = qiryūi (cf. qiryūi dans Kāšyārī, 148, 155, et qaryūi [à lire qiryūi], ibid., 55). Ce peut être là aussi le mot non identifié "cheegey" ("épervier") du *Codex Coman.*, p. 129. Le mot qiryūi se trouve également en mongol (kirgui [= kiryūi] dans le *Houa-yi yi-yu*).

58° (p. 63).—"Canard"; t. غاز "ghāz"; mo. قلاون "qalāwan" (St.). Pas dans Po. Lire mo. qalaun (= mo. écrit yala'un). En persan et en mongol respectivement, yāz et yala'un signifient "oie"; il semble donc, si on se rappelle la confusion précédente du n° 54, que Kāzwinī ait confondu les mots persans et mongols pour "canard" et pour "oie". Toutefois Quatremère (*Hist. des sult. maml.*, II, 1), en expliquant le nom du sultan mamlūk Qalaun, de race qīpčaq, dit que son nom signifie "canard"; le changement du sens n'est donc pas le fait du seul Kāzwinī. En fait la confusion entre les deux mots est déjà constante chez Kāšyārī (cf. Brockelmann, 135 et 152), et ceci méritera l'examen.

59° (p. 63).—"Moustique"; mo. حرد "harad" (St.).¹ Cf. Po., 204, 206. La forme de la liste fournie à M. Po. est جرو, que M. Po. a rétabli en firū, en le comparant à t. čirkāi, etc. La forme doit être en effet firū, avec incertitude sur le timbre de la première syllabe. Peut-être faut-il faire entrer également en ligne de compte le "suru

¹ La note 6 de la p. 63 ne me paraît pas justifiée. Kāzwinī mentionne le "grand moustique", puis passe au "moustique ordinaire". C'est à ce dernier que la suite me semble se rapporter. P 148b mentionne un nom turc et un nom mongol, laissés en blanc; seul le nom mo. est donné jusqu'ici par d'autres mss. Dans le *Houa-yi yi-yu*, le nom mo. du "moustique" est bōkō'ānā = mo. écrit bōkō'ānā, bōkōnā.

čibin " (= *sürü čibin*, *zürü čibin* ?) qui traduit *činzare* dans *Cod. Coman.*, p. 129.

60° (p. 65).—"Rossignol"; mo. سندوراج "*sandūrāj*" (St.). Cf. Po., 204. P 149 mentionne un nom turc, laissé en blanc. La liste remise à M. Po. portait سندوگا *sanduya*, que M. Po. a rapproché à bon droit du t. *sandīyač*, etc. Vu la forme de l'édition de M. St., la vraie leçon de *Ḳazwīnī* ne peut être que سندوواج *sandunwač* ture d'origine et inconnu par ailleurs en mongol. Ajouter en turc *sandunwač* chez *Kāšyārī* (Brockelmann, p. 170), *sanduač* (*sandunwač*) chez *Ibn Muḥannā* (Malov, dans *Zap. Koll. Vost.*, III, 240).

61° (p. 65).—"Hibou"; t. ساریقوش "*sārīquš*"; mo. شیراشیون "*shīrāshībūn*" (St.). Cf. Po., 204, 206, 207. Le turc *sārī-quš* (= *sarīy-quš*) est le nom d'un oiseau en osmanli et le mo. *šīra-šībūn* (= mo. écrit *šīra-šība'un*) est connu comme nom du "hibou"; ils signifient tous deux "oiseau jaune". Mais P 149 a en turc *baiyuš* (= *bai-quš*), qui est un nom turc usuel du "hibou" (cf. Radlov, IV, 1423; Shaw, *Vocab.*, 210; et même "persan" "*baygis*" dans *Cod. Coman.*, 129); ce pourrait être là la vraie leçon de *Ḳazwīnī* pour le turc; cf. toutefois n° 85. *Saru-quš* (= *sārī-quš*) est donné en mo. pour "hibou" ou "chouette" dans *Ibn Muḥannā* (cf. Melioranskii, dans *ZVOIRAO*, XV, 136). La liste remise à M. Po. portait, pour le mot mongol, شیرا شیوم *šīra-šium* (cf. aussi *Izv. Ak. Nauk*, 1928, 60); mais les leçons de l'édition de M. St. montrent que la forme est fautive, et il faut donc renoncer à certaines des conséquences que M. Po. avait cru en pouvoir tirer. Par ailleurs, l'altération de -n en -m appuie la correction de "*utm*" en *ünān* que j'ai proposée sous le n° 27.

[61a (p. 66).—"Perroquet."—61b (p. 66).—"Faisan."—61c (p. 67).—"Sauterelle". P 149b mentionne pour ces trois oiseaux des noms turcs et mongols, laissés en blanc.]

[61d (p. 66).—"Tuna rvič." Cet oiseau n'est pas identifié, et ses noms persans sont incertains. Mais en tenant compte du تینو "*tinū*" de M. St. (avec ses variantes) et du nom de دارکونه *dārgūna* que lui donnent les gens de *Ḳazwīn*, il est assez tentant d'y voir le دارکوب ou دار بر de Vullers (I, 784, 786), c'est-à-dire un "pic". Ce doit être ce mot des gens de *Ḳazwīn* qui a été indiqué à M. Po. comme un mot mo. sous la forme دارکویه (cf. *supra*, n° 17).]

62° (p. 67).—"Outarde"¹; t. دقدري "daqdarī", mo. دقداق "daqdāq" (St.). Cf. Po. 203, 208. La liste fournie à M. Po. donnait توغدري "toygdri" comme mot mo., et توغداق "toydaq" comme mot turc; M. Po. a rétabli pour le mo. un original **toygduri*, qu'il a rapproché du turkī "dughduri", "cygne sauvage", de D. Ross, *A polyglot list of birds*, n° 36; et pour le "turc" "toydaq", il a fait remarquer qu'on le retrouvait dans mo. écrit *doyuday*. En réalité, l'édition de M. St. montre que les formes t. et mo. de ẖazwīnī ont dû être interverties dans la liste remise à M. Po., et d'autre part les initiales en *d-* (et non en *t-*) doivent bien être celles de ẖazwīnī, tout au moins pour le mo.; il faut donc lire t. *doqduri* (= *doyduri*) ou *toqduri* (= *toyduri*), mo. *doqdaq* (= *doyuday*). Pour la forme turque, cf. t. osm. *toygdari* (Radlov, III, 1168); t. توغدري *toygdari*, تغدري *toygdari* et تودرة *todara* dans Vullers; turkī "tughdarra" de Shaw cité par E. D. Ross, n° 36; tukdar, nom ordinaire de l'outarde dans l'Inde selon Ross, n° 36; turkī "dughduri" (lire *doyduri* ?) au sens douteux de "cygne sauvage" (*t'ien-ngo*), dans Ross, n° 36. Pour mo. *doqdaq* (= mo. écrit *doyuday* [*doyuday*]), cf. t. kirg. *duadaq* (> russe *dudak*), t. jay. *toydaq* (Radlov, III, 1168, mais transcrit *tuydaq* dans III, 1434), t. kkir., sag. koib., ké. *tōdaq*; mandchou *todo*. Peut-être le t. jay. توغدوی "toygdū" de Pavet de Courteille et de Radlov est-il en outre une mauvaise leçon pour *toygduri* ou *toygdari*.

63° (p. 67).—"Milan"; mo. هلیه "haliya" (St.). Pas dans Po. Lire *hāliyā* = mo. écrit *āliyā*. Cf. *JA*. 1925, I, 213-14, et Pe., 289-90. Nous avons ici la source du *hāliyā* (altéré graphiquement en "*hākiyā*") d'Evliyā-Čelebī. P 150a mentionne aussi un nom turc, laissé en blanc.

64° (p. 68).—"Pigeon"; t. کوهکچی "gūḡārchī" (St.). Po., 207. Lire *kōḡārčī*. P 150b mentionne aussi un nom turc, laissé en blanc.

[64a (p. 69).—"Pélican" (? *hawāsil*). P 150b mentionne des noms turc et mongol, laissés en blanc.]

65° (p. 69).—"Hirondelle"; t. قرقوچ "qırdaqūj" (St.). Pas dans Po. Les formes turques vont de jay. *qarlayač* à osm. *qırlandıyē*;

¹ M. St. hésite sur le nom persan de جرد *fārd* (ou *furd*); mais c'est là une orthographe déjà relevée pour جرز *fārz* (ou *furz*) et même چرز *čārz*, "outarde."

il faut probablement lire ici *qarlaquē* = *qarlaγuē*. Cf. mo. *qariyača*. P 150b mentionne en outre un nom mongol, laissé en blanc.

66° (p. 69).—"Chauve-souris"; t. *يالاסה* "*yalāsa*" (St.). P 150a mentionne en outre un nom mo., laissé en blanc. La liste remise à M. Po. (p. 207) donnait en turc "*yalagana*", qu'il rapproche de *yarqanat*. L'histoire de turki *yarqanat*, kaz. *jarqanat*, kirg. *jarʔanat*, n'est pas claire; mais la leçon de St. ne laisse guère de doute qu'il faille plutôt relier *yalasa* à Kāšyārī *yarisa* (Brockelmann, 85), osm. *yarasa*, osm. et jay. *yarasiq*. Cf. aussi turkmène *يارسا* *yarasa*, que Houtsma (p. 105) me paraît avoir tort de lire *yārāsā*.

67° (pp. 70 et 89).—"Petit aigle" (*dāl*) et "vautour" (*nasr*); t. *قاجر* "*qājar*" (St.). P 151b mentionne en outre un nom mo., laissé en blanc. Lire *qafīr*. Cf. Po., 203 [et 206], qui dit que Kāzwīnī le range parmi les mots tures, mais que c'est un mot mongol, qu'il rend par "griffon". En réalité *qafīr* (< *qadīr*) est aussi bien turc que mongol. Cf. en dernier lieu sur ce mot T'oung Pao, 1930, 53. Je ne sais si les mots turki غجي "*ghijī*" [pour غجير *yaʔjir*?] de Shaw, *Vocabulary*, 213, *Gypaetus barbatus*, et غجير "*ghačir*" de Ross, nos 40 et 41, "outarde," ont rien à faire ici.

68° (p. 70).—"Poule"; t. *دقوق* "*daqūq*"; mo. *دقاقو* "*daqāqū*" (St.). Cf. Po., 203 et 207; Pe., 290; Po. dans *Izv. Ak. Nauk*, 1927, 1023 et 1033, et dans *ZKV.*, III, 579. Le mo. "*daqaqu*" est vraisemblablement à lire soit en valeur de *daqayū* (= *daqayū*), soit à corriger en *daqawu*. Kāšyārī (Brockelmann, 196) indique en turc aussi bien *taqayū* que *taquq*, mais en spécifiant que cette seconde forme est turkmène. P 151b écrit pour le mo. *دقاقو* *daqau*. Cf. aussi n° 68b.

[68a (p. 71).—"Francolin." P 152a indique un nom turc et un nom mongol, laissés en blanc.]

[68b (p. 71).—"Coq."—P 152a indique un nom turc, laissé en blanc, et un nom mo. *دقاقون* *daqauṇ*, simple variante du nom de la "poule" du n° 68. La liste remise à M. Poppe (p. 207) comportait en outre un nom turc du "coq", *ātāč*, qui est connu en turc de Kazan; peut-être est-ce là le nom turc qui est laissé en blanc dans le ms. de Paris, mais il restera à établir s'il figurait bien dans le texte primitif de Kāzwīnī. Evliyā-Čelebī a copié dans Kāzwīnī les noms mongols

du "coq" et de la "poule"; mais son nom turc du "coq" سوری *sūrī (?), ne peut se ramener graphiquement à *ātūc* (cf. Pe. 290).]

69° (p. 72).—"Mouche"; t. حَيَّان "jībān" (St.). Cf. Po., 208, dont la liste paraît avoir eu "*čibīn*". La forme turque correcte est en effet *čibīn*, *čibīn*. P 152b mentionne en outre un nom mo., laissé en blanc.

[69a (p. 73).—"Humāy".—69b (p. 74).—"Freux." P 153a mentionne des noms turcs et mongols, laissés en blanc.]

70° (p. 74).—"Étourneau" (pers. *sār*); mo. سَغَرَجَه "sagharjih" (St.). P 153b mentionne en outre un nom turc, laissé en blanc. Cf. Po., 206, à qui on a donné le mot mo. sous la forme سَقَرَجَا *sqrca*, et avec le sens inexact de "merle"; M. Po. en a rapproché justement t. kaz. *šīyīrčaq*, *čuvaš šingürč*, "étourneau"; mais il faut ajouter surtout osm. *šīyīrşiq*, "étourneau"; t. coman "segerčic" (= *šīyīrčiq*), de sens incertain (cf. *Cod. Coman.*, 130, et W. Bang, *Vom Köktürk. zum Osman.*, II-III, p. 10); jay. *šīyīr quš* et *šīyīrčiq*, *šīyīrčīn* (?), *šīyīrčeq* (Radlov, IV, 680); t. سَغَرَجَق *šīyīrşiq* de Vullers, II, 184. Le prétendu jay. سَغَرَجَق "sagarčaq", "faucon", de Radlov, IV, 263, me semble à lire également *šīyīrčiq* et à traduire par "étourneau"; la traduction de "faucon" repose sur une faute du dictionnaire de Calcutta (ساز *sāz* au lieu de سَار *sār*). Le mot "mongol" de Kazwīnī est probablement à lire *šīyīrčā* ou *šīyīrşa*, et à considérer comme un emprunt au turc; cf. Pe., 290.

71° (p. 75).—"Guêpe" (ar. *zambūr*); t. آرُو "ārū" (St.). P 153b mentionne un nom turc et un nom mo., tous deux laissés en blanc. Pas dans Po. Le mot ar. *zambūr* signifie "abeille" et "guêpe" (c'est lui qui est altéré graphiquement en زَبُود *zanpūd* et en زَبُود *zībūd*, "abeille", dans Vullers, II, 141 et 166), mais le contexte implique bien ici qu'il s'agisse de la "guêpe" (je ne sais pourquoi M. St. a préféré "frelon"). Le mot turc est *aru*, *arī*, qui signifie aussi au propre "abeille".

[71a (p. 75).—"Pélican" (*saqqā*).—P 154a mentionne un nom turc et un nom mo., laissés en blanc.]

72° (p. 75).—"Caille"; t. بُلْدُرْجِنْ "buldurchīn", mo. بَدَنَه "badana" (St.). Pas dans Po. Cf. Pe., 291. Lire t. *bıldırčīn*, mo. *bōdānā* (t. jay. *bōdānā*, turkī *bōdānā* [Shaw, *bidānā*], kirg. *bōdōnō*, kaz. *būdānā*).

73° (p. 76).—“Faucon pérégrin”; t. لاجين “lājīn” (St.). Lire *lācīn*. Cf. Po., 203; Pe., 290-1. P 154a mentionne un nom turc, laissé en blanc.

[73a (p. 76).—“Pivert.” P 154a mentionne un nom turc et un nom mo., laissés en blanc.]

74° (p. 76).—“Gerfaut”; t., mo. et pers. شقار “shunqār” (St.). Pas dans Po. La forme attestée au XIV^e siècle en mo. est *šinggor*.

[74a (p. 76).—“Sāfir.” P 154b mentionne un nom turc et un nom mongol, laissés en blanc.]

75° (p. 77).—“Faucon sacré”; t. اتلكو “atalkū”, mo. بلقان “talqān”. Cf. Po., 203-4, 207; Pe., 291. Lire t. *itālgū*. Pour le mo., la liste remise à M. Po. donnait بلقان *blqan*, que M. Po. a proposé de résoudre en **balagan* (= **balayan*) et de rapprocher du turc coman *balaban*, “épervier” (sur lequel cf. Bang, *Türkolog. Briefe*, II, dans *Ungar. Jahrbücher*, V [1925], 247). C’est en partie à cette solution que je me range (et il faut alors tout au moins lire chez ẖazwīnī mo. *balagan* et non *talqan*), puisque *balaban* désigne encore de nos jours le “faucon sacré” (cf. von Le Coq, *Bemerk. über türk. Falknerie*, extr. de *Baessler-Archiv*, IV [1913], p. 10). Mais, tout en admettant l’identité de sens des deux mots *itālgū* et *balaban*, j’incline à prendre autrement que M. Po. le texte de ẖazwīnī. Dans le vocabulaire arabo-mongol de Leide (cf. Poppe, dans *Izv. Ak. Nauk*, 1927, 1252), *itālgū* est donné comme l’équivalent mongol du turc *balaban*. Je pense que, chez ẖazwīnī, les mots turc et mongol ont été intervertis. Mais si c’est *itālgū* qui est le mot mongol, on devrait avoir en turc *balaban* et non **balagan*; je crois donc que le بلقان *balqan* de nos mss. est une simple faute de texte pour بَلَبَان *balaban*. Dans P 154b, le nom turc est omis, et *itālgū* est correctement indiqué comme le nom mongol.

[75a (p. 77).—“Paon.”—75b (p. 77).—“Tihū.” P 154b et 155a indique des noms turcs et mongols, laissés en blanc.]

76° (p. 78).—“Moineau”; t. سارچه “sārcha” (St.). La liste remise à M. Po. avait ساربا *sarba* (p. 208). Lire *sārçā*; cf. Houtsma, p. 76, et t. osm., krm. *sārçā*, “moineau.” Ne se confond pas avec persan *sārçā* si celui-ci est bien formé de *sār*, “étourneau,” + *çā*. P 155a mentionne en outre un nom mo., laissé en blanc.

77° (p. 78).—“Aigle”; t. برکوت “*barkūt*” (St.). Cf. Po., 207, dont la liste semble avoir eu بوركوت “*bürkūt*”. Le mot est également attesté en mongol au XIV^e siècle sous la forme *bürgüt*. La forme turki “*borgut*” de Ross, nos 52-4, reproduite en note par M. St., ne répond pas à la prononciation turki, qui est *bürgüt*, *birgüt*. L'aire d'expansion de ce mot est très étendue. P 155a mentionne en outre un nom mo., laissé en blanc.

78° (p. 79).—“Pie”; mo. ساغسان “*sāghsaghān*” (St.). Cf. Po., 204, 206, 207. La liste remise à M. Po. avait la même orthographe que celle de M. St., mais M. Po. l'a résolue en *sayāsyān*, et a ajouté que c'était là une forme turque, la forme du mo. écrit étant *sayasayai*. Tout cela est vrai, mais les formes du nom de la “pie” sont assez variées. Sans entrer ici dans le détail, je signalerai qu'au XIV^e siècle, la forme mongole du *Houa-yi yi-yu* est *saḡḡai*, et la lecture de M. St. a pour elle le mandchou *saksaha*. M. Po. prête en outre à Kaẓwīnī une forme turque *sausqan*; peut-être est-ce là le nom ture laissé en blanc dans P 155b.

[78a (p. 79).—“Rokh” (*sīmury*). P 155b mentionne un nom ture et un nom mo., laissés en blanc.]

79° (p. 81).—“Corbeau”; t. قارغا “*qārghā*”; mo. گری “*garīr*” (St.). Cf. Po., 204, 207. La forme turque est bien *qarḡa*. Quant à **kārīr*, il faut vraisemblablement, comme l'a supposé M. Po., le corriger en گریه *kāriyā*, nom usuel du “corbeau” en mongol.

[79a (p. 81).—“Cigogne noire?” (*yurnaiq*).—79b (p. 82).—“[Espèce de] plongeon” (*yanwās*). P 156b et 157a mentionne pour eux des noms tures, laissés en blanc.]

80° (p. 82).—“Palombe”; mo. کاکو “*kākū*” (St.). Pas dans Po. Doit s'apparenter à mo. *kāgiḡā*, ma. *kekuhe*, turki *kōgān*, mais qui désignent des oiseaux assez variés, tourterelle, coucou, huppe. P 157a mentionne en outre un nom ture, laissé en blanc.

[80a (p. 82).—“Phalène.”—80b (p. 83).—“*Farīsa* (?)” P 157a mentionne pour le premier un nom ture et un nom mo., pour le second un nom ture, tous laissés en blanc.]

81° (p. 83).—“Perdrix”; t. ککلیک “*keklik*”, mo. ایتاوان “*itāwan* (?)” (St.). Cf. Po., 204, 207; Pe., 291. Au lieu de *keklik*, la liste de M. Po. donne à tort “*kelek*”. Pour le nom mo., lire *itāun*, mo. écrit *itā'un*, *itā'u*. Cf. aussi Poppe dans *Izv. Ak. Nauk*, 1927, 1254.

[81a (p. 84).—"Alouette."—81b (p. 86).—"Tourterelle." P 157b et 158a mentionne des noms turcs, laissés en blanc.]

82° (p. 86).—"Grue"; t. ترنا "turnā", mo. توغراوش "toğhrāwush" (St.). Cf. Po., 208, qui n'a que le mot turc et hésite entre *turna* et *tirna*. On a déjà t. *turna* dans le *Cod. Coman.*, 129. Le nom mo. paraît altéré de توغراون *toğraun = mo. écrit *toğurun*, *toğuriyun*, "grue"; cf. ثَغْرَقَاوْن *toğraqaun* du ms. de Leide dans *Izv. Ak. Nauk*, 1927, 1269. Cf. aussi Polivanov, dans *Izv. Ak. Nauk*, 1927, 1203.

[82a (p. 87).—"Karwān."—82b (p. 87).—"Cigogne" (*laqlaq*). P 158b mentionne un nom turc pour le premier, un nom turc et un nom mongol pour le second, tous laissés en blanc.]

83° (p. 87).—"Héron"; t. اُوخار "ūkhār (?) " (St.). Pas dans Po. Lire peut-être *oḡar*, = *oqar*, mais, malgré Radlov, je n'écarte pas *uqar*; *oqar* (ou *uqar* ?) est connu comme nom du héron en turc. Cf. Radlov, s.v. *auqar* (mal vocalisé ?) et *oqar*; Shaw, 209; Ross, n° 13. Les Persans l'orthographient عَقَار 'uqār. Le vocabulaire sino-mongol de Pozdnéev, qui est de circa 1600, donne en mongol *uqarēiqan šibau*, qui n'est pas attesté par ailleurs.

84° (p. 89).—"Vautour"; t. يورتچى "yūrtajar" et قاجر "qājar", mo. تَوَقْچِيْن "tanūqčīn" (St.). Cf. Po., 206; Pe., 291-2. M. Po. n'a pas donné le mot ture. Quant au mot mo., sa liste l'écrivait تَوَقْچِيْن "toqčīn", et on a *batuqčīn* dans *Evliyā-Čelebī*. Le premier mot turc est presque sûrement à lire يورتچى *yurtčī*, qui n'est donc pas le nom d'un "hibou" comme il est supposé, non sans hésitations, dans Ross, n° 65, ni une "corneille" comme chez Pavet de Courteille, mais un "vautour", conformément d'ailleurs à ce que suggère son nom chinois de 風鷹 *fong-ying* (son nom mongol actuel est *kārāmūci*, le "chasseur d'écureuils"). Sur le second mot turc, à lire *qajir*, cf. *supra*, n° 67. Quant au nom mongol, il demeure mystérieux; sa finale est soit -qčīn, soit à la rigueur -qačīn en valeur de -yačīn.

[84a (p. 90).—"Abeille."—84b (p. 91).—"Autruche." P 159a et b mentionne un nom turc et un nom mo. pour la première, un nom turc pour la seconde, tous laissés en blanc.]

85° (p. 91).—"Grand hibou"; mo. بَايْقُوش "bāyqūsh". Pas dans Po. *Bai-quš* est en réalité turc; l'identification au "snowy owl",

Nyctea nivea, est celle que J. Scully a indiquée dans Shaw, 211. Cf. *supra*, n° 61.

[85a (p. 91).—"Huppe."—85b (p. 93).—"Yaha." P. 160a et b mentionne un nom ture et un nom mo. pour la première, un nom arabe et un nom ture pour le second, tous laissés en blanc.]

Tels sont les noms tures et mongols de la section zoologique de ẖazwīnī, du moins dans l'édition de M. St. Il y a en outre quelques formes mongoles et turques laissées sans identification dans la liste de M. Po. et qui ne figurent pas chez M. St. Plusieurs provenaient de méprises, et on peut les écarter. Mais il reste chez M. Po. des formes "turques" (p. 208) بۆكۈسان "būkūsān", "glouton"; نرگرك "nrkrk", "crocodile" (cf. pers. *nāk* ?); "öckī imr," "lézard" (cf. *supra*, n° 21a; le *bālūr* du ms. de Leide, *Izv. Ak. Nauk*, 1927, 1264, est également inconnu), dont je ne vois pas de quel passage elles ont pu sortir.

Enfin il est un nom d'oiseau que la liste fournie à M. Po. donne en ture et en mongol, et dont la présence semble bien indiquer qu'un paragraphe au moins doit manquer dans l'édition de M. St., c'est celui que M. Po. (pp. 204, 208) traduit en russe par *turpan*, "macreuse." Cet oiseau est le *anggir* (forme du mo. écrit). La liste de M. Po. l'appelle en ture اوچان *uĉan*, nom inconnu et peut-être altéré; mais son nom mongol, écrit par ẖazwīnī انقر *anqr*, c'est-à-dire *anqir* = *anqir*, est bien connu et M. Po. ne s'y est pas trompé. On aimerait toutefois à savoir quels sont les noms arabe et persan placés en tête de la rubrique, car l'identification du *anggir* au *turpan*, prise probablement par M. Po. dans les dictionnaires de Kovalevskiï et de Golstunskiï, ne me semble pas pouvoir être juste si le nom russe de *turpan* désigne bien essentiellement la macreuse, *Anas nigra*. L'*anggir* est certainement l'oiseau aux couleurs éclatantes, assez voisin du "canard mandarin", qu'on désigne sous le nom de "canard brahme", *Casarca rutila*. Le nom se trouve déjà sous la forme *anggir* dans l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*, et M. Po. en signale d'autres formes dialectales mongoles qui sont également à finale -r. De même on a *anir* en yakout; *anar* en ture de l'Altaï; kirg. et k. kirg. *anqar*; jay. *anqir*, *anqur* (cf. le dictionnaire de Radlov). Mais il y a aussi des formes à finale -t et -rt: t. *anit* chez Kāšyārī (Brockelmann, p. 9); jay. *anqut* (chez Pavet de Courteille; non recueilli par Radlov); turki *hanqut* chez Shaw, et que j'ai entendu à Kašyar et à Kuĉa; *hanqirt* à Turfan (noté par von Le Coq); حانك غيرت "Hang Ghirta" chez Ross,

n° 157, évidemment à lire *حائىڭيرت* *haiŋyirt*; cf. aussi peut-être *čuvāš émört* [dans *émört-kajök*, "aigle"], selon Katona (*Körösi Csoma-Arch.*, II [1930], 385-7).

Quand je ne connaissais la section zoologique de *Ḳazwīnī* que par l'article de M. Poppe, j'avais été déjà frappé par tout ce qu'*Evliyā-Čelebī* me paraissait lui avoir emprunté, fautes comprises, pour son prétendu vocabulaire mongol des *Ḳaitaḵ*. L'étude de l'ouvrage complet a fortifié cette opinion en montrant que c'est également là qu'*Evliyā-Čelebī* a copié certains mots que la liste de M. Po. ne signalait pas, comme *un^ayan* (n° 8), *susar* (n° 10a), *qumurtqa* (n° 49), *hāliyā* (n° 63). Tout compte fait, dans la partie vraiment mongole du texte d'*Evliyā-Čelebī*, il ne reste qu'un mot mongol, *ḡum^aran* (*supra*, n° 24), que l'édition de *Ḳazwīnī* due à M. St. ou le ms. de Paris ne donnent pas. *Evliyā-Čelebī* a pu évidemment le prendre ailleurs, mais, puisque nous venons de voir qu'une rubrique sur le "canard brahme" doit manquer à l'édition de M. St., et puisque tant de noms turcs et mongols de *Ḳazwīnī* manquent à nos manuscrits, il est bien plus probable qu'*Evliyā-Čelebī* a recueilli *ḡum^aran* dans un ms. de *Ḳazwīnī* que nous n'avons plus. Peut-être pourrait-on également rapporter à ce ms. inconnu quelques vocalisations intéressantes d'*Evliyā-Čelebī* (Pe., 288, *bōwāsūn*; 291, *itawun*). Dès à présent, je considère qu'*Evliyā-Čelebī* a froidement pillé *Ḳazwīnī* et que le prétendu dialecte mongol des *Ḳaitaḵ* est une mystification.

Par ailleurs, puisque soit le ms. de Paris, soit le texte qui est à la base de la liste de M. Poppe indiquent un certain nombre de mots turcs et mongols que l'édition de M. St. ne contient pas, il est clair qu'une étude de nouveaux manuscrits est hautement désirable.¹

¹ Je ne considère pas comme acquis que *Ḳazwīnī* ait vraiment donné dans son texte original tous les mots turcs et mongols que les mss. accessibles laissent en blanc. Et par ailleurs, certaines de ces omissions ont pu être comblées par des copistes postérieurs, en particulier pour le turc, et même des mots remplacés par d'autres plus familiers. Mais lorsque nous voyons dans la liste utilisée par M. Po. quelques mots vraiment mongols qu'un savant musulman postérieur à *Ḳazwīnī* n'a guère pu introduire ou rétablir, il faut bien admettre que, même avec certains mots laissés en blanc, la nomenclature zoologique de *Ḳazwīnī* en turc et en mongol était beaucoup plus riche que soit l'édition de M. St., soit les mss. connus ne le laisseraient supposer. Et par ailleurs la mention respective de noms persans, turcs ou mongols se rapporte presque toujours à des animaux qui pouvaient en effet être connus de ceux qui parlaient ces idiomes. Nous devons donc conclure que toutes ces mentions de noms étrangers remontent bien à *Ḳazwīnī* lui-même, même s'il a dû laisser quelques uns des noms en blanc, et on doit dès lors regretter que M. St. ait si peu respecté sur ce point le texte qu'il éditait. C'est pourquoi j'ai relevé toutes ces indications, telles que le ms. de Paris me les fournissait.

To the Zamasp Namak II

By H. W. BAILEY

THE apocalypse proceeds to describe three episodes of rulers who are to appear respectively in *Xvarāsān*, *Nēmrōē*, and *Patašxvārgar* and to be followed by the coming of *Pišyōθn*, son of *Vištāsp*. The language touches that of the *Bahman Yašt* at many points. Religious views are closely interwoven. The "*xvarr* of *Patašxvārgar*" is of interest, as are also the revelation of many mysteries by *Mihr Yazd*, and *Mihr*'s conflict with *Ēšm*. The *druž* *Vat-yavakān* seems not to be known elsewhere.

58. *pas āxēzēt andar xvarāsān
zamīk xcartak ut apaitāk mart-ē
i vas ōzōmand šavēt i vas martōm
ut asp *apāk ut nēzak i tēž, ut
šaθr pat ēerakīh ut pat pātaxšāhīh
av xvēš kart bavēt.*

59. *xvat miyān i pātaxšāhīh
aβinn ut apaitāk bavēt.*

60. *pātaxšāhīh hamāk hač
Ērānakān šavēt av Anērān rasēt.*

61. *ut vas kēs ut dāt ut *raβišn
bavēnd.*

62. *ut ōzatan i ēvak avē dūt pat
karpāk dārēnd, martōm ōzatan
xvār bē bavēt.*

63. *api-t ēn-ič gōβēm ku andar
ān ē bavēt, avē i aparvēcē xvatāy
andar zamīk i Hrōm vas šaθr ut vas
šaθrastān gīrēt ut vas xvāstak pat
ē-bār hač zamīk i Hrōm āβarēt.*

Then will arise in the land of Khorasan an insignificant and obscure man who will go forth in great power, and with him many men and horses, and sharp lances, and the land will be made his own by violence and dominion.

He himself in the midst of his dominion will fail and pass out of sight.

The whole sovereignty will pass from the men of Ērān and will go to foreigners.

And doctrines and laws and ways of life will abound.

The slaying of one by the other they will consider a merit and the slaying of men will be a slight thing.

And this too I will tell you that it will be at that time : that victorious king will seize in the land of Hrōm much territory and many cities and will carry off much treasure at one time from the land of Hrōm.

64. *pas avē i aparvēž xvatāy mīrēt ut hač ān frāč frazandān i avē pat xvatāyih nišinēnd ut šaθr pat čērīh pāyēnd.*

65. *ut vas stahmbak ut apēdāt pat martōm i Ērān šaθr kunēnd.*

66. *ut vas hēr i hamōkēn bē av dast i avēšān rasēt.*

67. *ut pas-ič av apasihān ut apīnn būtakīh rasēnd.*

68. *andar ān vat ōbām mīθr ut āžarm nē bavēnd.*

69. *api-šān mas hač kas ut kas hač mas nē paūtāk, api-šān ham-puštakīh nē bavēt.*

70. *api-t ēn-ič gōšēm ku avē vēh kē hač mātar nē zāyēt aivōp kā zāyēt bē mīrēt ut nē vēnēt ēn and vat ut drōšak,*

71. *pat hazārak sar i Zartuxštān nē vēnēnd ān vazurk kārēčār i ō apāyēt būtan.*

72. *ut ān and xōn-rēčišnīh andar ān ōbām apāyēt būtan pat *3 bahr ē* bahr martōm bē nē mātēnd.*

73. *avēšān Tāčikān apāk Hrōmīkān ut Tūrakān andar gumēčēnd ut kišvar bē višōpēnd.*

74. *ut pas Spand-Ārmat av Ohormazd vāng kunēt ku man ēn vat ut anākīh nē vitāčom.*

75. *hačadar hačapar bē bavom ut ēn martōm hačapar hačadar bē kunom.*

Then that victorious king will die, and thenceforth his sons will sit in sovereignty and will guard the land with violence.

And they will deal very fiercely and lawlessly with the men of Erān šahr.

And much wealth of all kinds will pass into their hands.

Afterwards they too will perish and have no success.

In that evil time affection and reverence will not exist.

Among them the great will not be distinct from the small nor the small from the great, and they will not assist one another.

This too I will tell you that it is better for him who is not born from his mother, or if he is born, dies and does not see so much evil and oppression.

At the end of the millennium of Zartušt they will not see the great conflict which must take place.

So much bloodshed must occur at that time, of mankind one part in three parts will not survive.

Those Arabs will be confounded with Romans and Turks and they will desolate the world.

Then Spand Ārmat will cry aloud to Ohormazd saying: I cannot melt away this evil and badness.

I am turned upside down and I turn mankind here upside down.

76. *vāt ut ātaχš martōm bē āzārēnd haē vas must ut *adātīh i-šān pati-š kunēnd.*

77. *ut pas Miθr ut Ešm āknēn bē patkōpēnd andar ān patkōpišn.*

78. *druž-ē i Vat-yavakān χvānihēt pat χvatāyīh i Yam bast ēstāt, pat χvatāyīh i Bēvarasp haē band bē rist.*

79. *Bēvarasp pat ān druž ham-pursakīh dāšt.*

80. *ut ān druž kār ēn ku bar i yortākān bē kāhēnēt.*

81. *ut hakar nē ān druž rāō būt hēh har kē-š grīv-ē bē kišt hēh 400 grīv bar apar grift hēh.*

82. *sāl 496 Miθr ān druž bē zanēt ut pas har kē grīv-ē kārēt 400 grīv hanbār kunēt.*

83. *ut andar ān zamān Spand-Ārmat dahān apāc kunēt, vas gōhr ut ayōšust av paitākīh āṣarēt.*

84. *pas āχēzēt haē kust i Nēmrōc mart-ē kē χvatāyīh χvāhēt ut spāh ut gund ārāst dārēt ut šaθrīhā pat ḍērīh gīrēt ut vas χōn-rēčišnīh kunēt tāk-aš kār pat kūmak i χvēš bē bavēt.*

85. *ut pas apadom haē dast i dušmanān virēcēt av Zāvulastān ut ān kust šavēt.*

86. *ut haē oḍ spāh ārāst apāc variēt ut haē ān frāc martōm i*

Wind and fire injure men, by reason of the great grief and wrong they do to them.

Then Mihr and Ešm will fight together in that conflict.

An evil spirit who is called Vat-yavakān ("causer of bad crops") was bound during the reign of Yam, but escaped from his bonds in the reign of Bēvarasp.

Bēvarasp had conferences with that evil spirit.

Now the work of that evil spirit is this: he diminishes the crop of corn.

Had it not been for that evil spirit, whosoever had sown one bushel would have received 400 bushels of corn.

Four hundred and ninety-six years Mihr attacks that evil spirit, and thereafter whosoever sows one bushel, puts four hundred bushels in his granary.

At that time Spand Ārmat will open her mouth, and will bring abundant jewels and metals to the light.

Afterwards a man will arise from the Southern quarter who will seek dominion and will have an army and troops equipped and will seize lands by violence and cause much bloodshed until his affairs satisfy his desires.

Then at last he will flee from the hand of his enemies to Zābul and go to that district.

Thence, an army being equipped, he will return and

Erān šaθr av anōmētiḥ i garān rasēnd.

87. *ut mas ut kas <av> cārak-xvāstārīḥ rasēnd ut pānakīḥ i jān i xvēš nikīrēnd.*

88. *ut pas haē ān Patašxvārgar haē nazdikīḥ i drayāp bār mart Miθr Yazd bē vēnēt.*

89. *ut Miθr Yazd vas rāz i nihān av ān mart gōβēt.*

90. *pat patgām av Patašxvārgar šāḥ frēstēt ku ēn xvatāy karr ut kōr čim dārēḥ. ut tō-iē xvatāyīḥ ēlōn kun cēgōn pitarān ut nyākān i tō ut šmāk kart.*

91. *avē mart gōβēt ku man ēn xvatāyīḥ cēgōn sāyēm kartan ka-m ān gund ut spāḥ ut ganj ut spāḥ-sardār nēst cēgōn pitarān ut nyākān i man biūt.*

92. *ān patgāmβar gōβēt ku bē āvar tāk-at ganj ut xvāstak i pitarān ut nyākān i tō aβiš apaspārom.*

93. *api-š ganj i vazurk i Frāsyāp aβiš nimāyēt.*

94. *cēgōn ganj av dast āβarēt, spāḥ ut gund i Zāvul ārōdēt, av dušmanān šavēt.*

95. *ut ka <av> dušmanān ākāsiḥ rasēt, Tūrak ut Tāčik ut Hrōmīk av ham āyēnd ku gīrom Patašxvārgar šāḥ ut stānom ān ganj ut xvāstak haē avē mart.*

thenceforward the men of Erān šahr will fall into grievous despair.

Great and small will fall to seeking remedies and will look to a refuge for their own soul.

Afterwards in Patašxvārgar near the shore of the sea a man will see Miθr Yazd.

And Miθr Yazd will reveal many hidden secrets to that man.

He will send him with a message to the King of Patašxvārgar, saying: Why do you support that King, deaf and blind? Now do you too act as King even as the fathers and forefathers of you and yours have done.

That man will say: How should I be able to exercise dominion, since I have not the troops and army and treasure and generals such as my father and forefathers had?

The messenger will say: Come, that I may deliver up to you the treasure and wealth of your fathers and forefathers.

And he will show him the vast treasure of Frāsyāp.

When he brings the treasure into his hand, he prepares the army and troops of Zābul, and advances against his enemies.

When the news reaches his enemies, Turk and Arab and Roman will come together, saying: I will seize the King of Patašxvārgar and I will take that treasure and wealth from that man.

96. *ut pas avē mart ka ān ākāsih ašnavēt apāk vas spāh ut gund i Zāvul av miyān i Ērān šaθr āyēt ut apāk avēšān martōmān pat ān dašt, i tō Vištāsp apāk spēt *xyōnān pat spēt-razur kart, apāk Patašxvārgar šāh kōxšišn i kārēčār frāč kunēnd.*

97. *ut pat nērōk i Yazdān ut Ērān ut Kayān xvarr ut dēn i Māzdēsnañ ut xvarr i Patašxvārgar ut Miθr ut Srōš ut Rašn ut Āpān ut Āturān ut Ātaχšān apēr škuft kārēčār kunēnd.*

98. *ut hač avēšān vēh āyēt, hač dušmanān čand be ōzanēt kē marak nē tuβān grift.*

99. *ut pas Srōš ut Nēryōsang Pišyōθn i šmāk pus hač framān i dātār Ohormazd hač Kangdiz i Kayān bē hangēžēnd.*

100. *ut bē āyēt Pišyōθn i šmāk pus apāk 150 *hāvišt kē-šān patmōčan spēt ut siyā,*

101. *ut dast i man pat drafš tāk av Pārs av ōš ku ātaχš ut āpān nišāst ēstēnd.*

102. *ōš yašt kunēt.*

103. *ka yašt sar bavēt zōhr av āp rēčēnd ut <av> ān ātaχš zōhr dahēnd.*

Then that man when he hears the news, with a large army and troops of Zābul will come to the centre of Ērān šahr and with those men on that plain, where you, O Vištāsp, fought with the White Hyons in the White Forest, they will struggle in battle with the King of Patašxvārgar.

By the might of Yazdān and the Splendour of the Aryans and the Kayān and the Faith of the Mazda-worshippers and the splendour of Patašxvārgar, and Miθr and Srōš and Rašn and the waters and the sacred and domestic Fires they will wage furious battle.

And he will prove better than them; he will slay so many of the enemies, that their number cannot be counted.

Then Srōš and Nēryōsang will stir up your son Pišyōθn by command of Ohormazd the Creator from the Kang fortress of the Kayān.

Your son Pišyōθn will come with 150 disciples, whose raiment is white and black,

And my hand will hold the banner as far as Pārs to the place where the fires and waters are established.

There he will perform the Yašt.

When the Yašt is finished, they will pour the libation into the water and will give the libation to the fire.

104. *ut druvandān ut dēv ut
xyōnān ātōn bē apasihēnd ēēgōn
pat zimastān i sarī *valq i draxtān
bē hōšēnd.*

The wicked and the dēvs and
the Hyōns will perish as in a
cold winter the leaves of trees
wither.

105. *ut gurg ôḅām bē šavēt, ut
mēs ôḅām andar āyēt.*

The time of the wolves will
pass away, and the time of the
sheep will enter in.

106. *ut Ušētar i Zartuxštān pat
dēn-nimūtārīh av patākīh āyēt
ut anākīh tāk sar āyēt, rāmišn ut
šātīh ut huraṃīh bē bavēt.*

Uxšyat-art son of Zartušt will
appear to reveal the Faith, and
evil will be at an end, joy and
gladness and happiness will have
come.

58. (1) *xvarāsān zamāk* is the "land of the sunrise". The meaning of *ās-* was given by Bal. *āsag* "to rise", *rōšāsān* "sunrise", and is confirmed by MPT. *āsēd giyānān ō im nāv rōšn*, M 4 b 5, "Go up, O souls, into this shining boat." This etymology was known to Al-Jurjānī. *Vis u Rāmīn*, p. 119, 1-4:—

*xvašā jāyā bad-ān šahr ī xorāsān
dar-ō bās u jahān-rā mē-xvar āsān
ba-lafz ī Pahlavī har kas sarāyad
xorāsān ān buvad kaz vai xor āmad
xorāsān Pahlavī bāšad xor āmad
'Irāq u Pārs rā zō xor bar āmad
xorāsān āst ma'nī ī xor āyān
kujā zō xor bar āyad sūy ī Ērān.*

xvarāsān is the regular Pahl. word for "east", cf. Pahl. Texts, ii, 11 A, § 11, *x^aarāsān ut x^aarḅarān ut nēmrōē ut apāxtar* "east and west and south and north". MPT., *xvr's'n p'ygges, hr's'n vymnd*.

(2) *xvartak* "insignificant": on § 21 I had overlooked Mx. 2¹²², ed. Andreas, 12⁴⁻⁵, *ut ān ī xvatāy ut dahyupat rut apāk ān ī xvartaktom martōm pat dātastān rāst dārēt* "The judge in judgment holds equal that of the Ruler and Governor and that of the humblest man".

(3) *vas ôzōmand šavēt*, Predic. adj. "being most powerful", so in 65, *vas stahmbak ut apēdāt . . . kunēnd* "being very tyrannical and lawless . . . they act".

(4) **apāk*. MSS. have *r'yšh* = *sar* "head, end". I have read *rvth* = *apāk*, here adverb: *i . . . apāk* = "with whom". For *asp . . . nēzak*, cf. Zatsp. 5² *aspaḅārak ut nēzak-dast*.

(5) *čērakīh* "violence" = *čērīh* 84, coupled with *stahmbakīh*: *pat čērīh ut stahmbakīh*, Paz. *pa čērī u stahmī*, in *Bahman Yt.* 3, 51. Cf. Nyberg, *Glossar.*: *čērīh* (1) *bravery*, (2) *oppression*. Av. *čīrya-*. NPers. *čēr* "valiant; a conqueror; mastery". *MX.*, 16²¹ Paz, (*ōi i vaδ- gōhar mard . . .*) *aβā ham-ayārqa naβard bareδ u čērī namāvēδ*. Sanskr. *baḷiṣṭatām ca darśayati*: "(The evil-natured man . . .) quarrels with companions and displays violence."

59. *aβinn* "not-finding", see Nyberg, *Gloss.*, *avīn*.

61. DP *𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥* for *𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥*; caet. *𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥*. *raβišn* "manner of life, conduct", NP., *raviš*. Cf. *varišn* (Nyb., *Gloss.*, *χēm u hōk u varišn* "Charakter, Gesinnung und Lebenswandel") and *barišn*, Paz. *barēšn* (with Sanskr. *pracāra-*). *barišn* translates Av. *-bifra* in *aštā.bifra* = *hašt barišn* "of eight characters". Av. *bifra-* is probably a reduplicated form from *bar-* **bi-bra-* > *bifra-* with the same development as in *jafra-* beside *jaiwi-*, cf. also Pahl. *āfrītan* "create" from **ā-brītan*¹ and NPers. *afrōz-*, Av. *aiwi.raočaya-*. Then Av. *abifrā* (only *Y.*, 33¹³) is perhaps **ā-bibra-* "perpetual" in agreement with the Pahl. *Comm. pat pattūkīh* "in perpetuity". We should then recognize in Av. *-ier-* beside *-fr-* as two separate developments of *-br-*, the voiceless *-fr-* being parallel to the voiceless group *-st-* beside *-zd-* cf. *bustī-*, and *buzdi-* (in *apaitī.busti* and *duδuwi.buzdi-*).

62. (1) *pat karpak dārēnd*. Cf. *nasāy nikānītan ut nasāy šustan ut nasāy sōxtan av āp ātaxš burtan ut nasāy χvartan pat dāt kunēnd ut nē pahrēčēnd pat kār ut karpak i vāzurg hangārēnd*, *Bahman, Yt.*, 234-35, "Burying the corpse, washing the corpse, burning the corpse, bringing it to water and fire, eating the corpse, they do by law and refrain not, they account it a great work and merit."

(2) *ōžatan* written 'ēčttn, *FP.*, 22^a 'vzttn, elsewhere also 'pzttn, Paz. *aβazadan*, OP. *ava-žan-* "kill".

(3) *χvār*. Cf. *Bahman Yt.*, 250, *ka mart-ē i nēvak ōžtanēnd <ut> makas-ē pat čuśm <i> avēšān har 2 čuak bavēt* "when they kill a good man and a fly both are one in their eyes".

63. *ē* "time", see Bartholomae, *SR.*, iii, 27, here written *𐭠*.

67. *apasihān* written 'psh'nn "perished" Part. pass. in *-āna* to **apa-saiδ-*, cf. *nihān nyh'n* "hidden" Part. pass. to **ni-dā*.

69. *mas hač kas* "the greater from the smaller". Cf. *MX.*, 24,

¹ Note the pres. in MPT. 'fer'm (Bartholomae, *ZII.* iv, 173 ff.) and cf. Sogd. (Chr.) *sp̄ryny* "creator".

ān i haē tō kas pat hamtāk ut hamtāk pat mas ut haē-š mas pat sardār ut sardār pat xwatāy dār "He who is your inferior treat as an equal, and an equal as a superior, and his superior as a lord and a lord as a ruler". Bartholomae has further examples *MM.*, i, 28 f. *Infra* 87. *mas ut kas*.

70. (1) *ēn-ič gōβēm*. Cf. the more precise *Bahman Yt.*, 2⁶³, *ēn ān i pēs gōβom* "this is what I shall foretell".

(2) *drōšak* دروشاک. This word may be connected with *društ* "harsh", NPers. *durušt* (cf. Hübs. *Pers. St.* 61). In Bal. *drušag*, *društa* "to grind" is possibly the same verb. It will be necessary to keep this verb apart from *drōšūtān* discussed below, Iranian notes No. 1.

71. (1) The end of the millennium of Zartušt is elaborated in *Bahman Yt.*, I⁵, 2²¹ ff.

(2) *ō bavēt* = Av. *avā . . . bavaiti*, *Y.*, 30¹⁶, "takes place". Cf. *Nyb.*, *Gloss.*, 164, *ō(h)*.

72. *pat *3 bahr ē *bahr*. Uncertain. The text has DE. and . I have supposed the corruption of a numeral after so that possibly stands for = "3". Cf. Bartholomae, *SR.*, i, 47, note 5: "one part in ten parts, i.e. one-tenth", "one part in three parts, i.e. one-third".

For the expression "one-third" cf. *Bahman Yt.*, 3²⁸, *pas haē ān bē škanēt patiyārak 3 ēvak-ē* "then he destroys one-third of the assailants". *Bahman Yt.*, 3⁵⁷, *apārīk dām <i> Ohormazd pat 3 ēvak-ē apācē ōpārēt* "he swallows again the other creatures of Ohormazd to the extent of one-third".

74. (1) *vat* "evil" subst., as in 70.

(2) *anākīh nē vitācom* "I cannot melt away the evil". Cf. *GrBd.*, 1737-8: *anākīh <i> av Spand-Ārmat zamīk rasēt, hamāk bē gukānēt* "the evil which comes to Spand-Ārmat the earth, she destroys it all."

77. The conflict of Mihr and Ēšm is described in *Bahman Yt.*, 3³⁴⁻⁵. (This explains the use of *ān* "that" in the present passage referring to a well-known conflict.) The *Bahman Yt.* passage appears to be in part a translation from Avestan by the test of syntax. It reads:—

34. *pas Miθr i frāxv-gōyūt vāng kunēt kū ēn 9,000 sāl paštē i-š kart tāk nūn Dahāk dušdēn ut Frāsyāp i Tūr ut Alaksandar i Hrōmāyik ut avēšān duβāl kustikān dēvān i vičārt-vars 1,000 sālān ōβām vēš hač pātman xvatāyih kart.* 35. *start bavēt ān druvand Anrāk Mēnūk ka ētōn ašnūt. Miθr i frāxv-gōyūt bē zanēt Ēšm i *xruvidruš, pat staβih duβārēt. ān druvand Anrāk Mēnūk apāk višutakān vat-tōxmakān apāc av tār ut tom i dōša xv duβārēt.* "Then Mihr of wide pastures cries aloud, saying: These 9,000 years of the Compact which was made, even until now Dahāk of evil faith and Frāsyāp the Tūr and Alexander the Roman and those with leather belts and the dēvs with disordered hair have held dominion a period of 1,000 years beyond the covenant. 35. That wicked Anrāk Mēnūk was amazed when he heard that. Mihr of wide pastures attacks Ēšm of the bloodstained weapon. Without power he flees. That wicked Anrāk Mēnūk flees with the misbegotten ones of evil seed back to the darkness and gloom of the evil existence."

78. (1) "A *druž* called *Vat-yavakān*". Cf. *yavak* translating Av. *yavō-* in compounds. NP. *jav* "barley" Pahl. *yav*. Named after his activity defined in 80, where *yortākān*, cf. *yortāk* Pahl. transl. of Av. *yava-*.

(2) *Bēvarasp* epithet of Dahāk, see Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 60, *GrBd* 198^a *Dahāk kē Bēvarasp-ič xvanēnd*. Old Oss. *Баиораспос*. Av. *baēvar-* "10,000", Pahl. *bēvar*, Arm. loanword *biur*, Georg. *bevri*, has survived as *beurā bērā bīrā* (= "many") in Ossetic. Arm. *biur* shows the same treatment of *-ar* as in *zaur* "forces", MPT. *zāvar* "power" and in *kaisr* "*Kaīсар*". The apparent loss of *-a-* in *ēšmarit* "true", Pahl. *ēšmdūt* "visible to the eye" is due to a form **ēšm-* as in Pahl. *čyšmk* beside *čšmk* "fountain".

81. *grīv* "a measure". This word has long been known in the Arm. loanword *griu* "a measure for corn". Here written 𐭪𐭫𐭬 HAG., 131, had no Mid. Iran. form but quoted NPers. *girīb*, Syr. *gryb'*, Arab. *ḡarīb*.

83. (1) It is apparently intended as a blessing when Spand Ārmat opens her mouth to reveal the jewels and metals hidden in the earth. But in *Bahman Yt.*, 2⁴⁸, it is in times of confusion: *pat avēšān dušxvatāyih har ēiš av nēstih ut ačārakih ut sapūkīh ut nyastakih rasēt. Spand-Ārmat zamik dahān apāc višāyēt har gōhr <ut> ayōkšust av paitākīh rasēt čēgōn zarr ašēm ut rōd ut arēlē ut srup. ut xvatāyih ut pūtaχsāhīh av Anērān bandakān rasēt.* "During their accursed rule everything will pass into nothingness, helplessness, contempt, and

decay. Spand Ārmad will open her mouth, all jewels and metals will be disclosed, such as gold, silver, and copper and tin and lead. The dominion and sovereignty will pass to foreign slaves." [*sapūkīh*, cf. *sapūk mēnūt* "thought contemptible", *DkM.*, 813²⁰. *nyastakīh* to *nyastak* "cast down", cf. Nyb., *Gloss.*, 163, *niyastan*, and *MO.*, xxiii, 349, **nēsttar*. Add *GrBd.*, 214³⁻⁴, *apāk Arīāsp kārēcār* <*i*> *škuft kart*, *Ērān* <*ut*> *Anērān vasīhā* **apaṣast hēnd* 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 "With Aržāsp he fought a hard battle, Aryans and non-Aryans perished in multitudes".]

(2) *ayōšust*, often spelt *ayōšust* with the usual 𐭠 to express Avestan *ō* or *ū*. Av. *ayōχšusta-* "molten metal" as in *Yt.*, 17²⁰, *tāpayēiti mām aša vahišta mānayeṇ ahe yaθa ayaoχšustem*: (Ahrēman speaks) "he heats me with the Aša Vahišta as it were molten metal" became in Pahl. equivalent simply to "metal" and appears also in the Gabri dial. *ayūχšust* (*AIW.*, 162). It seems to be Oss. (Digor.) *āwzestā*, (Iron.) *āwzist* "silver", whence came the Hungarian *ezüst* "silver", see Sköld, *ZII.*, iii, 185.

84. (1) *Kust i Nēmrōč*. According to Ananias Širak (ed. Marquart *Ērānšahr*) the *Kust i Nēmrōč* comprised nineteen provinces. *Pārs* counted as the chief province. In particular *Sagistān* (*Sīstān*) was often intended by *Nēmrōč* (Marquart, loc. cit., p. 25). Here it is impossible to decide if a special province was thought of. When the ruler takes to flight, however, he goes to *Zāvulastan*, which also formed part of *Nēmrōč*.

(2) *spāh ut gund*, 94, 96; *gund ut spāh*, 91. Arm. loanword *gound*. Written 𐭠𐭥𐭥, to be kept sharply distinct from 𐭠𐭥𐭥 *gurt* "warrior".

85. *Zāvulastān*, 94, 96, *Zāvul*, see Markwart and De Groot, *Das Reich Zābul und der Gott Žūn* (*Festschrift Sachau*). Arm. *Zaplastan*, Arab. *Zābulistān*, *Jābulistān*. The spelling with *v* beside Arm. *Zaplastan* is of help in explaining Pahl. **kšek* *GrBd.*, 43⁵, **kašavak* 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 "tortoise": *gazdum ut karbāh ut kašavak ut vazay* "scorpion, lizard, tortoise, and frog" (omitted in Ind. Bd.). In Pahl. Riv. Dd. 21³ *kšek* 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 **kasavak*. This clears up also the Pahl. transl. of Av. *kasyapa-*, *AIW.*, 460. Sogd. (Buddh.) *kyšp'*, NPers. *kašaf*, *kašav*, *kašau* "tortoise".

88. *Pašašxvārgar*, see Marquart *Ērānšahr*, p. 129 f., is *Tapurastān*, Arm. *Taprstan*, the land of the *Τάπυροι*, Arab.-Pers. *Tabaristān*.

It was first conquered by the Arabs in A.D. 758. In A.D. 783 Vindāδ-Hormizd founded a new dynasty as Spāhpet of Khorāsān.

90. (1) *patgām* 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥 with variant 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥 *paitām* "message", cf. Arm. loanword *patgam* "message", MPT. (S.W.) *pyg'm* (N.W.) *p'dg'm*, N.Pers. *payām*, *payām*, Syr. *ptgm* "sententia". In *GrBd.*, 177⁸, 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥 **patgāk* "messenger": *Yazd Nēryōsang* **patgāk yazdān ku pat hamāk paitām avē frastēt* "The Yazd Nēryōsang is messenger of the Yazds, that is, he is sent on all messages" [In -ēt of *frastēt* "is sent", I am inclined to recognize the old Pass. 3 Sg. -*yatai* > -*ēt*. Hence for the frequent 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥 read *gōβēt* "it is said" as pass. Cf. Nyb., *Gloss.*, *apasihēt* "is destroyed" pass. to *apa-sih-*.] In 92 *patgāmašar* 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 with variant 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥 "messenger" Arm. loanword *patgamauor* NPers. *payāmbār*, *payāmbār*.

(2) *karr ut kōr* "deaf and blind". This is the traditional Pahl. translation of Avestan *kaoyam karafnaṃcā*, *AIW.*, 455, "of Kavis and Karapans": *pat ēš i Yazdān karr ut kōr* "in affairs of the Yazds deaf and blind"; in the Sanskr. version *adariakā āśrotāraśca*. It is proved to be more than a learned comment by the letter ascribed by Elišē to Mihrnerseh, see Meillet, *REA.*, vi, 1-3: *or . . . oḡ ouni zaurēns deni mazdezn, na xoul ē eu koir eu <i> diuaç Haramanoi xabeal* "He who holds not the law of the Mazdezn faith, is deaf and blind (*koir* loanword from Iran. *kōr*) and deceived by the *dēvs* of Haraman (= Ahriman)". Cf. the Manichean hymn to Jesus: 𐭪 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *bed ēšmēr 'v ker'n 'šnū'g 'v qr'n, uδ xvaδ būd ēšmvar ō kōrān, āšnāvāy ō karrān* "And he himself is seer for the blind, hearer for the deaf" (Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 121).

92. *bē āvar* 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 (see *FP.*, 20⁶), *āvarītan* "come, arrive". Cf. Tedesco, "Dialektologie", *MO.*, xv, 231 f. *āvar* pl. *āvarēδ*, only imperative, "come," North-West Dial. Ardāy Virāz Nāmāk 3¹³: *drūvist āvar tō Virāz* "come in health, O Virāz". MPT., "vryd 'vr 'vryd (*āvar*, *āvarēδ*).

96. (1) *pat ān dašt . . . pat spēt-razur*. On *spēt-razur*, Av. *spaētītām razurēm* we have now Herzfeld's investigations, *Archaeol. Mitteil.*, ii, 72-4. In this forest Haosravah overthrew Aurvasāra. *pat ān dašt* suggests Aḡiyātkār i Zarērān 19: *pat ān dašt i hāmōn*, that is, Sistān. For *dašt* cf. Herzfeld, loc. cit., p. 60-1. The *dašt* is a place of fear as appears in *GrBd.*, 172⁸ (explaining the epithets of Mihr)

api-š frā xvyōyūt <īh> ēt ku [ka] pat dašt apēbīmīh <ā> bē šāyēt āmatan šulan pat rād i Miθr "His having wide pastures is this that in the desert it is possible to go to and fro without fear in the care of Mihr". It is interesting that *var* interchanges with *dašt* in the geographical name *dašt i Tāčikān* (Šahrīhā i Ērān, 50), *var i Tāčikān* (Šahrīhā i Ērān, 25, 52). According to Markwart, *Das Reich Zābul*, p. 266, *vari-* (Av. *vairi-*) survived in Kābul as *فر* (= *βar*). In *Yt.*, 5³⁷, *varōiš pišinarōhō* (Gen. Sg.) "the *vari-* of Pišinah" is the Pahl. *dašt i Pišan-sēh* (cf. *infra*, Iranian notes No. 7 on *MX.*, 62²⁰, where in the later development of the saga this *dašt* is placed near Mt. Damāvand).

(2) *spēt *xyōnān* 𐭮𐭮𐭮 𐭮𐭮𐭮. Cf. *GrBd.*, 198¹, *Tūrak-ē kē xyōn xwānēnd* "a Turk whom they call Xyōn". Aržâsp is *xyōnān xvatāy* (Aβiyāt-kār i Zarērān, 2). *Infra*, 104, *druvandān ut dēv ut xyōnān*. *Bahman Yt.*, 2⁴³, *spēt xyōn* (with Pāz. *spiδ hayūn*) cf. Nyberg, *MO.*, xxiii, 350.

98. *hač dušmanān čand bē ōzanēt kē* . . . "he slays so many of the enemies that . . ." For *čand* = *and*, cf. *GrBd.*, 206⁸, *pat čand mōδ-kunišnīh* "with so great lamentation". Cf. NPers. *va čandānī dar mašāf kušta šudand ki* "and so many were killed in the battle that . . ." where, however, the demonstrative is suffixed to *čand*. *kē* (if kept, but confusion of 𐭪𐭫 with 𐭪𐭫𐭮 is common), will mean "that their".

99. (1) *Pišyōθn*. *GrBd.*, 197⁴, *Bahman Yt.*, 3⁵¹, *Pišyōθn i Vištāspān*. Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Mitteil.*, ii, 25, has treated of *Pišyōθn*, proving that *Yt.*, 13¹⁰³—

hušyaoθnahe ašaonō fravašīm yazamaide,
pišiyaoθnahe ašaonō fravašīm yazamaide,
taχmahe spəntōδdātahe ašaonō fravašīm yazamaide,

contains the names of three sons of Vištāspa, of whom two are known to the *GrBd.*, 232⁹, *hač vištāsp Spandadāt ut Pišyōθn zāt hēnd*. The Greeks wrote the name Πισσουθνης.

(2) *framān i dātūr Ohormazd*. For the vocalization *-mazd* cf. *Ωρομασδης* and the nom. prop. *Αραμασδης* (Avroman Doc.) which is probably the North-Western form, Arm. *Aramazd*. *framān* "commandment" is found already in Old Pers. (*NRa.*, 56-7) *Ahuramazdāhā framānā*, and is used to translate Avestan *māθra*. So in Buddh. Sogd. *prn'y-* is used of the Buddha.

100. (1) 150 **hāvišt* (*hevšt* for *k'všt*). Similarly *Bahman Yt.*, 3²⁷, *apāk 150 mart i ahraβ kē hāvišt i Pišyōθn hēnd*, but here with different

raiment: *pat siyā samōr yāmak* "with garments of the black sable". It is possible that *patmōčan* i **samōr* i *siyā* should be read here.

(2) *patmōčan*. The suffix *-ana* expresses the three ideas of (1) verbal action, (2) instrument, as in *patmōčan*, (3) place. There are interesting examples of the "noun of place". OP. *āvahana* "dwelling-place" specialized as "stronghold", Pahl. *ābahān* "stronghold" (see Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Mitteil.*, ii, 54), Arm. loanword *āvān* "village", Syr. 'vn', Saka *vāna-* (Sacu Doc. 45). Arm. loanword *vank'* "abitazione, casa", cf. *vank' hōtiq* "stalla di pecore". NPers. *aivān* is probably **adivāhana* (cf. Sanskr. *adhi- vas-* "to dwell in") with specialized meaning. It is used of the hall in which Vis and Virō are wedded. *Vīs u Rāmān*, p. 25, l. 17, *ta- aivān ī Kayānī*.

Arm. *xorān* "tent, tabernacle", is Pahl. *χvaran* 𐭮𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭭 "banquet-hall, banquet", cf. Freiman, *BASP.*, 1918, 761 f. For the development "tent" cf. Herzfeld, *Clio*, 1908, 57 f., on the royal Persian tents. NPers. *χvarangāh* "palace of Bahrām; portico", also *χavarna*, and (Arabicized) *χavarnaq*.

Other examples are OP. *āyadanā* pl. "places of worship", Av. *šayana-* "dwelling-place", Sogd. *šyn*. Arm. loanword *šēn*. NPers. *āstān* "palace; threshold".



Arm. *auazan* "pool", cf. *HAG.*, 111, Syr. 'vzn' "font" is perhaps to be explained by comparing Sogd. (Chr.) 'v'zy "Schaar", (Buddh.), 'w'z 'p "flowing water", Reichelt, *Soghd. Handschr.*, ii, p. vi.

101. (1) *dast i man*. *man* indicates that the text has formed part of another context.

(2) *pat drafš* "holding the banner". In *GrBd.*, 170⁶⁻⁷, *Varahrān Yazd drafš-dār i mēnōkān yazdān* "Varahrān (written *v'hr'n*) Yazd is the standard-bearer of the Spiritual Yazds".

104. (1) *Zimastān i sart*. A like simile in *Bahman Yt.*, 3²³, *ḍēgōn draxtē bun ka [pat ēl] šap i zimastān i sart apar rasēt, pat ēl šap valg apakanēt*, "as the trunk of a tree when the night of a cold winter comes upon it, in that night the leaves are destroyed" [*apakanēt* written 𐭮𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭭, which supports Nyberg, *Gloss.*, p. 13, and proves Arm. *apakanem* "I destroy", *HAG.*, 413, to be from Iranian. But Oss. *ānegānun* "pour in, heap up" beside *nigānun* "bury" both have *kan-* (not *kand-*, cf. *bādtun* "to bind"). These are the two meanings indicated by Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, iii, 54. Old Pers. *avaknum* has also *kan-* "place". For *kand-* we have Pahl. *ākand* "filled", NPers.


āgandan "to stuff, cram", and Arm. loan word *vkandem* "put to flight"].

(2) **valg* MSS.  due to NPers. *barg*. For -l- cf. *Bahman Yt.*, *valg*  and Nyb., *Gloss.*, 232, Av. *varaka-*. With this, Saka -*vargya* in *ysāravargya* "having a thousand leaves", see Leumann, *Zeits. für vgl. Sprachforschung*, 1930, p. 199, who suggested **patra* = Sanskr. *patra* "leaf".

105. *gurg* *ōβām* . . . *āyēt*. An identical phrase in *Bahman Yt.*, 340, describing the purified earth: *āz ut niyāzak āz ut ēšm ut varan arašk ut drwandih hač gēhān bē rafsēt gurg* *ōβām* *bē šavēt ut mēš* *ōβām* *andar āyēt ut ātur Farnbay ātur Gušnasp ut ātur i Burzēn Mihr apāc av gās i xwēs nišnēnd* "Lust and want, lust and violence and desire, envy and wickedness will pass from the world. The time of the wolves will pass away and the time of the sheep will enter in. And the fires Farnbay and Gušnasp and Burzēn Mihr will be established again in their own seats". Under *gurg* all violent beings can be included (cf. Av. *vōhrkōm yim bizangrēm daēvayasnēm* "the wolf which is two-legged, worshipper of dēvs"). The *mēš* *ōβām* is evidently a period of tranquillity. [*rafsēt* is inchoative, -s- form, to *rap-* "go", cf. *gufsišnīk vācīk* and *gufsišn* from *gōβ-* "speak", see Nyberg, *MO.*, xxiii, 350. For Av., Reichelt, *Aw. Elementarbuch*, p. 111. Arm. loanword *yausem* "to violate" to *yaβ-* cf. Sogd. (Buddh.) 'y'np-part. 'y'βt- (Ganthiot, *Gram. Sogd.*, 116 = *SCE.*, 130, 434). Sanskr. *yabhati*. Fr. Müller had seen the connection before an Iranian cognate was known. It is not in *HAG*.]

IRANIAN NOTES

1. Avestan *draoša*.

The Armenian loanword *drošm* "a mark cut or burnt in", *չաբայա*, (Ciakciak) "marca, impronta, stampa, cauterio," with derivatives *drošmel* "engrave, cut in, burn in", *drošounn* "inscription", *drošmakan* "marcato, segnato", cf. *HAG.*, 147, have not hitherto been brought into connection with the corresponding Pahlavi word *drōšom* . The consonant group *šm* appears in Pahl. as either *šm* (*aprēšm GrBd.*, 146¹⁵) or *švm* (*aprēšom GrBd.*, 144⁵, cf. *barsom*). The word *drōšom* is found in *DkM.*, 764⁴⁻⁵, *pat sraxtak gōn ut drōšom* "in kind, colour, and markings" and in *DkM.*, 765¹⁷⁻¹⁸, *ēvak gōn i mātar zāt, ēvak drōšom gōβēt* "one states the colour which the

mother bore, the other states the markings". With this we gain a satisfactory explanation of the Avestan word *draoša-*. Bartholomae discussed the word at length, *WZKM.*, 27, 352 f., giving further references in his *Zur Etymologie und Wortbildung der indogerm. Sprachen* (1919), p. 42, note 5. His conclusion that the word indicated a punishment for theft was correct, but he could not give a satisfactory meaning to the word. The Avestan passage is: *spayeiti . . . daēna māzdayasniš . . . bandəm, spayeiti draošəm*. "The Dēn Māzdayasniš gets rid of fetters, gets rid of branding," *Vid.*, 3, 41. In Pahlavi the word *drōš* 𐭌𐭕𐭕 and the phrase *band ut drōš* are frequent (references are given by Bartholomae). A passage not noticed by Bartholomae occurs in the *Mēnōkē xrat*, 40th, ed. Andreas, p. 44^a, *ut puhl ut drōš ut pātafrāh i druwandān pat dōšaχv tūk ham-ē ut ham-ē raβišnīh* "And expiation and branding and punishment of the wicked in the evil existence for ever", Paz. *u drūs u pātafrāh i daruandā pa dōšaχ, andā hamē u hamē ravešnī*, with the Sanskrit rendering *chedo nigrahaśca durgatimatām narake yāvat sadāca sadāca pravyttim*. To the Pāzandist the word *drūs* meant "cutting off". Used of marking cattle we have *drōšītan*, *DkM.*, 763³, *apar drōšītan i *gōspandān <i>*apētāk, vinās i hač *nē drōšītan*. This punishment of branding suits the passage *MhD.*, p. 73¹, *ka 4 bār drōš kart ut pas-ič an vinās i pat ān adivēnak kunēnd *hakurč hač zīndān bē nē hilišn* "When branding has been four times inflicted and afterwards they commit another crime of that kind, they are never to be let out of prison".

That the word *drōš* was verbal could be further seen from *drōšīšnīh*, beside which *drōšīh* is also found. Sanjana, *Dk.*, vol. viii, Glossary, under *drōšīšnīh*, was quite right to translate "brand" and to compare the NPers. *darōš* "mark of cautery" (Steingass).

The poem of Farrukhī quoted by Browne in *JRAS.*, 1899, pp. 767-9, from the *Čahār Maqāla* gives a poetic view of Persian cattle-branding.

On the other hand, for beating, of which Bartholomae had thought as the meaning of *drōš*, we have the phrase *pat čōp zanēnd* (Gujastak Abā-Laiš, Cap. iv) coupled with another punishment *dast burrend* "they cut off the hand".

2. Avestan *frāšma-*.

In a passage of the *Zartuxšt-nāmak* (*DkM.*, 610^a f.) describing the marvels at the birth of Zartušt it is stated: *ēvak ēt i patākūhast av vasān ka mānd ēstāt avi-š zāyīšn 3 rōč pat adivēnak i χ^arsēt pat*

epithet of the boar (*varōza*) and the proper name *Paršat-gav-* which naturally recalls Sanskr. *prṣad-aśva-* "having horses of *prṣant*-colour".

In *Pahl. GrBd.*, 96², we have the 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *gāv* **parš-* or **fraš* (Paz. *fraš*, Ind. Bd. *parš*). In classical Sanskr. *prṣata-* is "the spotted antelope", in the *Śat. Brah.*, v, 3, 1⁶: *prṣadgaur dakṣiṇā bhūmā vā etad rūpāṇām yat prṣato gor* "the sacrificial fee is a spotted bullock for in such a spotted bullock there is abundance of colours" (Eggeling's transl.). The relation of *fraš-* to *parš-* can be compared to OP., Av. *frašta-* "asked", beside Av. *perasa-* "I will ask", OP. *aprsam* "I asked", and to Av. *razišta-* superlative to *raza-* "straight", but especially Pahl. *frah* "wide", with Av. *fraθak-* "width". Av. *paršu-* can naturally represent the reduced vowel **pršu-* or the full grade **paršu-*.

Now the spotted tail of the peacock is its most noticeable characteristic. The Georgian loanword *pharšamangi* "peacock" may easily have preserved an Iranian **parš-* in contrast to MPT, *fršymerv* **frašēmurv* "peacock". Pahl. 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 (Husrav, § 25, ed. Unvala) allows of either *parš-* or *fraš-*.

3. Avestan *dušdaqδdra-*.

Vid., 94³, *zaurva dušdaqδdrō kərənaoiti* (there is a variant *dušdam. fδdrō*) is translated by Bartholomae, *AIW.*, 757, "Das Alter macht die Väter unverständlich (?)", reading *dušda fδdrō* as two separate words. Darmesteter had rendered (*ZA.*, ii, 275) by "*la Vieillesse, qui maltraite les pères*". The word occurs only here and neither of these renderings is convincing, even if they could be considered possible.

Help is afforded by the Pahlavi. The *dēv Zarmān* is mentioned in lists of demons (*DkM.*, 810⁴, *GrBd.*, 67¹⁴) and in *GrBd.*, 185⁸, we have *zarmān ān dēv kē* 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *kunēt kē pīrih xʾānēnd* "Old age is the *dēv* which makes . . . which they call agedness". The epithet is constant and is clearly to be read *dušdaft* "whose breath is bad, i.e. short-breathed" (𐭥 and 𐭥 are frequently confused). The verb *dam-* "breathe, blow" is common in Iranian: Saha, *padama* "winds", *N.*, 69¹⁰, *naš'damūde*, *N.*, 58⁸, "möchten wegblasen", Sogd. *ḍm'yn'k* "venteux", *SCE.*, 153; Oss. *dumun* "blasen, rauchen", NPers. *damīdan*, cf. Sanskr. *dhamati*. The Pahl. *daftan*, Paz. *daftan*, illustrates the frequent alternation of *m* and *f* (from *m* + *t*), cf. *nam*, *namb*

The same meaning will fit the other passages where the word is found—

GrBd., 143¹², *Karbūk i dumbak siyā ut kūk* "the lizard whose tail is black and short".

GrBd., 146¹, *ka av nišēm i kapōt rīyēt pēlak i mār i kūk hačaš *hanbavēt* "when it defecates into the nest of a dove the cocoon of a small snake is produced from it".

GrBd., 147¹, *gōšpēt pat dēn ku Anrāk Mēnūk ān yavaz gurg dāt kūk ut tam-arzūnīk, tom-zahak, tom-tōχmak, tom-karp, siyā* "It is stated in the Sacred Books that Anrāk Mēnūk created that panther small and suiting the darkness, emanating from darkness, of the seed of darkness, with a body of darkness, black".

GrBd., 147¹¹⁻¹², *api-š pat 15 sarḍak frāc karrēnūt nazdist gurg i siyā ut kūk ut sturg sarḍak* "And he created fifteen species of the Wolf and first the species of the black wolf small and ravenous".

To these passages can be added the Pahl. Comm. to *Vid.*, 14⁷, which translates Av. *ātarəvazanəm hikaranəm* by *ātaχš vaχšēnūtār girt kūk-ē* "a fire-blower round and small", hence correct *AIW.*, Pū, s.v. *hikarana-*. The word *kūk* is accordingly to be connected with Pahl. 𐭪𐭣𐭥 *kūc* "small".

Zatspram, ix, 15 (ed. West, *Avestan . . . studies*), *čōgōn mart kē yortāy ham-ē *kūrēt, ut fratom staβr sang frāc parkēnēt ut pas ān i miyānak, pas ān i kūc* "As a man who sows corn, and first he gathers out large stones, then those of medium size, then those which are small".

Pahl. *kūcāk* is NPers. *kūcāk* "small". Av. *kutaka-* "small", Pahl. *kōtak*, Arm. loanword *kotak*, NPers. *kōtāh* (cf. Nyberg, *Glossar*, p. 208) belong to the same group.

6. Pahlavi *māy*.

In the Frahang i Pahlavik 4³ we have: 𐭪𐭣𐭥 . 𐭪𐭣𐭥 *dql' . māy* to which the traditional readings are (*FP.*, ed. Junker, p. 79) *mog, mug*, NPers. *māy* "date-palm". Variant readings give 𐭪𐭣𐭥, 𐭪𐭣𐭥, 𐭪𐭣𐭥, all standing for the Aramaic *dql'*, cf. Syr. ܡܝܬܐ "palm-tree". The Pūzandists have tended to misunderstand this word and to confuse the passages where it is found.

MX., 62²⁰ f. (ed. Andreas, p. 69¹² f.), *ut tan i Sām pat dašt i Pišan-sēh nazdīk av kōf i Damāvand ut pat ān dašt bē yortāy ut χ^aarišnīk čiš <i>kārēnd ut drūnēnd <ut> pati-š zivēnd tāk han muy ut draχt ut urvar nēst* "And the body of Sām lies in the Plain of Pišan-sēh near the

Modern Persian Colloquial

By E. DENISON ROSS

IN connection with an invitation I had received to make a supplement to Steingass's Persian dictionary I happened to ask a young Persian friend of mine who was staying in London if he would go through Steingass and note any important omissions. The name of my friend was Mr. M. A. Maliki, and when I made this request I knew very little about his linguistic attainments. By good fortune he turned out to have a really astonishing feeling for language and a very special knowledge of his mother tongue. In the course of two weeks he produced over 300 words and expressions in common use in Persia to-day which are not to be found in our Persian dictionaries. The most remarkable feature about these words and expressions is that most of them convey ideas for which there is no exact equivalent in English. It is evident that many of them border on what is known as slang, but they are none the less valuable on this account, and they represent a form of speech which Persians use with each other but do not as a rule employ when talking to Europeans.

1

آپاردی *āpārdi* exceedingly clever; "too clever by half."

آخم کردن *ākhm kardan* to look disagreeable.

آخم و تخم کردن *ākhm u takhm kardan* to grouse.

آخمو *ākhmū* dour.

ادا *adā* petulance.

ادا در آوردن *adā dar āvardan* to refuse to make up a quarrel ;
to irritate.

ادبار (= کثانت) *idbār* (= *kasānat*) slovenliness ; neglect.

اردنگ کردن *urdang kardan* to kick out ; *ūrā urdangi kardand*
= they have fired him.

ارقه or عرقه (T) *arqé* or 'arqé a jockey.

ارواره *arvāre* the lower jaw.

- از ما بهتران *az mā behtarān* ghosts.
 آس *ās* "bridge" (the game).
 آشغال *āshghāl* refuse (of streets).
 اطفار = اطفور = اطرار *atfār, atfūr, atrār* rudeness ; shyness.
 اعاشه *i'āshē* living expenses.
 اکبر *ikbīr* dirt ; *ikbīr ūrā giriftē ast* = he is in a filthy (unwashed) state.
 اکبری *ikbīrī* dirty.
 الدنگ *aldang* gullible ; rustic ; a gawk.
 الش دگش کردن *alash digash kardan* to swap.
 الگو *olgū* a model.
 انگ انداختن *ang andākhtan* to take careful aim.
 انگل شدن *angal shudan* to be importunate.
 انگولک کردن *angūlak kardan* to mess about with anything.
 اهن وتلمب *ahen u tulomb* clearing the throat.

ب

- باباغوری (T) *bābāghūrī* a man whose eyes have been cut out.
 باج سیل خواستن *bāj-i-sal khāstan* to blackmail.
 بازی گوش *bāzī gūsh* careless ; inattentive.
 بازی گوش *bāzī gūshī* carelessness.
 بامب *bāmb* a bomb, a shock.
 بامبول زدن (E) *bāmbūl zadan*
 بامبول سوار کردن *bāmbūl savār kardan* } to bamboozle.
 بنجو *bokhū* shackles for the feet.
 بر زدن *bor zadan* to shuffle (cards).
 رایگان *barāyagān* gratis ; for next to nothing.
 بزل (T) *bezek* decoration.

بش انداختن *besb andākhtan* to choose by chance ; *besb bi u uftād* = he was selected by drawing lots, or by show of fingers.

بغ کردن *bogh kardan* to pout.

بلبشو *balbashū* inartistic.

بنجل *bonjol* "remainders" ; what is not required, but still has some value.

پ

پاتوق *pātūq* a haunt (such as a club or café).

پارس کردن *pārs kardan* to bark.

پائیدن *pā'idan* to watch ; to take care of ; to look after.

په *papé* soft ; silly.

پتی *patī* naked.

پیچ پیچ کردن *pach pach kardan* to talk aside.

پخش کردن *pakhsh kardan* to scatter.

پخمه *pakhmé* narrow-minded ; gullible ; soft ; daft.

پر رو *pur rū* too big for his boots ; won't take "no" for an answer.

پرت *part* far away ; *havās-i-fulān kas khailī part ast* = his thoughts are very far away.

پر سورش را در آوردن *pur sūresh rā dar āvardan* to be spoilt, i.e. a beggar from being given too much ; a child from not being corrected.

پرشال گذاشتن *par-i-shāl guzāshtan* hidden trickery ; (to put money) under the cloak.

پز (F) *poz* a pose.

پشم آلو = پر پشم *pashm ālū, pur pashm* hairy ; hirsute.

پیوز *pafyūz* stupid ; thickheaded.

پک و پوز *pak u pūz* appearance (looks).

پکر کردن *pakar kardan* to bore (as with a long lecture).

- پنتی *pentī* very careless.
 پیچه *pīché* a short veil.
 پیر در آوردن *pīr dar āvardan*; *surmā pīr marā dar āvard* =
 the cold nearly did for me.
 پسی به سر کسی در آوردن *pīsī bi sar-i-kasī dar āvardan* to "learn" some
 one; to be avenged.
 پیش قراول *pīsh qarā'ul* a pioneer.
 پیشکی *pīshekī* in advance.
 پیله کردن *pīlē kardan* to be importunate in asking for
 something (like children crying), said also of
 an illness which returns after cure.
 شیهه *shīlē* *pīlē* a trick; cheating.

ت

- تاراندن *tārāndan* to exile; to shoo away (e.g. pigeons).
 تاس انداختن *tās andākhtan* to throw dice.
 تا کردن *tā kardan* to treat a person well or badly.
 تبریک *tabrik* congratulation.
 تبریک گفتن *tabrik guftan* to congratulate.
 تیق *tapoq* a slip (of the tongue). (اتفاق ? A)
 تحت جلدی *taht jildī* hypodermic.
 تخس *tokhs* "méchant".
 تخلیه کردن *takhliyē kardan* to vacate.
 ترد (or ترت) *tord* (or *tort*) brittle.
 تر و چاب *tar u chab* quick in the uptake.
 ترییدن *tarrīdan* to show off.
 تشر زدن *tashar zadan* to threaten.
 تصادف *tasāduf* a collision.
 تفاله *tofālē* what remains after liquid or essence has
 been removed (e.g. almonds, coal, etc.).
 تک *tak* alone.

- تک و پوز *tak u pūz* personal appearance.
 تکامل *takāmul* evolution.
 تالان رفتن *talān raftan* to stalk ; to strut.
 تلنگور زدن *talangūr zadan* to drum or tap with the fingers.
 تلو خوردن *telau khurdan* to tumble ; to stagger.
 تگ و تا *tang u tā* assuming false dignity or knowledge.
 تو خوردن *tū khurdan* to receive a shock.
 توپ زدن *tūp zadan* }
 توپیدن *tūpīdan* } to give a bad reception to anyone.
 توغولی (دوقولی) *tūghūlī (dūqūlī)* twins.
 تپا (تپو) *tīpā (tīpū)* a blow, kick.
 تپا زدن *tīpā zadan* to kick.
 تیر کردن *tīr kardan* to instigate.
 تیغ آفتاب *tīgh āftāb* sunrise.

ج

- جخت *jakht* already ; just.
 جر بزه *jur buzé* general fitness (as of a mother to bring up children, of a man to be a policeman).
 جر دادن *jar dādan* to tear.
 جر زدن *jar zadan* to be a defaulter in gambling debts.
 جرت و قوز *jert u qūz* spick and span.
 جغله *jeghelé* on the small side.
 جغور و بغور *jaghūr u baghūr* ; *olla podrida* ; a mix up (of people).
 جفت زدن بالا *juft zadan bālā* to mount ; to jump up.
 جفت زدن پائین *juft zadan pā'in* to alight ; to jump down.
 جلت *jullat* very shrewd.
 جلهز و ولز کردن *jelez u vелеz kardan* to be at the last gasp ; to be in a hopeless condition.
 جلبر *julumbur* worn out ; "junk."

جلو در آمدن *jelau dar āmadan* to treat well.
 جنگولک بازی در آوردن *jangūlak bāzi dar āvardan* to annoy a man, but
 in such a way that he cannot help being
 amused.

جور *jūr* kind ; sort.

جیم شدن *jīm shudan* to vanish ; to leave a place un-
 perceived ; to slip or sneak away.

چ

چاق کردن *chāq kardan* to get a *qaliyān* ready.
 چروک *churūk* a wrinkle ; a crease.
 چلوze *chilauzé* one sprig of a bunch of grapes.
 چه کاره *chi kārē* what profession (are you in ?).

ح

حالی شدن *hālī shudan* to understand.
 حشل *hashal* "offal" ; the inside of animals not
 ordinarily eaten.

خ

خپله *khepelé* stocky.
 خرت و پرت *khert u pert* small things ; useless junk.
 خرفت *khirift* dense ; unable to grasp what he hears.
 خرکچی *kharakchī* a donkey-driver.
 خفه خون مرگ بگذار *khafé khūn-i-marg bi-guzār* for God's sake go to
 sleep.
 خنگ *khīng* dense ; unable to grasp what he hears.
 خودرا از تنگ و تا انداختن *khudrā az tang u tā andākhtan* to keep up the
 pretence.
 خیت کردن *khīt kardan* to give a person away ; to show up.

د

- داداش *dādāsh* a brother.
- داغون شدن *dāghūn shudan* to be destroyed.
- داغون کردن *dāghūn kardan* to destroy.
- دبش *debsh* pleasantly bitter to the taste.
- دبّه در آوردن *debbé dar āvardan* to go back on a bargain ; to ask for more.
- ددر رفتن *dadar raftan* to take French leave ; to go without permission.
- دزدکی نگاه زدن *duzdakī nigāh zadan* to cast eyes ; to look out of the side of one's eyes when talking to anyone.
- دست پاچه شدن *dast pāché shudan* to become nervous ; *dast pāchehī* = showing embarrassment when caught doing something ; losing one's head in an examination.
- دست و پا کردن *dast u pā kardan* to try very hard.
- دک شدن *dak shudan* to flee ; to take French leave.
- دکيه *dakīsé* impossible ! (interjection).
- دل جوش زدن *dīl jūsh zadan* to be distraught with anxiety.
- دله *dalé* covetous.
- دنج *denj* "Liberty Hall".
- دنگ و فنگ *dang u fang* spick and span.
- دور قلم گرفتن *dūr qalam giriftan* to cross out ; to leave out.
- دول دادن *daval dādan* to delay ; to put off.
- دبلاق *dailāq* tall and thin (of a man).

ر

- ریچار (لیچار) *rīchār (līchār)* abusive language ; sarcasm.
- ریچار گفتن *rīchār guftan* to abuse ; to speak sarcastically or ironically.

ز

- زبان بسته *zabān basté* an animal.
 زبر و زرنگ *zabr u zarang* active ; vivacious.
 زپرتی *zaptī* cheap stuff.
 زرت *zert* a setback.
 زل زل نگاه کردن *zal zal nigāh kardan* to fix the eyes on ; to gaze.
 زلم زیمبو *zalam zīmbū* in attendance on (e.g. courtiers, etc.).

س

- سدومه *sedermé* the binding of rag shoes ; *sedermé-ye*
īn khāndān dar raft = the stuffing has been
 knocked out of this family.
 سر خوردن *sar khurdan* to take a lesson from ; to " bore "
 stiff.
 سر شدن *sar shudan* to understand. *īn harf-ha sar-i mā*
na-mīshavad = I don't accept these words ;
sar-i shumā mīshavīd ? = do you understand ?
 سرومر *surūmur* healthy (like a country girl).
 سقرمه *saqirmé* tough.
 سقلمه *suqulmé* a blow ; a punch.
 سک زدن *suk zadan* to be too insistent and importunate.
 سگرمه *sigirmé* a wrinkle.
 سلانه رفتن *salāné raftan* to stalk ; to strut.
 سمبل کردن *sambal kardan* to improvise ; to provide a
 substitute.
 سوت کردن *sūt kardan* to throw over (a wall).
 سورچی *sūrchī* a driver.

ش

- شتلی گرفتن *shetelī giriftan* to get something for nothing.
 شر و ور *sharr u var* irrelevant.

شَقّ و رَقّ *shaqq u raqq* smart (of soldiers).

شَلَتَاق *shaltāq* a cheat.

شَلَاکْتِه *shelakhté* inexpert.

شَلَم شُوربا *shalam shūrbā* untidy and dishevelled.

شُلُوغ *shulūgh* a big crowd.

ص

صَاف و پُوسْت کَندِه *sāf u pūst kandé* without prevarication.

ط

طَاس *tās* bald.

طَبَّانْدَن *tepāndan* to stuff.

ظ

ظَلَم *zālim* sly.

ع

عَلَم شَنگِه *alam shangé* a disturbance.

عَلَم شَنگِه در آوَرْدَن *alam shangé dar āvardan* to kick up a row (also written الم).

غ

غَال گِذَاشْتَن *ghāl guzāshstan* to disappoint.

غَل خُورْدَن *ghāl khurdan* to roll.

غُلْغُل کَرْدَن *ghulghul kardan* to bubble.

غُلْغُلُک *ghulghuluk* a pot ; a goblet.

غَنج زَدَن *ghanj zadan* to yearn ; to desire earnestly.

ف

فر (F) *fer* tongs.

فر زدن *fer zadan* to wave the hair.

فکستی *fakestani* jerry-built ; cheap and bad.

فن بالا کشیدن *fin bālā kashīdan* to snuffle.

فن کردن *fin kardan* to blow the nose on the fingers.

فیس کردن *fīs kardan* to show off.

ق

قاپچی *qāpāchī* (T) a janitor.

قاییدن *qāpīdan* to snatch

قاج *qāch* a slice (as of a melon).

قاجاق کردن *qāchāq kardan* to smuggle.

قاجاقچی *qāchāqchī* a smuggler.

قاطی *qātī* mixed.

قالب زدن *qālīb zadan* to overcharge.

قایم *qāyam* hard ; loud. *qāyamtar harf bi-zan* = speak louder !

قد بودن *qod būdan* to be very proud, haughty, or arrogant.

قدما *qudamā* ancestors.

قرچی برچی *qirichī birichī* gristle ; a cartilage.

قرشمال بودن *qirishmāl būdan* to kick up a row.

قرقر کردن *qar qar kardan* to grumble.

قل خوردن *qel khurdan* to roll.

قلا کردن *qulā kardan* to watch (as a cat for a mouse).

قلچماق *qolchumāq* } powerful ; rough ; strong ; one
 قلدر *quḍdur* } who does not fear anything.

قلفتی زدن *qiliftī zadan*

قلفتی سوار کردن *qiliftī savār kardan* } to overreach.

قلقلک دادن *qalqalak dādan* to tickle.

قلنبه *qulumbé* a swelling.

قصور شدن *qamsūr shudan* to strain to breaking point.
zert-i fulān chīz qamsūr ast = a thing is destroyed. *zert-i fulān kas qamsūr ast* = he is dead.

قورت دادن *qūrt dādan* to swallow.

قهوه *qahvé-i* brown.

قیب *qīp* exactly right.

قیر *qīr* the finishing touches in toilet. *qīr-ash durust ast* = she is well turned out.

ل

کارپرداز *kārpardāz* a commissary.

کاس کردن *kās kardan* to bore ; to weary.

کپره *kapré* dirt, visible on the body or clothes.

کپه *keppé* a heap.

کپه کردن *keppé kardan*

کپه گذاشتن *keppé guzāshtan* } to sleep.

کپیدن *kepīdan*

کچلک در آوردن *kščlik dar āvardan* to cry and shout without purpose.

کره شدن *keré shudan* to fall senseless.

کش یک کش دو کش *kash, yak kash, do kash* a time ; once ; twice.

کشیده *kashīdé* a slap.

کلافه شدن *kalāfē shudan* to become faint (with heat).

کلک زدن *kelk zadan* to sell at a high price (by concealing defects).

کله *kulé* clipped ; docked ; broken-bladed.

کند *kund* handcuffs.

کند و کو *kund u kū* an extreme effort.

کنس *kinis* a miser ; miserly.

کوم کردن *kūm kardan* to crave earnestly (for a drink, or an accustomed drug).

کهولت *kahū'at* old age.

کیپ *kīp* full; well-fitting.

کیس *kīs* uneven sowing.

کیس شدن *kīs shudan* to shrink (as of cloth); to be creased.

گ

گر *gar* without hair; mangy.

گس *gas* a taste which is not very bitter.

گندلی *gundeli* abnormally large or gross (گنده).

گودال *gudāl* a grave; a pit; a trench.

ل

لاسی *lās* a flirt.

لاس زدن *lās zadan* to begin to love; to flirt.

لاش گذاشتن *lāsh guzāshtan* to exaggerate.

لب و لباب *lub̄ u lubāb* ready to eat (as a skinned peach, etc.).

لبو *labū* cooked beet; rape.

لب *lap* cheek.

لج کردن *laj kardan* to do something with impunity.

لج و باز *laj u bāz* immune.

لچک *lachak* a handkerchief or scarf (worn on the head).

لخت *lakht* paralysed; limp.

لخم *lokḥm* filleted.

لش *lash* (F) a coward.

لک کردن *lak lak kardan* to carry on; to continue.

لکته *lakashé* broken instruments.

لگد لگد *lagad lagad* a kick.

- لگد زدن *lagad zadan* to kick.
 لم دادن *lam dādan* to enjoy sitting.
 لو دادن *lū dādan* to make known one's secret.
 لوچه *lauché* the corner of the mouth.
 لوس *lūs* self-satisfied.
 لول بودن *lūl būdan* to be unconscious ; to be dead drunk.
 لول زدن *lūl zadan* to probe.
 لولیدن *lūlidan* to wriggle.
 له کردن *lé kardan* to smash.
 لیز خوردن *līz khurdan* to slip.
 لیز دادن *līz dādan* to cause to slip.

م

- مآب *ma'āb* manner. *farangī ma'āb* = westernized.
 ماسوندن *māsūndan* to importune successfully.
 مالدۀ *mālīde* a "washout".
 متارکۀ *mutārke* abandonment (ترک).
 مجروحی *majrūhī* soreness.
 محل نگذاشتن *mahal naguzāshitan* to jilt.
 مخابره *mukhābiré* sending a telegram.
 مدخل زدن *madkhal zadan* to estimate.
 مسوق *masbūq* to be informed ; above mentioned.
 مفتگی *mufangī* a barbarian.
 ملندوۀ *malandūgh* "méchant".
 من من کردن *man man kardan* to jabber.
 موزی *mūzī* harmful.
 موس کردن *mūs mūs kardan* to solicitate.
 مهار کردن *mahār kardan* to lead by a string through the nose (like a camel).

ن

- ناتو *nātū* a snake in the grass (sign ناحق).
 نارو زدن *nārū zadan* to deceive.
 ناقلا *nāqulā* cute.
 نخراشیده *nakharāshīde* rough.
 نشگون *nashgūn* pinching.
 نثر *nonor* selfish.
 نوا در آوردن *navā dar āvardan* to mimic.
 نیزه زدن *naizé zadan* to pay compliments with an ulterior motive.

و

- وا رفتن *vā raftan* to astonish; to forget oneself; to become perplexed.
 وا زدن *vā zadan* to return (what is not wanted).
 وازده *vāzde* refuse (subs.); what is rejected.
 والمیدن *vālamīdan* to laze around; *dolce far niente*.
 وا ماندن *vā māndan* to be done up (as an over-loaded horse).
 ور *var* a way.
 ور پریدن *var parīdan* to die accidentally.
 وراچی کردن *varrāji kardan* to chatter; to babble.
 ور چلوزیدن *var chelauzīdan* to become corrugated, or rippled.
 ور رفتن *var raftan* to touch or play with forbidden things.
 ور زدن *var zadan* to chatter; to babble.
 ور قلنبیدن *var qolombīdan* to protrude unnaturally (as a pocket).
 ور کشیدن *var kashīdan* to force open.
 ول ول کردن *vul vul kardan* to wriggle.
 ولرم *vīlarm* tepid (of water); of mean temperature.
 ولنگار *velengār* a "bore".

ولنگاری کردن *velengārī kardan* to bore (a person).

ولو کردن *velau kardan* to disarrange ; (to chuck about).

ه

هاج و واج شدن *hāj u vāj shudan* to become astonished.

هار *hār* rabid ; afflicted with rabies.

هق هق زاری کردن *haq haq zārī kardan* to sob desperately ; to weep.

هو *ha'ū* a co-wife.

هوار *havār* the sudden collapse of a building.

هول دادن *haul dādan* to push or throw a person away or aside.

هول زدن *haul zadan* to show abnormal greed.

هول شدن *haul shudan* to be nervous (as before an examiner).

هول کردن *haul kardan* to be overcome with fear.

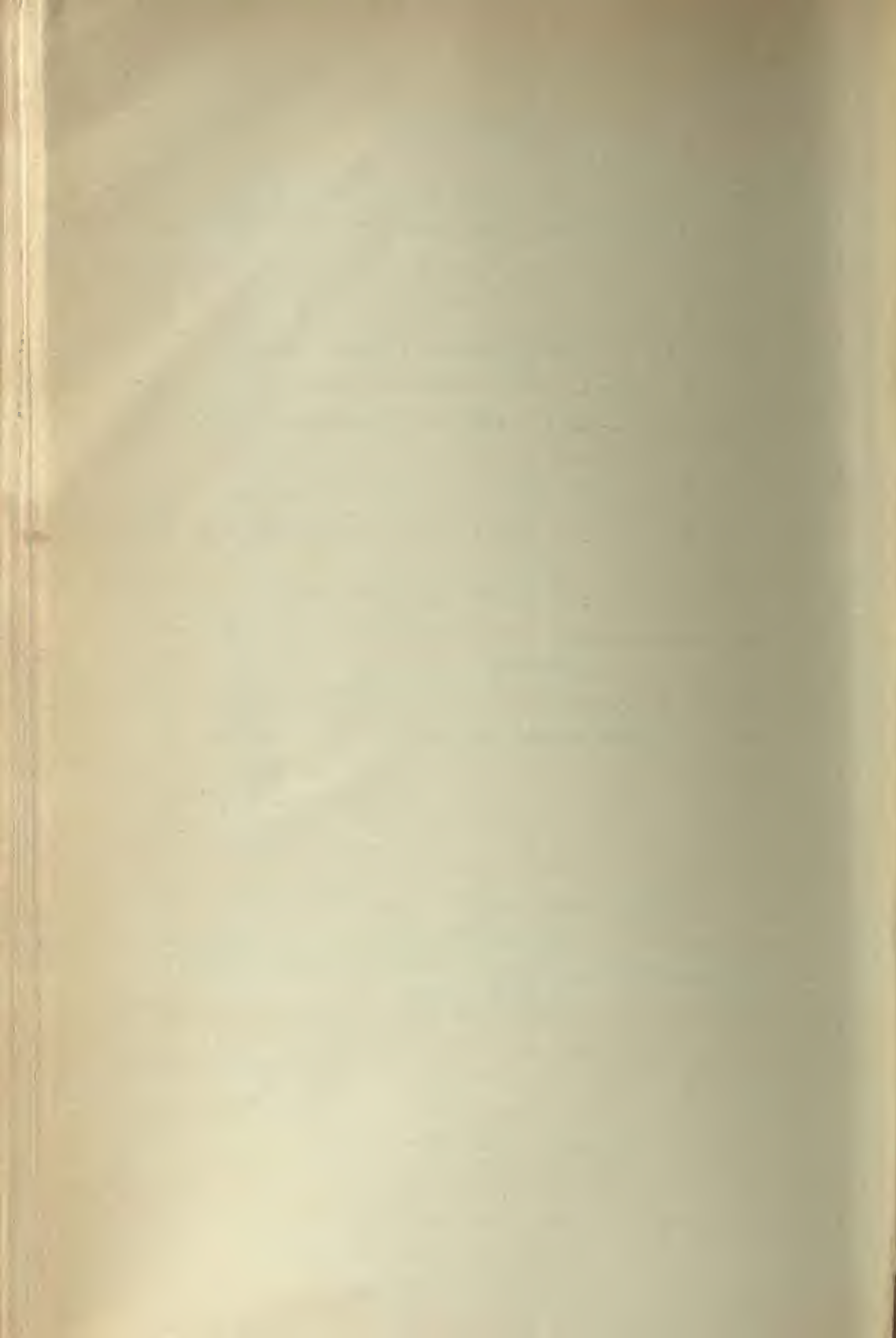
هولدانی *hauldānī* a prison cell.

ی

یخه *yakhé* a collar.

یکه خوردن *yakké khurdan* "to be struck of a heap" ; "to be struck breathless."

یلتی دادن (کردن) *yelleli dādan (kardan)* to let an opportunity slip by indifference.



Einiges über die Namen und die Freuden des kuränischen Paradieses¹

VON DAVID KÜNSTLINGER

DER Name für „Garten“ lautet im Arabischen جنة. Er ist wohl aus dem syr. ܓܢܬܐ, aram. ܓܢܬܐ übernommen.² Auch im Hebräischen kommt neben dem gewöhnlich gebrauchten גן auch גֶּנֶז (st. constr. גֶּנֶזֶת) vor, welchem genau das arab. جنة entspricht. Im Kurān kommt جنة in der allgemeinen Bedeutung „Garten“ in 2, 268 u.s., Dual جَنَّات 18, 31 u.s., Pl. جَنَّات 6, 99 u.s. vor. Der Garten, in welchem das erste Menschenpaar seinen Aufenthaltsort hatte, heisst hebr. גֶּן עֵדֶן, Gen. 2, 15; 3, 23. 24. Wenn גן (ohne עֵדֶן) in diesen Abschnitten gebraucht wird, so wird es immer mit dem Artikel versehen, es ist „der Garten (Eden)“. גֶּן עֵדֶן übersetzt Onkelos immer גִּנְתָּא דְּעֵדֶן. Genau so übersetzt I. u. II. Targum Jerūsalmi,³ nur in 2, 15 hat I. Jer. גִּנְתִּיתָא דְּעֵדֶן, kleiner Garten des Eden. Der obenerwähnte „Garten Eden“ wird in der nachbiblischen Zeit auch für die reservierte Wohnung für die Gläubigen im Jenseits verwendet. Daher sehr häufig „künftige Welt“ עוֹלָם דְּבָא oder עוֹלָם דְּבָא לְעֵתִיד לְבָא soviel wie „Gan Eden“⁴. Rōs haššānā 166 ist עוֹלָם דְּבָא (der Hölle) gegenübergestellt. Muḥammad kennt diesen Namen für die Wohnstätte des ersten Menschenpaares nicht. Er kennt ihn nur im eschatologischen Sinne, d.h. als Aufenthaltsstelle der Gläubigen im Jenseits. So II.⁵ 20, 78; 19, 62; 38, 50; 18, 30; III. 16, 33; 40, 8; 35, 30; 13, 23; IV. 98, 7; 61, 12; 9, 73. Er

¹ S. die inhaltsreiche Abhandlung von Josef Horowitz, Das kuranische Paradies in Scripta Universitatis atque Bibliothecae Hierosolym. Hierosol., memxxxiii, S.A. 1–16. Für manches hier nicht behandelte hierhergehörige Thema verweise ich auf die eben genannte Schrift.

² Fraenkel, Aram. Fremdwörter, 148.

³ S. I. Targ. Jeruś. zu Num. 26, 46.

⁴ Vgl. auch Atzberger, Die christl. Eschatologie 183, 2.

⁵ Die römischen Ziffern I., II., III., IV. bezeichnen vor Angabe der Sūra die erste, zweite, dritte makkanische, die vierte, d.h. die madinische Periode nach Nöldeke-Schwally's, Gesch. d. Qurān.

gebraucht hier jedoch immer — wohl im Sinne eines Kollektivs — die Pluralform **גִּבְתֵּי עֵדֶן**. Die Rabbinen wissen uns mitzuteilen, dass ein jeder der Frommen einen „Eden“ für sich selbst im Jenseits haben wird.¹ Aber auf grund dieser Agada, wenn sie dem Muḥammad bekannt gewesen wäre, würde man eher einen Plural des Wortes **עֵדֶן** erwarten.

Im eschatologischen Sinne verwenden die Juden nur äusserst selten das Wort **גֶּן** für **עֵדֶן**. So z. B. Pes. 94a = Ta'anit 10a: Die Welt ist ein 60. Teil des **גֶּן** (= Gan Eden), der **גֶּן** ist ein 60. Teil des **עֵדֶן**,² der Eden ist ein 60. Teil des Gehinnom (Hölle). Midraš Schir ha-Schirim ed. Grünhut, Jerusalem, 1897, 42a zu H.L. 6, 2 **לֵנִי גֶּן עֵדֶן**: **לֵנִי גֶּן**. Auch **עֵדֶן** ohne **גֶּן** (s. zuvor) wird nur selten in diesem Sinne gebraucht. z. B. Berak. 34b = Sanh. 99a mit Bezug auf Jes. 64, 3: „kein Auge sah dies“ darunter sei der **עֵדֶן** zu verstehen. In Lev. r. 34, 15 zu Jes. 58, 11: „Du wirst sein wie ein bewässerter Garten“, d.i. **גֶּן**; „wie ein Quellort von Wassern“, d.i. **עֵדֶן**.³ Die bisher erwähnten Stellen sind aber eher Deutungen als gebräuchliche Namen. Denn stereotyp lautet der eschatologische Ausdruck **גֶּן עֵדֶן**; er wird fast wie ein Eigennamen gebraucht, so dass Targum zu Hiob 38, 18 **גֶּן עֵדֶן** **גִּבְתֵּי עֵדֶן** sagen konnte; s. Levy, Targ. WB. I, 146. Dagegen verwendet die christliche oder die von Christen häufig gebrauchte, wenn auch ursprünglich jüdische, allerdings nicht offiziell jüdische Literatur bloss das Wort „Garten“ für „Garten Eden“. So das aethiopische Henochbuch (ed. Flemming) 32, 6 **גֶּן עֵדֶן**; 60, 8 **גֶּן עֵדֶן**. Das christliche Adambuch des Morgenlandes (Der Kampf Adams), aethiop. Text (ed. Trumpp) hat das Wort **גֶּן עֵדֶן** fast auf jeder Seite. Ebenso haben die apokryphen gnostischen Adamschriften von Preuschen aus dem Armenischen übersetzt das Wort „Garten“ für „Garten Eden“ sehr häufig.

Im eschatologischen Sinne gebraucht Muḥammad das Wort **جَنَّة** (ohne **عَدْن**) ungemein oft. So I. 81, 13; 89, 30; II. 76, 12; 20, 115 u.s.; III. 41, 30; 16, 34 u.s.; IV. 2, 33 u.s.; 2, 105 z. B.

¹ Lev. r. 27, 1 zu Ps. 36, 9: **עֵדֶן** (Pl.) zeigt an, dass **כָּל צַדִּיק וְצַדִּיק יֵשׁ** **לֵי עֵדֶן בְּכָל עֵצָה**. In Ber. 34b wird zwischen **גֶּן** und **עֵדֶן** ein Unterschied gemacht. S. Pes. de Rab Kahana (ed. Buber) 75a. Test. Dan 5.

² S. die vorige Anm.

³ Dieselbe Lesart im Jalk. Simeoni z. St. sowie zu 64, 3. Dagegen liest Jalk. ha-Mächiri zu 58, 11: **גֶּן עֵדֶן** und zum zweiten Teil des Verses **בְּאֵרוֹ מַעַיִן וְגֵן** (ohne **جَنَّة**) im Gegensatz zu **جَهَنَّمَ** findet sich bei Umajja ibn Abi Salt xli, 1 vor.

lautet: Sie sprechen: Nie kommt Jemand in den Garten ausser, dass er Jude oder Christ sei. Sollten dieses dem Muḥammad wirklich Juden *und* Christen gesagt haben? Oder ist „Sie“ in **وَقَالُوا** Juden (für sich), Christen (für sich) zu zerlegen? Der Text spricht nicht dafür. Auch bei dem ersten Menschenpaar kommt **جَنَّة** vor, z. B. II. 20, 115; III. 7, 21. Dieser Sprachgebrauch dürfte wohl auf christliche Herkunft hinweisen.

Eine andere Bezeichnung für den seligen Aufenthaltsort der Gläubigen ist im Kurān **جَنَّة نعيم** resp. **جَنَّات نعيم** oder **جَنَّة النعيم** resp. **جَنَّات النعيم**. Z. B. I. 68, 34; 70, 38; 56, 12; II. 37, 42; 26, 85; III. 31, 7.; IV. 5, 70. Die Juden gaben **עֵדֶן** nie durch **נַעִים** wieder, wiewohl es zum Stamm **עֵדֶן** ein Synonym sein könnte. Der Targum wiedergibt z. B. **עֵדֶן** in Ps. 36, 9 durch **בְּסִימֹתָךְ**, aber **עֵדֶן** **נָן** wird nie auf diese Weise übersetzt. Das aram. **בְּסִם** entspricht gewöhnlich dem hebr. **נַעִים**. Doch kommt im Targum zu Ps. 90, 17 **עֵדֶן נָן בְּסִימֹתָךְ** vor, was einem **نَعيْم الْجَنَّة عدن** entsprechen würde. Allein dieses dürfte wohl Paraphrase, aber keine Übersetzung sein. Vgl. IV Ezra 7, 36 **ὁ τῆς τρυφῆς παράδεισος**. Die aethiop. Übersetzung zu Gen. 2, 15 hat in ihrer Vorlage nur **גֵּן** gehabt, daher **ወለተ ንነት**. Zu 3, 23 **ንነት ተደላ** und zu 3, 24 **ንነት ትፋሥሕት**, also „Garten der Lust, Freude“, Christliches Adambuch 43 n.s. **እምንነት ትፋሥሕት**; im Arab. das. Anm. 3 **نَعيْم الفردوس** von der Wonne des Paradieses. Es wird wohl anzunehmen sein, dass das Aethiopische die umgekehrte Reihenfolge dieser beiden Wörter im arab. Original¹ vor sich gehabt haben wird, da nur diese eine Übersetzung des **עֵדֶן** **נָן** sein könne. Natürlich gehen diese Übersetzungen auf die Septuaginta zurück, die **עֵדֶן** **נָן** durch **παράδεισος τῆς τρυφῆς** wiedergibt.² Vulg. **paradisus voluptatis**.

Interessant ist I. 52, 17, in welchem Verse Muḥammad sagt: Fürwahr die Frommen (werden sein) in **جَنَّات و نعيم**. Hier ist **نعيم**, Wonne, fast zu einem Synonym des *gannat* geworden. Am einfachsten wäre das Waw zu streichen, um das Wort als Adjektivnomen der gewöhnlichen Phraseologie anzugleichen. Allein die Kommentatoren Tabarī, Zamahšārī und Baidāwī führen keine solche Lesart an.

In I. (od. IV. ?) 102, 3, wo zuvor von der Pleonexia gesprochen und behauptet wird: Die Ungläubigen werden wohl die Hölle sehen,

¹ Schürer, Geschichte, III (1909). 397.

² Vgl. Philo, Alleg. Erklär. I, 45 (Deutsche Übersetz. ed. Cohn).

sehen mit dem Auge der Gewissheit, heisst es ferner **نَمُتْسَالْن** **نَمُتْسَالْن** **نَمُتْسَالْن**, worunter die Erklärer verstehen wollen: An jenem Tage alsdann werdet ihr nach der Wonne (der ihr euch im diesseitigen Leben ergeben habt) gefragt werden. Vielleicht wäre hier angebracht die passive Form des Zeitwortes in die aktive umzuwandeln und zu übersetzen: An jenem Tage alsdann werdet ihr nach der Wonne (des Gartens) fragen. D. h. nach denjenigen, welche im Paradiese sich aufhalten. Vgl. I. 74, 42-3: In Gärten werden sie (die Frommen) nach den Sündern einander befragen: Was hat euch in die Hölle getrieben? Allein auch hier vermag man aus den oben angeführten Kurānkommentatoren dieses nicht zu belegen.

Von der Wonne in den Gärten handelt IV. 9, 21: Und Gärten sind für sie (die Frommen), in denselben bestehende Wonne **نَعِيم** **نَعِيم** **نَعِيم**. Im Gegensatz zu den Ungläubigen, welche in der Hölle verbleiben, heisst es I. 82, 13 und 83, 22: **أَنَّ الْأَبْرَارَ لَفِي نَعِيمٍ**, was zu übersetzen sei „Siehe, die Reinen sind wahrlich im Paradiese“. An dieser Stelle ist **نَعِيم** = **جَنَّات**. Erkennen wirst du auf ihren (d. Gläubigen) Angesichtern — lautet in I. 83, 24 — den Glanz der Wonne **نَعِيم** (= des Paradieses); vgl. Henoch 108, 14-15.

جَنَّةُ الْخَالِدِ, der Garten der Ewigkeit, des ewigen Aufenthaltes in II. 25, 16; vgl. Umajja, xxiii, 14, **جَنَّاتُ الْخَالِدِ** (kurānisch?). Es ist dies das Paradies im Gegensatz zu III. 41, 28, **دَارُ الْخَالِدِ**, die Hölle als ewige Wohnung; Henoch 71, 15-16. — I. 88, 10; 69, 22, **جَنَّةٌ عَالِيَةٌ** im hohen Garten, ist bei Juden nur aus später, wohl muslimischer Zeit, bekannt. S. Jellinek, Bet Hamidr. III, 198 **בְּנֵן עֵדֶן שְׁלִמְעֵלָה**.

مَأْوَى (ohne Artikel) als „Wohnung“ der Ungläubigen in der Hölle kommt öfter im Kurān vor. Zum ersten Mal in II. 17, 99, dann auch in III. u. IV. Auch die Rabbinen kennen „Wohnungen“ in der Hölle. Sota 106 wird von sieben Wohnungen derselben gesprochen: **שבעה מדורי גיהנום**. Auf I. (od. II.) 79, 39: Die Hölle ist seine (d. Ungläubigen) Wohnung **المأوى** (mit dem Artikel) folgt Vers 41: Ja, siehe, der Garten ist die Wohnung (für den Gläubigen) **الجنة**. ¹ **هِيَ الْمَأْوَى** Baba mez. 83b in bezug auf Ps. 104, 22: Es gibt keinen Gerechten, der keine Wohnung **מדור** seinem Ehrenrang entsprechend

¹ L.A. xxviii, 55: **جنة البيت = جنة المأوى**.

(im Garten Eden) hätte,¹ wo zuvor gesagt wird: Die Bösewichter werden in die Gehenna „eingesammelt“. Genau wie جَنَّاتِ التَّعِيمِ heisst es in III. 32, 19: Ja, sie (die Gläubigen) haben die Gärten der Wohnung المَأْوَى. Baidāwī z. St. II. 262 (gedruckt 1317) جَنَّةٌ مِنَ الْجَنَّةِ = المَأْوَى, einer von den Gärten des Paradieses. Dagegen gehört derselbe Ausdruck in I. 53, 15 nicht hierher, da daselbst von einem wirklich bewohnten Garten die Rede ist.² Wohnungen der Auserwählten und der Heiligen im Himmel kennt Henoch 41, 2; Wohnungen der Heiligen und Ruheplätze der Gerechten das. 39, 4–5 מְנוּחַת שְׁמִינִי; vgl. IV. 61, 12 מִסְכַּן טִיבָה. Midr. zuta ed. Buber = Agadath Shir Hashirim ed. Schechter zu 1, 4 חֲדָרֵינוּ: אֵלֶּיךָ, חֲדָרִים שְׁבִמְנוּם, dies sind die Kammern des Gan Eden; חֲדָרִים שְׁבִמְנוּם, die Kammern der Höhe (des Himmels). Ketub. 77b, אֲחֻזַּי לִי דוֹכְתָאִי, wo nach der Lesart des Midr. haggadol 209 (ed. Schechter) בְּנֵן עֵדֶן hinzuzufügen ist. Also: Zeige mir meinen Platz im Garten Eden. Vgl. Joh. 14, 27, wo diese Wohnungen im Syr. ܡܝܬܬܐ, von demselben Stamme was مَأْوَى, heissen. S. auch Preuschen, Antilegomena 71 (Die Presbyter bei Irenäus Abschn. 12). Die angeführten Belege entsprechen zwar dem Inhalte nach dem kuränischen جَنَّةِ المَأْوَى, aber der Form nach würden sie eher mit einem المَأْوَى übereinstimmen. Vielleicht verwendete Muhammad مَأْوَى im Zusammenhange mit جَنَّة im Sinne von Paradieses-Wohnung, weil im Arab. عَدَن „wohnen, sich aufhalten“ bedeutet. Es wäre also hier wiederum eine Umschreibung des hebr. עֵדֶן, welches dem arab. عَدَن entspricht; vgl. oben bei نَعِيم. Auch andere Semiten hörten aus

¹ וְאֵל מְנוּחָתָם יִרְבֹּצוּן: אֵין לָךְ כָּל צִדִּיק וְצִדִּיק שֶׁאֵין לוֹ מְנוּחָה לְפִי כְבוֹדוֹ Rut r. 3, 4. Mit bezug auf Koh. 12, 5. שְׁלֹמֹה Sabb. 152a. Lev. r. 18, 1; Koh. r. zu das.; Ex. r. 52, 3. Die beiden letzten Stellen haben richtig שְׁלֹמֹה st. מְנוּחָה. An den beiden ersten Stellen sollte man ebenso lesen, denn sie beziehen sich auf שְׁלֹמֹה des Koheletverses. Vgl. S. 618, Anm. 1. Auch דִּירָה als Wohnort der Gerechten im Jenseits kommt Lev. r. 27, 1; Num. r. 1, 1 vor u. z. mit bezug auf Ez. 37, 14: Auf guter Weide werde ich sie weiden und auf Israels Berghöhen wird ihre Trift (Wohnung) נִירָהם sein. Midr. Ps. 16, 3: Die Väter der Welt (die Erzväter) hätten durchsetzen können, dass ihre Wohnung דִּירָתָם in der Höhe (Himmel) sein sollte.

² Zamah'āri II. 202, erwähnt eine Lesart جَنَّة.

³ S. m. Kommentar zur 53 Sūre des Kurān in Mémoires de la Commission orientale de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et Lettres No. 8, 23 (polnisch).

⁴ In II. 38, 49 werden Edens Gärten „eine schöne Einkehr“ حَسَن مَأْبٍ genannt.

עדן nicht nur „Wonne“, sondern auch „Ort, Wohnung“ heraus, daher דוכתא, מדור und dann עדן.¹

Im Zusammenhange mit dem oben Gesagten steht der Terminus دار oder الدار, welcher im gewöhnlichen Gebrauch „Haus, Wohnung“ bedeutet, z. B. 7, 142²; 11, 68 u.s., im eschatologischen Sinne aber „Wohnung des Jenseits“, „Paradies“. II. 38, 46 ذكري الدار³; Abraham, Isak und Jakob gedachten bereits der Wohnung des Jenseits.⁴ III. 28, 37; 6, 136 عاقبة الدار: der Ausgang, der Lohn der Wohnung (im Jenseits). Ebenso III. 13, 22. 24. 42 عتبي الدار⁵ im Gegensatz zu das. Vers 25 u.s. سوء الدار —. 6 دار الآخرة oder الآخرة der Aufenthaltsort im Jenseits: III. 16, 32; 28, 83 u.s. Im Vers 32 der erstgenannten Sûre findet man neben der obigen Phrase ولتعم دار المتقين⁷: und ja wonnig ist die Wohnung (des Paradieses) der Gottesfürchtigen. Unter III. 40, 42 القرار الآخرة هي دار القرار⁸: Die Hölle behält dauernd ihre Leute, wie das Höllenfeuer die ihren; vgl. 21, 102, 99. Eine andere Benennung des Paradieses lautet III. 10, 26; 6, 127 دار السلام. Haus des Friedens, des Heils, wozu Zamahšārī I, 311 الجنة یعنی الجنة. Vgl. Chag. 12b: Der siebente Himmel 'Arābōt, in welchem Schätze von Frieden שלום sind. Gen. r. 30, 4 = 38, 12 zu Gen. 15, 15: Du wirst zu deinen Eltern nach šalōm בשלום kommen, d.h. Gott

¹ L.A. xvii, 150: Das Nomen عدن (von عدن abgeleitet) bedeutet den Ort, an welchem die Kamele verweilen, sich füttern, ohne davonzulaufen. المعدن ist die Stelle, wo die Leute ständig, Winter wie Sommer, sich aufhalten. Die Wohnung der Hölle wäre dann ein Pendant zur Wohnung des Paradieses. S. Sprenger, Moh. II. 507, 1, aber auch Horowitz a.a.O. 7.

² Tab. ix, 37–8, führt allerdings eine Deutung dieses دار als جهنم an, eine andere jedoch, wo darunter ein gewöhnliches Haus zu verstehen sei.

³ Tab. xxiii, 98–9, الدار = الجنة = الآخرة = الدار.

⁴ Dieses kennt eine Agada in Gen. r. 53, 12, zu Gen. 21, 12, במי שחנה מדור.

⁵ Zur Form s. Barth, Nominalbildung 282. — אדור in Ps. 139, 5, wird in Gen. r. 8, 1 (u. Parall.) als zukünftige Welt gedeutet; ebenso אדורי in Ex. 33, 23 in Sifrē zu Deut. (Ende). S. auch Ex. r. 45, 6. Jalk. ha-Machlir zu Prov. 31, 25, wo אדורין = jenseitige Welt. Vgl. einen ähnlichen Terminus bei Levy, Targ. Wörth. II. 235 a.v. עקבא für die messianische Zeit.

⁶ Zam. I. 67 zu 2, 88 = الجنة.

⁷ Tab. das. 99: وهذا كله الجنة. — Vgl. III. 17, 33 دار الآبوار, Hölle, Parall. zu das. Vers 34 جهنم. Vgl. 28, 90 u.s.

teilte ihm (Abr.) die frohe Kunde mit, dass sein Vater an der künftigen Welt, am Gan Eden, teilhaben wird.¹

In III. 35, 32 lautet der Name des Paradieses im Gegensatz zu جہنم das. Vers 33: دار المقامة, eigentlich „Wohnung des Standortes.“ II. 44, 51: Siehe, die Frommen (befinden sich) am festen Ort مقام أمين, worauf Vers 52 folgt فى جنات وعيون. Tab. xxv, 74 bemerkt dazu, dass die letzten Worte seien eine Übersetzung, Erklärung ترجمة der ersteren. Vgl. II. 25, 26 مستقر im Paradies einen festen, sicheren Wohnplatz haben. Im Paradies haben die Gläubigen eine schöne Mittagsruhe مقل das. und befinden sich die Gefährten der Rechten (= die Gläubigen) unter dornenlosen Lotosbäumen سدر محضود I. 56, 27.—Ob auch II. 17, 81 مقام محمود hierher gehört, soll unentschieden bleiben.—Sanh. 99a; Berach. 34b²: An dem Ort מקום (des Paradieses), wo die Reuigen sich aufhalten, halten sich selbst die Frommsten nicht auf.⁴ Sifrē zu Deut. 1, 10; Jalkūt ha-Machirī zu Ps. 15, 1 heisst es: Es gibt sieben Abteilungen von Gerechten im Gan Eden, die eine höher als die andere; . . . die siebente Abteilung gemäss Ps. 24, 3 „und wer darf an seiner heiligen Stätte במקום stehen?“⁵ Vielleicht ist auch mit Rühling⁶ anzunehmen, dass II. 54, 55 مقعد صدق eine Benennung des Paradieses sei. Gen. r, 15, 4 zu Ps. 139, 2 deutet מלך كبير.—Das Paradies ist auch שבתו בתוך גן עדן: שבתו II. 76, 20 genannt, was wohl mit Macht, Ansehen wiedergegeben werden soll wie 20, 118. Im Garten sollen auch Gebäude mit عُرف⁸, Oberzimmer, Speisezimmer sein III. 39, 21 u.s.

An drei Stellen spricht der Kurān von Doppelgärten in einer und derselben Süre, I. 55, 46: Und für den, der fürchtet ربّہ مقام⁹ ist ein وجنى الجنتين دان (Dual), Doppelgarten (vorbereitet). Das. 54

¹ Lekach tob und Sechel tob z. St. lesen בני עדן st. בעולם הבא.

² Tab. xxii, 82 = الجنة).

³ S. Jalk. ha-Machirī zu Jes. 57, 19.

⁴ מקום (במקום) שבעלי תשובה עומדין צדיקים נמודים אתם עומדין.

⁵ שבע כחות של צדיקים בנן עדן זו למעלה מזו . . . כת שביעית (תהלים כ"ד ג') מי יקום במקום קדשו.

⁶ Beiträge zur Eschatologie des Islam 32 f.

⁷ Zam. II, 423, führt eine Lesart مناع an.

⁸ Fraenkel, Aram. Fremdw. 21. Tab. xxi, 7. عُرف = غُرف.

⁹ Horowitz a.a.O. 3, 1. S. Nielsen, Neue katabanische Inschriften (MVG, xi) 11: במשק מראוה in der Macht seines Herrn.

und die Früchte des Doppelgartens sind nahe (zum Pflücken). Das. 62 **ومن دونها جنتان** und ausser jenen (noch) ein Doppelgarten. Man braucht sich aber über diesen Doppelgarten den Kopf nicht zu zerbrechen, was derselbe im Verhältnis zur **جنة** oder **جنت** bedeuten möge. Denn mit Recht behauptet Nöldeke, „dass hier die Duale dem Reime zu Liebe gebraucht sind.“¹— Allein auch die Juden wissen von einem kleinen Garten im Gan Eden; s. oben.

In II. 23, 11 wird der Gan Eden mittelst eines Fremdwortes **جنت الفردوس**, Paradies, bezeichnet,² aber II. (?). 18, 107 wird **جنت الفردوس** gebraucht. Im Zusammenhange mit diesem gehört hierher wiederum ein anderer Namen für **جنة**, der im Kurān III. 30, 14 vorkommt, nämlich **روضة**, die Aue. Er gehört zu den echten arabischen Namen für „grüne (bunte) Plätze“.³ **روضة** im eschatologischen Sinne, wie es hier verwendet wird, kann nur eine Übersetzung von **جنة** sein, etwa wie das oben erwähnte **نعيم** Übersetzung von **عِلّام** ist. Muhammad gebraucht jedoch in III. 42, 21 **روضات الجنات**, die Auen des Paradieses. Vgl. Sibyllinen, Proömium 86 „der grünende Garten des Paradieses“. Noch ein anderes Wort für Paradies verwendet Umajja xxiv, 4 **الحش**, der Garten; dieses ist sicherlich nicht kurānisch.—Die talmudisch-midräische Literatur kennt nicht das Wort **פַּרְדֵּס** im eschatologischen Sinne für Paradies. Auch in Chag. 14b: Vier traten in den **פַּרְדֵּס** ein, bedeutet nicht „sie traten in den Garten Eden ein“, sondern „Pardes“ ist hier eine Bezeichnung für die Beschäftigung mit einem mystischen Studium über den Tronwagen Ezechiels (Ez. Anfg.). Dagegen ist in der von Christen benutzten Literatur das Wort „Paradies“ = Gan Eden allgemein gebraucht; s. oben.

Da es für die Gläubigen im Paradiese viel Freude und Glück gibt, I. 85, 11 **الفوز الكبير**; II. 37, 58, **الفوز العظيم**; (in III. 42, 21 **الفضل الكبير**), so ist das Paradies ein **مغاز** I. 78, 31; die Gefährten desselben heissen somit **الفائزون** II. 23, 113 u.s.

Der Raum, den das Paradies einnimmt, ist unendlich wie die Breite **عرض** der Himmel und der Erde: IV. 3, 127; 57, 21. Vgl. die oben angeführte Stelle aus Pes. 94a: Die Welt ist ein 60. Teil

¹ Gesch. d. Qorān 31.

² Über die Herkunft dieses Wortes s. Jennings, Lexicon to the Syr. N.T. 1926, 178.

³ Fraenkel, Aram. Fremdw. 149.

des Gan u.s.w. Syr. Baruchapokalypse 51, 11 spricht von der weiten Räumen des Paradieses; 59, 8 von der Grösse desselben. In 48, 50 befindet sich das Paradies „in jener endlosen Welt“.

Zwischen Paradies und Hölle ist ein Vorhang, eine Scheide حجاب vorhanden, auf der الاعراف III. 7, 44f genannten Stelle sind Leute, welche man durch Merkmale erkennt يعرفون. Die Bedeutung des Wortes الاعراف ist noch nicht erschlossen; Horovitz a.a.O. 8. Vielleicht ist es eben der Ort, wo sich die Gläubigen aufhalten und als solche erkannt werden, wofür das angeführte يعرفون sprechen würde. Oder sollte der Plural الاعراف eine Nachbildung des Namens des siebenten Himmels ערבות Chag. 12b mit Bezugnahme auf Ps. 68, 5 (s. Targ. das.) sein? ¹ Dort sollen sich u.a. die Seelen der Frommen aufhalten. Im slav. Henochbuch xx, 3 wird der zehnte Himmel „Arabat“, xxii, 1, „Aravoth“ genannt.

Den Gläubigen stehen die Tore أبواب des Paradieses offen: II. 38, 50; III. 39, 73. Durch alle Tore treten zu ihnen Engel ein: III. 13, 23. Vgl. IV, Ezra 8, 52 „Für euch ist das Paradies eröffnet“. Test. Levi 18: Und Gott selbst wird die Türen des Paradieses öffnen. Gen. r. 33, 6 zu Gen. 8, 11: Der Taube Noah's wurden die Tore des Gan Eden geöffnet. Sabb. 119b: Wer (nach Schluss einer vorgetragenen Eulogie des Vorbeters) kräftig „Amen“ erwiedert, dem öffnet man die Tore des Gan Eden — Chag. 12b: Im siebenten Himmel Arabot (s. oben) befinden sich u.a. auch die Dienstengel. Ketub. 104a: Wenn der Fromme vom Diesseits scheidet, kommen ihm drei Reihen von Dienstengeln entgegen, wovon die eine ihm sagt (Jes. 57, 2) „komme in Frieden“ (ins Paradies) usw.

Nach III. 39, 73 werden die Gottesfürchtigen in Scharen זמרא geführt werden bis sie ins Paradies gelangen. Nach Vers 71 das. werden die Ungläubigen ebenfalls in Scharen in die Hölle getrieben werden. H. Lied r. zu 6, 8: Diese sind die sechzig Gruppen der Frommen, welche im Gan Eden unter dem Lebensbaum verweilen und sich mit der Tora beschäftigen.² Midr. zu Ps. 11, 7: Sieben Abteilungen von Frommen sind bestimmt vor dem Heiligen, gelobt sei er, einst zu erscheinen. . . . Jede Abteilung hat eine besondere Wohnung im Gan Eden. Diesen werden daselbst die Frevler in der Hölle gegenübergestellt.³

¹ Über derartige Lautverschiebung s. Barth, Etym. St., § 8.

² אלו ששים הכוזות של צדיקים שישבות בגן עדן ונו'.

³ שבע כתות הן שהן עתידין לעמוד לפני הקב"ה לעתיד לבא ונו'.

In das Paradies „eintreten, führen oder geführt werden“ wird im Kurān durch das Verbum دخل ausgedrückt. z. B. I. 89, 30; II. 19, 61 u.s. Im Rabbinischen wird hierfür נכנס verwendet. S. Gen. r. 9, 9 (vgl. die Lesarten in der Ausgabe Theodors das.). Derech Erez zuta 1 Ende. In B. mezia 114b: Und er (der Prophet Elias) führte ihn (einen Gelehrten) ועייל in den Garten Eden ein. In III. 39, 73 wird جاء verwendet. Taanit 32b: kam zum Gan Eden an. IV. 3, 136: Im Paradies eine Aufnahme נזל (finden). Dem Frommen ist das Paradies nahe זלף I. 81, 13 u.s. Das Verweilen, Wohnen im Paradiese wird III. 39, 74 durch سبأ ausgedrückt. Das ewige, unaufhörliche Verbleiben daselbst ist durch den Stamm جلد II. 20, 78 u.s. oder noch verstärkt durch أبدا IV. 98, 7 u.s. bezeichnet. Dem Frommen ist das Paradies von vorne herein bestimmt, es wird dafür der Stamm وعد verwendet: II. 25, 16 u.s. In II. 19, 62 geht diese Bestimmung geheim vor. Vgl. syr. Baruchapokal. 48, 49; IV. Ezra 8, 52. Für das Einladen ins Paradies zu gelangen wird der Stamm دعى angewandt: III. 40, 44 u.s. Die Frommen „erben“, „nehmen in Besitz“ das Paradies מורש ג' ע' oder מורשת גן עדן II. 19, 64 u.s. Jeruś. Pes. I, 1 Abot 5 (g. Ende): Die Schüler Abrahams erben, nehmen in Besitz מורשין (so nach der Cambr. Hs.) den Gan Eden. Über diese Phrase bei Christen s. Pautz, Die Lehre von der Offenb. 215, 1. Den Eintritt ins Paradies verwehren heisst חרם: III. 7, 48; IV. 5, 76.

Was die Freuden im Paradiese anbetrifft sagt Horovitz a.a.O. 8: „Dass in einem arabischen Paradies die Flüsse, der Schatten und die Früchte nicht fehlen dürfen, versteht sich von selbst, und dafür nach fremden Vorbildern Ausschau zu halten, wäre geschmacklos“. Es ist aber nicht einzusehen, weshalb dieses geschmacklos oder sagen wir geschmackloser sein sollte als die Ausschau zu halten nach fremden Vorbildern betreffs der Paradiesesweiber oder der Schmuckgegenstände im Paradiese, denen er selbst die letzten Seiten seiner inhaltvollen Abhandlung widmet.

Früchte, Flüsse, etc., sind nicht nur bei den Arabern, sondern auch bei den Juden in ihrem Paradiese vorhanden, was hier gleich besprochen sein soll. Rut r. 5, 14 zu 2, 14: Das Essen, von dem dort die Rede ist, beziehe sich auf die diesseitige Welt, auf die messianische Zeit und auf das Jenseits. Tošeftā Šōtā x, 5; Šanh. 108b; Abot de R. Natan (ed. Schechter) 93 lautet eine Stelle mit bezug auf Gen. 7, 10:

Gott habe Noe und den Seinen zu essen und trinken gegeben nach der Art (des Essens und Trinkens) des Jenseits **מֵעֵן הָעוֹלָם הַבָּא**, damit sie erfahren, was sie verloren haben. Vgl. ausserdem B. Batra 15b f.; Pes. rabb. (ed. Friedmann) 16 f., 28b u.s. zum materiellen Sinn dieses Ausdrucks. Lev. r. 13, 3: Dereinst wird der Heilige, gelobt sei er, eine Mahlzeit **מַעֲדָה** für die Frommen im Gan Eden veranstalten. Tanḥ. (Ende Lev.): Ich werde euch vor dem Aufenthalt in der Hölle retten, werde euch aber (im Gan Eden) den Tisch decken mit Beziehung auf Ps. 23, 5. Ex. r. 45, 6: Die Propheten haben die Mahlzeit gesehen . . . S. auch Erub. 54a; Sabb. 153a. Targ. zu Koh. 9, 7: Der Herr der Welt wird einst jedem Frommen besonders sagen, geh, genieße in Freude deine Speise, welche dir wiedergegeben wird für die Speise, die du dem hungrigen Armen und Unglücklichen verabreicht hast; und trinke guten Mutes den Wein, der für dich im Gan Eden aufbewahrt ist **לֶךְ דְּמִשְׁתֶּנָּה לְךָ** für den Wein usw. Ex. r. 25, 8: . . . zu sehen den gedeckten Tisch im Gan Eden . . . Er bringt ihnen Früchte vom Gan Eden und speist sie vom Lebensbaum. Test. Levi 18 „und wird den Heiligen zu essen geben vom Holze des Lebens“.

Die Anschauungen über das Leben im Jenseits, über das Verweilen im Paradiese waren ursprünglich auch bei den Juden eher sinnlich als idealistisch vorhanden gewesen. Die Idealisierung kam erst auf, als sich die diesbezüglichen Anschauungen theologisch-religiös geläutert haben. Aber auch in späterer Zeit hing es wohl vom Autor ab, welche von den beiden Ansichten er sich zueigen machte. Daher kommt es, dass man auch älteres Gut neben jüngerem oft stehen liess. Die eschatologisch-materielle Auffassung ist eben ein Abbild einer früheren Periode, das man manchmal noch tradierte. So z. B. ist in der idealistischen Auffassung Ber. 17a; Kallā r. 2: „In der künftigen Welt gibt's kein Essen, kein Trinken, keine Fortpflanzung, kein Handel, keine Eifersucht, kein Hass, sondern die Frommen sitzen in Kronen auf ihren Häuptern und ergötzen sich am Glanze (der göttlichen) Majestät“—die polemische Spitze sichtbar, welche gegen diejenigen gerichtet ist, die umgekehrter Meinung waren. Die ältere Meinung war somit — wie oben bereits zu sehen war — im Jenseits gäbe es ein Essen und Trinken u.s.

Die Freuden, die der Gläubigen im Paradiese harren, sind natürlich nach der Hoffnung, dem Verlangen, auch der übertriebenen phantastischen Sehnsucht des im Diesseits geplagten Menschen gezeichnet. Im heissen, wasserarmen Klima ist vor allem Schatten

und frisches Wasser erwünscht. Daher ist der Schatten ظل Pl. ظلال des Gartens nahe über den Frommen, welche sich daselbst aufhalten: I. 56, 29; II. 76, 14; 36, 56; III. 13, 35; IV. 4, 60. Jerus. Šötä 7, 4: Dereinst wird der Heilige, gelobt sei er, den Gesetzes-treuen einen Schatten ظل „machen“ am Schatten der Gerechten (so wird Koh. 7, 12 verstanden). Die oben angeführte Agada aus Hohel. r. zu 6, 8 besagt ja auch: Die Frommen befinden sich im Garten Eden unter dem Schatten des Lebensbaumes. Šifrē zu Deut. 34, 3: Gott zeigte dem Mose die Palmenstadt, d.h. er zeigte ihm den Gan Eden, wo die Gerechten im Schatten lustwandeln. Die Gottesfürchtigen befinden sich in Gärten und Quellen عيون I. 51, 15; II. 44, 52; 15, 45 oder Wasserströmen نهر II. 54, 54. Gott verschafft euch Gärten, verschafft euch Wasserströme II. 71, 11. Eine sehr häufige Phrase ist, dass das Paradies durchrieselt von Wasser-bächen الأنهار sei: II. 20, 78; III. 16, 33; IV. 2, 23. Tanḥ. ed. Buber, נחמ, 4: Als Lohn dafür, dass Abraham (Gen. 18, 4) seinen Gästen Wasser verabreichte, wird auch seinen Nachkommen im Jenseits der Wassersegen zuteil werden (Jes. 30, 25). Zu den Parallelen s. das. Anm. 42.

Die Paradiesesleute genossen فاكهين von dem, was ihnen ihr Herr gibt; speiset كلوا, Glück auf! I. 52, 18–19. Sie erhalten dort (an Speise), was sie wünschen: III. 16, 33; 42, 21. Sie werden dort ohne Mass versorgt يرزقون: III. 40, 43. Die Speise ist immerdauernd اكلمهم دائم: III. 13, 35. Gott hat für sie eine richtige schöne Versorgung رزق bestimmt: II. 37, 40–1 (36, 57); IV. 65, 11. Wir versorgen sie reichlich mit Früchten und Fleisch وبفاكهة ولحم von dem, was sie begehren: I. 52, 22. Mit Früchten und Fleisch von Vögeln ولحم طير: I. 56, 20–1. Die Früchte sind leicht zu erreichen I. 55, 54; Palmen, Granatäpfel ورمان das. Vers 68. Man soll nur nicht glauben, diese Früchte seien von unnatürlicher Beschaffenheit, nein, sie sind den irdischen ähnlich: IV. 2, 23. „So was haben wir früher (im Diesseits) gegessen هذا الذي رزقنا من قبل. Die Versorgung findet des Morgens und des Abends statt: II. 19, 63. Die Gläubigen rufen im Garten nach Trank شراب II. 38, 51. Ströme von erquickendem Wein, von gereinigtem Honig, von unverderblichem Wasser, von Milch, die ihren Geschmack nicht ändert: IV. 47, 16–17. Freilich fehlen daselbst auch keine Weingärten

und keine Weinberge *واعناب* *حدائق* I. 78, 32. Die Trauben hängen über den Frommen zum leichten Auflesen *تطوف* II. 76, 14. Man verabreicht ihnen in Schüsseln und Bechern von Gold, die was der Mensch begehrt und die Augen ergötzt erhalten: *صحاف من ذهب*. *وكواب وفيها ما تشتهيه الأنفس وتلذذ العين* II. 43, 71. Im Paradies gibt's gefüllte Becher *كأس دهاق* I. 78, 34; man reicht sie einander *يتازعون فيها كأساً* I. 52, 23. Unsterbliche Knaben reichen Humpen, Krüge und Becher von einem Born dar: *باكواب وإباريق*. *بيضاء وكأس من معين* I. 56, 17–18. Der Trunk ist weiss und süß: *ولذة*; ohne Schwindel und doch wird man davon nicht berauscht: *لا فيها غول ولا هم عنها ينزفون* II. 37, 44–6. Die Masse der silbernen Becher und Flaschen bestimmen die Gläubigen selbst: *قدروها تقديراً*; es wird ihnen geboten ein Becher, dessen Mischung Ingber aus der Quelle Salsabil genannt; es ist ein reiner Trunk: *شرباً طهوراً* II. 76, 15–21.

Hier möge noch über *حور* einiges erwähnt werden. Muḥammad lässt ins Paradies einkehren die Gläubigen mitsamt ihrer Nachkommenschaft: *الحقنا بهم ذرياتهم*: I. 52, 21. Die Männer mit ihren Gattinnen: *اتم وازواجكم* II. 43, 70. Mit ihren Vätern, Gattinnen und ihrer Nachkommenschaft III. 40, 8; 13, 23. Mann sowohl wie Weib: *ذكر أو اثني* III. 40, 43; IV. 4, 123. Die Gläubigen beiderlei Geschlechts: *المؤمنون والمؤمنات* IV. 57, 12; 48, 5; 9, 73. Die Gattinnen sind dort *مطهرة*, frei von jeder natürlichen Unsauberkeit IV. 2, 23; 3, 13; 4, 60. Die gläubigen Männer werden dort verheiratet werden (wohl ausser mit denen, mit welchen sie schon im Diesseits verheiratet waren) mit *حور عين* I. 56, 17f; II. 44, 54. Da das Wort *حور* in den semitischen Sprachen (hebr., arab., syr., aram.) „weiss“ bedeutet, so erklären dieses Wort schon die arabischen Philologen „sehr weiss“, das Weisse des Auges bei sehr schwarzen Pupillen“ (Ṭabarī xxvii, 13). Oder „dessen Augen gross sind; der Rand des Weissen, wo das Schwarze absticht, wie etwa die Flügel des *نسر*“ (Ṭab. xxiii, 33). Auch die Neueren, zuletzt Horovitz a.a.O. 2: „Diejenigen, in deren Augen das Weisse und das Schwarze stark hervortreten“. Wie soll aber das „Schwarze“, das das Wichtigste bei der Schönheit der „Schwarzäugigen“ ist, in

die Wurzel *حور* „weiss“ hineingelegt werden können? Dass *حور* als „weiss“ in alter Zeit bereits verstanden wurde, beweist am besten die von Tab. xxv, 75 zu 44, 54 angeführte Lesart *عیس* „grauweiss“ st. *بحور عین*. Der berühmte Philologe Al-Aṣma'ī (739/831) soll nach L.A. V, 299 gesagt haben, er wisse nicht, was *الحور فی العین* bedeuten sollte. Vielleicht wäre mit König, Lehrgebäude II, 49 anzunehmen, dass *חור, חור, חור, חור* cavum, foramen zu den *ע"ז* Stämmen gehöre. *חור* könnte dann wie hebr. *נקבה* (vgl. auch *חללה*) ursprünglich die natürliche Bezeichnung für „femina“ (Frau oder Mädchen) gewesen sein. Erst als diese Bezeichnung in Vergessenheit geriet, identifizierte man dieses *חור* mit *חור* „weiss“, woher notgedrungen „das Schwarze im Weissen“ entstand. Das Wort *חור* bei altarabischen Dichtern (von Horovitz gesammelt) und im *Kurān* würde jetzt den einfachen Sinn erhalten: Weib, Mädchen. Das Wort *עין* bezeichnet wie im Neuhebräischen, z. B. Ketub. 61a: Die Frau, die während ihrer Schwangerschaft Eier speist, gebärt „grossäugige“ Kinder *בני עיני*. Jeruś. Nāzīr vii (56c) *עייני* „grossäugig“ von einem Manne; (so nach einigen Kommentatoren).

Auch die ältere noch nicht geläuterte Eschatologie der Juden kennt einen Verkehr mit Frauen im Jenseits. B. Batra 58a hat wohl eine alte Sage aufbewahrt: Rabbi Bannaah (das Wort bedeutet „Baumeister“) bezeichnete einst Grabeshöhlen; (es soll sich hier um rituelle Reinheit resp. Unreinheit handeln). Als er zur Grabeshöhle Abrahams anlangte, bemerkte er Eliezer, den Diener Abrahams,¹ der vor dem Eingang stand. Er sagte zu ihm, was tut Abraham? Antwort: Er liegt in den Armen Saras, die ihn anschaut *נשיא*. *בכנף דשרה*. Er sagte: Geh, sag ihm, Bannaah steht am Eingang. Antwort: Du kannst selbst hineingehen, ist es doch bekannt, dass es in jener Welt keinen bösen Trieb gibt. Er ging hinein, sah, und ging hinaus. Die letzten Sätze wollen wohl den sinnlichen Eindruck der Legende abschwächen. 'Abōdā zārā 65a: Rābā überreichte ein Geschenk dem Bar Šeśāk (andere Lesart: Šeśāk) an seinem (wörtlich: ihrem, d.h. der Heiden) Feiertage, indem er überzeugt war, er treibe an diesem Tage keinen Götzendienst. Indem er bei ihm ankam, fand

¹ Nach Derech erez zuta I. gehört Eliezer zu denen, die noch während ihres Lebens in den Gan Eden eintraten. In eschatologischen Dingen darf der Mischmaach von Grab, Jenseits, Gan Eden nicht befremden.

er denselben bis an seinen Hals unter Rosen sitzend; nackte Buhlerinnen standen um ihn herum. Da sagte (B. Šešāk) zu ihm: Habt ihr (Juden) etwas derartiges in der künftigen Welt? . . . Darauf sagte Rab Pāpā, er hätte ihm doch sagen sollen (ja, wir haben derartiges), sich auf Ps. 45, 10 berufend, „Königstöchter sind unter deinen Haremsfrauen, es steht die Beischläferin zu deiner Rechten in Ophirgold“.

Es soll hier noch die merkwürdige Agada Jeruś. Megilla II (73b) u. Parall. angeführt werden: Dereinst wird der Heilige, gelobt sei er, ein Reigenführer ראש הורלה für die Frommen sein.¹ Es wird auf Ps. 48, 14 להורלה verwiesen, wo ein Ketib להורלה erwähnt wird. Die Frommen zeigen auf ihn (Gott) mit dem Finger und sagen (das. Vers 15): „denn er ist Gott, unser Gott, er führt uns עלמות . . .“ Dieses Wort wird verschiedentlich gedeutet; darunter erhielt sich noch eine Deutung עלמות באילין, wie diese Mädchen. Der ursprüngliche Text wusste also von einem Tanz der Frommen mit Mädchen im Jenseits unter Mitwirkung Gottes als Dirigenten. Die späteren Talmudisten, denen dieses zu heidnisch klang, bemühten sich dem Worte עלמות andere Deutungen zu geben. Den ursprünglichen Text hat man wohl mit Absicht verworren und eine sinnlose Wiederholung (s. das. die ganze Stelle) zustandegebracht, um den schlechten Eindruck, den er hervorrufen musste, zu dämpfen.

Horovitz, Jacob folgend,² behauptet, Muḥammad habe das Freudenleben, wie es die altarabischen Dichter schildern, mitsamt den bei ihnen verwendeten Ausdrücken für die Paradiesesfreuden benutzt. Allein es ist bekannt, wie auch Horovitz selbst zugibt, dass diese Dichter durchaus keine Kenntnis von der Existenz eines Paradieses hatten. Soviel wir Muḥammad kennen, wissen wir, dass trotz seiner Schwächen, er ein überaus ernster Mann gewesen ist. Es ziemt sich daher kaum anzunehmen, er habe von „Bänkelsänger-Bildern“ sein Paradies sich ausgemalt. Auch die oben erwähnten rabbinischen Stellen, welche viel Ähnlichkeit mit denen Muḥammads verraten, sprechen offensichtlich dagegen. Diese sind gewiss von „Bänkelsängern“ ganz unabhängig gewesen. Wenn Muḥammad dieselben Fremdwörter gebraucht, die die vorislamischen Dichter verwenden, so muss er sie nicht diesen entlehnt haben, sondern diese waren

¹ Midr. Ps. 48 fügt hinzu וְהַקב"ה ה' עֲמָם der Heilige, gelobt sei er, tanzt mit ihnen.

² S. den Aufsatz von Georg Jacob, Zur Gesch. des Bänkelsangs in O. Harrasowitz, Litterae Orient. Heft 41, Januar 1930, 3-15.

bereits beim arabischen Volke heimisch gewesen. Da nun Muhammad die Freuden des Diesseits auf das Jenseits übertrug, musste er selbstverständlich einer solchen Redeweise sich bedienen.

Das Vorhandensein eines Paradieses überhaupt sowie die verschiedenen Namen desselben hat Muhammad von Christen und Juden entnommen; was die Freuden, welche in ihm verteilt werden, anbetrifft, hat er — wie auch die Juden in älterer Zeit — dem Volke entnommen, um seinen Gläubigen ein sinnlich-fröhliches Bild vom Leben im Jenseits zu entwerfen. Eine theologisch-sittliche Vorstellung, wie sie bei Juden und Christen sich kristallisiert hatte, war ihm — oder vielleicht auch seinen Informatoren — unzugänglich.

Notes on the Miscellanea of I-Shan

By LIONEL GILES

ALL students of Chinese must be grateful to Miss Edwards for introducing them to this quaint and little-known work of the poet Li Shang-yin (see *Bull. S.O.S.*, vol. v, pp. 757-85). Not only has she given a vigorous and idiomatic rendering of the sayings, but she has also had the courage to include the Chinese text, transcribed from the *T'ang tai ts'ung shu*, a work which is not likely to be in every reader's library. I cannot agree, however, with her remark that "the meaning of the sayings seems clear enough". There are quite a number which appear to me decidedly obscure, and in some cases (though not many in proportion to the whole) I would venture to question the translation offered by Miss Edwards. Hence the following notes, which have been made purely in the interests of scholarship and are not, I hope, chargeable to that "stupidity" (癡頑) which according to Li Shang-yin leads one to 見人文字強評論 "go out of one's way to assail another person's work". I may add that the translator herself has kindly written to assure me that she would welcome the discussion of any doubtful points.

I. 必不來 "Never Again!"

This does not suit any of the sayings grouped under the heading so well as the literal translation, "Won't come!" The intoxicated guest and the kleptomaniac obviously won't come to say good-bye to their host. Miss Edwards must take the words to mean "won't be invited again", but this is straining them too far.

3. 追王侯家人 "Noblemen's servants being dunned." This, I think, should be: "Noblemen's servants when sent for." They are too haughty to obey the summons.

II. 不相稱 "Incongruities"

3. 不解飲弟子 "A (Buddhist) disciple addicted to drink." Comparison with IX, 3: 僧解飲則犯戒 "When a priest takes to drink he breaks his vows", shows that the above must mean "A Buddhist disciple *not* addicted to drink". The cynicism of this saying is paralleled by that of XXXV, 12 (to be discussed later).

7. 屠家念經 "A pork butcher reciting scriptures." Here the point is missed if 經 is taken to mean "Classics" (see Miss Edwards'

footnote) instead of "Buddhist sūtras". The incongruity, of course, arises from the Buddhist prohibition against the taking of life.

8. 社長乘涼椅 "A village elder riding in an open chair." Miss Edwards says that 涼椅 is "peculiar to military officials", thereby identifying it, apparently, with 亮椅 (see Giles Dict. 1341). The former, but not the latter phrase is given in the *P'ei wên yün fu*. It seems to me that a "cool chair" should be one protected against the sun by an awning, as opposed to the ordinary open chair. But on such a point I must defer to those with greater experience of the country.

III. 羞不出 "Shameful"

Surely this corresponds rather to our "shameless".

1. 新婦失禮 "The newly-wed careless of the proprieties." Here and in VI, I read "a bride" instead of "the newly-wed", which would include both husband and wife.

4. 處子犯物議 "A virgin forgetting the conventions." This should rather be: "A virgin giving rise to gossip," that is, getting herself talked about.

VII. 不得已 "Against the Grain"

Better, perhaps, "Things that can't be helped." The Museum text has 不得 "not permissible", which does not seem so good.

7. 昌暑迎謁 "Exchanging visits in the heat." This should be: "Receiving visitors in hot weather." Chinese etiquette makes it necessary to go out to meet one's visitors.

VIII. 相似 "Resemblances"

2. 雅似措大餓寒則吟 "A raven, like a hard-up scholar, croaks when hungry and cold." To make the meaning clear, it should be explained that 吟 denotes not only the cry of birds but the humming over of verses in the act of composition.

IX. 不如不解 "Better Left Alone"

In all the sentences under this heading 解 must be taken to mean something like "understand", "be familiar with": 曉 is one of the definitions given in K'ang Hsi. Cf. XXXV, 6: 奴婢解耕織 "hinds who can plough and maids who can weave."

6. 士人解手藝則卑污 "When a scholar takes to trade he demeans himself."

手藝 is not "trade" in the sense of buying and selling, but "a trade", that is to say, an occupation involving manual labour, a handicraft.

XI. 惱人 "*Tantalizing*"

"Vexatious" is a closer rendering, and at the same time it covers the sentences better, e.g. "inability to get rid of a worthless poor relation".

1. 遇佳味脾家不和 "Happening upon a delicious odour when one's liver is out of order."

佳味 is "a tasty dish". There is no reference to the sense of smell.

XII. 失本體 "*The Name without the Reality*"

Miss Edwards is very felicitous in her rendering of this difficult heading, but the sayings that follow would be improved by the insertion of the word "real", e.g. "A host who escorts a guest no further than the door is not a real host."

XV. 謾人語 "*Exaggerations*"

Better, "Misleading Statements."

3. 說在官課績 "To say that an official's service-record is taken into consideration."

My father suggests a simpler and more accurate rendering: "To say that official work gets its reward."

4. 說主上見知 "To say that the king understands." Miss Edwards was evidently puzzled as to the meaning of this sentence, and it is one of her few bad mistakes. My version would be: "To boast that one is on intimate terms with one's master."

6. 說愛寵年紀小 "To say that one's concubine is too young." "Too" tends to obscure the sense, which seems to be that a man will always try to make his mistress out younger than she really is.

XVI. 酸寒 "*Incongruities*"

This rendering has already been used, quite appropriately, for II, but is not so suitable here. "Sour-cold" usually stands for privation and poverty, but it is the humorous aspect of humble folk and their doings that is emphasized in these sayings. "Humours of Low Life" would fairly cover the instances given.

8. 乞兒驅儼 "A beggar shambling along." The real meaning seems to be: "A beggar driving out the demon of pestilence," that is, taking part in one of the processions organized to that end which are nowadays called 賽會. The spectacle of a Chinese beggar, whose filthy rags are a vehicle of infection, sharing in a spiritual campaign against pestilence, is one full of ironic humour.

XIX. 殺風景 "Desecration"

This is a particular form of desecration, namely, "spoiling the scenery" or the enjoyment of the beauties of nature. In this country we should have to add another example: "To leave litter about after a picnic"; but perhaps they were too civilized for that sort of thing in ancient China.

7. 石筍繫馬 "To tether a horse to a conical rock." That does not sound a very reprehensible act, and one is driven to seek a more exact meaning for 石筍. According to *Tz'u Yüan*, it denotes in the first place a natural pillar of stone much used as a decorative feature in laying out gardens and parks. These stones, varying in length from about one to three feet, are said to be found lying horizontally in the earth on the 黃山 Huang Mountains in southern Anhwei and other places. The 蜀志 *Shu chih* (quoted in *P'ei wên yün fu*) speaks of specimens as much as thirty feet long and weighing 1,000 鈞 *chün* (250 stone), erected as tombstones on the occasion of a royal funeral. A secondary meaning of *shih hsün* is "stalagmite", which is less acceptable here because stalagmites are found only in caves, where there is no 風景 "landscape" to spoil.

XXI. 虛度 "Waste"

6. 貧家好花樹 "A poverty-stricken family with beautiful flowers." This is hardly an example of "waste". 好 is surely a verb here, so that the sentence would mean: "Poverty-stricken people who are fond of flowers"—but are unable to gratify their æsthetic tastes.

XXII. 不可過 "Unendurable"

2. 入舍妻惡 "To go home to a hating wife." It seems better to read 惡 *o*, not *wu*: "To go home to an ill-tempered wife."

4. 惡俗同僚 "Hatred for one's everyday colleagues." The same mistake occurs here. What is unendurable is not hatred for one's colleagues but "evilily disposed colleagues" themselves.

XXIII. 難容 "Not Permissible"

Or, "Hard to put up with."

2. 僕人學措大體段 "Servants imitating scholars." The last character is not 段 *hsia* but *tuan*, as given above: "Servants imitating the demeanour of scholars."

XXV. 惡模樣 "Bad Form"

3. 對大僚食咽 "To eat or smoke in the presence of superiors."

食咽 is simply "to smoke".

XXVI. 不達時宜 "Inopportune"

7. 誇男女伎倆 "To flatter skill in children." "Cleverness" rather than skill is the word required: "To boast of one's children's cleverness."

8. 獎男女嬌驕 "To encourage children to be petted and proud."

The translator seems to have been thinking of 驕, composed of the phonetic and radical, respectively, of the last two characters. "To encourage one's children to be silly and spoil."

9. 宴上包彈品味 "To monopolize the tit-bits at a banquet."

The phrase 包彈 means "to criticize (like) Pao (搔 Ch'êng)". For this worthy, better known as 龍圖 Lung-t'u, see Giles, *Biog. Dict.*, 1621. He is said to have been a terrible martinet in matters of Court ceremonial. Translate, therefore, "To find fault with the dishes at a banquet."

16. 入人房闖取人物看 "To enter private apartments or pick up another's things to look at." I do not think that entering private apartments is to be treated here as a separate offence: "To pick up things and examine them in another person's rooms." Cf. XXXI, 6.

XXVIII. 癡頑 "Stupidities"

7. 家貧強作富貴相 "Insolently to pose as wealthy when poor."

強 is here to be read in the third tone: "Trying hard to pose as wealthy when poor."

XXX. 時人漸顛狂 "Present-day Idiosyncrasies"

This is not forcible enough. Literally, the phrase means, "People of the day tinged with madness"; hence it might be rendered "Contemporary Crazes".

10. 將田宅與人作保 “Mortgaging one's real estate on behalf of another.”

與人 must surely be “to another”, not “on behalf of another”. Translate simply: “Mortgaging house and land.”

XXXI. 非禮 “*Improper*”

2. 母在呼舅作渭陽 “To send a maternal uncle away during one's mother's lifetime.” This makes no sense. There is an allusion to *Odes*, I, xi, 9: 我送舅氏曰至渭陽 “I escorted my mother's nephew to the north of the Wei”. Hence *wei yang* came to stand for the relationship between maternal uncle and nephew or, as here, maternal cousins. The sentence then means: “During one's mother's lifetime to hail her brother as a cousin”—thus showing scant respect to one of an elder generation.

XXXII. 枉屈 “*Things Gone Agle*”

12. 家藏書不解讀 “Having a library and not reading.” As we have already seen, 解 is equivalent to 曉: “not knowing how to read.” Cf. II, 3, IX *passim*, and XXXV, 6.

18. 有美質懶惰廢業 “Having a good constitution and wasting one's patrimony by idling.”

質 refers not to physical but to intellectual endowments: “Possessing good natural gifts,” etc.

XXXIV. 須貧 “*Poverty is inevitable when one . . .*”

4. 作債追陪 “Borrows money in order to give entertainments.”

陪 is very obscure. My father suggests that 賠 should be substituted for it: “Incurs debts and duns debtors.”

XXXV. 必富 “*Wealth is assured when one . . .*”

4. 不迷酒色 “Is not self-indulgent.” This needs a little expansion, because there are many forms of self-indulgence: “Is not infatuated with wine and women.”

5. 不欠債負 “Does not borrow.”

We have here three words all of which can mean “to owe money”. 欠債 is a common locution, but a concatenation of three does not seem possible, so we are left with an unattached 負. I would suggest, therefore, that 負 is to be taken in its more usual sense of

"turn the back on", and that the translation should run: "Does not repudiate debts." (See the entry 負欠 in Giles Dict. 1750; it is true that under 3743 the same phrase is said to mean "to owe money".)

11. 子弟一心 "Has children who are harmonious."

子弟 cannot very well mean children. "Has apprentices who work in harmony."

12. 主母不信佛 "Has not a mistress who believes in Buddha."

There is no need to transpose the negative; and 主母 is "the mistress of the household", not a concubine. Translate, therefore: "Has a wife who does not believe in Buddha"—and consequently does not waste her time at temples or the family substance in offerings.

18. 物料不作踐 "Does not trample on goods." This might be expressed more clearly. The sentence seems to mean, "Does not maltreat his property," but the use of 物料 is certainly puzzling.

XXXVI. 有智能 "They are capable who . . ."

智 is the important member of the clause, and should not be omitted: "They are wise and capable who . . ."

7. 博古知今 "Judge the present from the past." I doubt if this sense can be got out of the words, which appear simply to mean: "Know the past and the present as well"—"are well versed in antiquity, but also know the world as it is."

13. 入門問諱 "Inquire what to avoid." This is much too vague. The phrase is given in Giles Dict. 5217: "When going into a family, inquire what are its tabooed words, etc."—so as to be able to avoid them.

17. 不共愚人爭是非 "Do not argue with every chance comer."

"Do not argue with fools" is both terser and more correct. Miss Edwards seems to have read 遇 instead of 愚.

XXXIX. 失去就 "Lapses"

1. 卸起帽共人言語 "Trying to be a Jack-of-all-trades."

Is not this a "lapse" on the part of the translator herself? I can see no objection to the obvious "Talking to people with one's hat off".

5. 席面上不慎沸唾 "Being careless about spitting."
"At table" should be added.

7. 開人家盤盒書啟 "Opening [other people's] boxes and letters." The words in brackets should be inserted.

XLI. 無見識 "*Ignorance*"

"Lack of Judgment" would be more suitable as a heading.

5. 縱兒子學樂藝 "To allow a son to indulge in dancing."

This is an indulgence not common enough in China to be the subject of a special admonition. But it is only a slip of the pen, for the text is clear: "To allow a son to take up music."

An Analytical Study of the Conjugations of Japanese Verbs and Adjectives

By S. YOSHITAKE

THE morphology of the Japanese language has been explored most thoroughly within the confines of the language itself, as can be seen from the *Nihon Bunpōron*, one of the admirable publications of Professor T. Yamada's, and Mr. G. B. Sansom's excellent treatise, *An Historical Grammar of Japanese*. There are, nevertheless, various difficulties to be overcome, and many problems to be solved, if the ancient Japanese literature is to be better understood. Some of these obstacles have recently been pointed out by Professor J. L. Pierson in his scholarly work *The Manyōshū*, in which the author has submitted many a plausible theory based on materials offered by the Japanese language alone.

Very thorough though these studies are, the structure of the various bases of the Japanese verbs has never been explained. Moreover, the inter-relationship between the bases and their suffixes has always been treated as a matter of course, without arousing the least curiosity as to its causes. These intricate yet fundamental problems will never be solved so long as the Japanese language is studied independently. The reason for this is not far to seek.

It is universally recognized that Japanese is a mixed language wherein Turkish, Mongol, Manchu-Tungus and Austronesian elements present themselves. If these languages admit of independent consonants, as they actually do, what reason have we to assume that the Japanese consonants have always been inseparable from the vowels? Both the roots and the stems of many Japanese words may at one time have ended in a consonant. But once we separate the consonants from the vowels the Japanese language ceases to be Japanese as we know it. We must also acknowledge that the Japanese verbs and adjectives, as well as some of their suffixes, were formed many centuries or even millenniums before the language came to be recorded in the Manyō period. In order, therefore, to explain the structure of the Japanese verbs and adjectives, we must perforce leave the domain of the Japanese language and grope in the black darkness. For this an assumption of some kind is inevitable.

Thus in the present inquiry I have assumed that the Japanese

language is genetically related to Turkish and Mongol, but has developed along its own course preserving but a shadow of its identity. Though tentative and admittedly crude, the present study may serve as a working basis for a more extensive investigation with both Korean and Luchuan taken into account, which languages I have been compelled to disregard almost entirely for lack of space.

The following are the books and the articles quoted in the present paper :—

H. = G. B. Sansom, *An Historical Grammar of Japanese*. Oxford, 1928.

K. = M. Andō, *Kodai Kokugo-no Kenkyū*. Tōkyō, 1923.

KKM. = G. J. Ramstedt, *Über die Konjugation des Khalkha-Mongolischen*, MSFOu. xix. Helsingfors, 1903.

M. = J. L. Pierson, jun., *The Manyōshū*, translated and annotated, Books i and ii. Leyden, 1929, 1931.

N. = N. Poppe, *Die Nominalstammbildungssuffixe im Mongolischen*, KSz. xx. Budapest, 1923-7.

V. = G. J. Ramstedt, *Zur Verbstammbildungslehre der mongolisch-türkischen Sprachen*, JSFOu. xxviii. Helsingfors, 1912.

I have adopted Professor Pierson's transcription **v** (bilabial voiced fricative) for the current **h** when in an intervocalic position, but have used **f** (bilabial voiceless fricative) in an initial position (cf. *M.*, i, pp. 38-43, 60-3).

I. CONJUGATIONS OF VERBS

The Japanese verbs are usually divided into nine classes in accordance with their conjugations: (1) Yodan, (2) Kami-nidan, (3) Shimo-nidan, (4) Kami-ichidan, (5) Shimo-ichidan, (6) Kagyō-henkaku, (7) Sagyō-henkaku, (8) Nagyō-henkaku, and (9) Ragyō-henkaku. All these verbs have six different bases, some of which may assume the same form. They are (1) Mizenkei, (2) Renyōkei, (3) Shūshikei, (4) Rentaikei, (5) Izenkei, and (6) Meireikei. For convenience of reference Sansom's English versions (with certain modifications) of these grammatical terms are here given within parentheses.

1. Yodan (Quadrigrade) Verbs

The primary stem of these verbs regularly ends in a consonant, to which the following vowels are added to form various bases. This is called the first conjugation by Sansom.

(1) Mizenkei (Imperfect Form)	-a	Ex. yuk-a
(2) Renyōkei (Conjunctive Form)	-i	yuk-i
(3) Shūshikei (Predicative Form)	-u	yuk-u "to go"
(4) Rentaikei (Attributive Form)	-u	yuk-u
(5) Izenkei (Perfect Form)	-e	yuk-e
(6) Meireikei (—)	-e	yuk-e

Note that the Shūshikei and the Rentaikei are identical; so also the Izenkei and the Meireikei.

(1) The Mizenkei or the Imperfect Form is used, together with various suffixes, to indicate (i) the indicative future, (ii) hypothesis, (iii) the potential mood, (iv) the passive voice, (v) the causative mood, (vi) the optative mood, and (vii) negation. Of these different usages (i) and (ii) denote probability, whereas (iii), (iv), (v), and (vi) express potentiality. The seventh use must be treated independently as will be explained later (see ii, 1 f.). Thus it is clear that the final vowel -a of this base signifies possibility in the broadest sense of the word, but for lack of a better term I shall call it a "potential vowel". This vowel -a corresponds to Turkish -a- and Mongol -*γa- which are used in the formation of Ramstedt's "präskriptiv", "optativ", and "potential" (*KKM.*, pp. 62-4, 70-3, 75-8). It may be added that Dr. Pierson considers the Japanese vowel -a to signify "being" (*M.*, i, pp. 215-16).

(2) The Renyōkei or the Conjunctive Form is used, according to Sansom, "when it is desired to bring the idea expressed by the verb into the closest possible association with the idea expressed by another word." "Consequently," continues the grammarian, "its most specialized use is in the formation of compound words" (*H.*, p. 137). The duties performed by the Renyōkei could be fulfilled by a *nomen actionis*, and hence the final vowel -i may be called a *nomen actionis* vowel. This vowel seems to have come from the same origin as the "Urtürkisch" -*γ ~ -*g, from which Turkish -*γa ~ -*ge, Orkhon-turkish -γ ~ -g, Altai -ū, Osmanli -î, Yakut -î, (*nomen actionis*), Mongol -γa ~ -ge (*nomen imperfecti*), etc., have sprung (*N.*, pp. 94-5, 118-19).

(3), (4) The Shūshikei or the Predicative Form may be treated together with the Rentaikei or the Attributive Form, since the two forms are marked by the same vowel -u. According to Sansom, the former is "the true verb form, used in principal sentences to predicate an action, property, or state of the subject" (*H.*, p. 130). This,

however, is a later development of the function of the Shūshikei, which is nothing more than a noun in the broad sense of the word. In the expression, for example, *misubeki kimi ga masu to ivanaku ni*, which Professor Pierson has skilfully translated "this does not imply that my lord is still alive, to whom I could show it" (*M.*, ii, p. 128), the word *masu* "to exist, be alive" can only be considered as a substantive since it immediately follows the genitive case of *kimi* "lord". The function of the Rentaikei or the Attributive Form is "to place a verb in an attributive relation to a substantive" and "it takes a position immediately preceding the substantive or substantival group which it qualifies" (*H.*, p. 133). Thus the duties of the Shūshikei and the Rentaikei are those of a *nomen futuri*, and hence we may consider these two forms of this conjugation as identical. The final vowel *-u* and the suffix *-ku* (with which we shall meet in later paragraphs) appear to have come from *-*yu*, from which also Uighur *-yu ~ gü*, Turkish-Tatar "infinitive" suffix *-yu ~ -gü*, Mongol substantival suffix *-yu ~ -gü*, *nomen futuri* *-qu ~ -kü*, etc., have been derived (*KKM.*, pp. 91-3; *N.*, pp. 95, 119).

(5), (6) The Izenkei or the Perfect Form and the Meireikei, which is the Imperative Form, are marked by the same vowel *-e*. The Izenkei, which is used to form the conditional and the concessive moods, does not include a fragment of "tense-significance" as Sansom suspects (*H.*, pp. 142-3). Both conditional and concessive concepts may be expressed by the imperative mood as, for example, "Love me, love my dog" and "Be that as it may, . . .". This is the reason why the Izenkei and the Meireikei are identical in form. The final vowel *-e* is a composite one, and comes from an earlier *-*a*yi > *ai > -ä ≥ -e*, of which the *-*a* is the potential vowel, as we have seen above, and *-*yi* is the imperative suffix. Thus the vowel *-e* corresponds to *-ayi*, *-äyi* of the optative suffix *-ayin*, *-äyin* in Orkhonturkish, whereas the Mongol volitional suffixes *-yu*, *-ya*, etc., contain the same *-y* as in *-*a*yi*, from which the Japanese *-e* has been evolved (*KKM.*, pp. 10-11, 73-5).

2. *Kami-nidan* (Upper Bigrade) Verbs

These verbs follow Sansom's third conjugation, which is given, in the grammar, as follows:—

- | | | |
|--------------|----|----------|
| (1) Mizenkei | -i | Ex. otái |
| (2) Renyōkei | -i | otái |

(3) Shūshikei	-u	ots-u "to fall"
(4) Rentaikei	-uru	ots-uru
(5) Izenkei	-ure	ots-ure
(6) Meireikei	-i	otsi

(1) The Mizenkei vowel -i is not a suffix, but is part of the primary stem of the verb. It has probably developed from the palatalization of the final consonant of the stem. The word *otsu* "to fall", for example, seems to have developed from the root *oð, which gave rise to the secondary roots *ol, *ol', *or, *of, *o:, *os, etc. The secondary root *ol', after a series of changes *ol' > *oly > *oli, finally gave birth to the stem *oti ≥ *otsi*. It is to be noted that in this class of verbs the Mizenkei does not take the potential vowel -a. But the Mizenkei never stands alone; it is always followed by a suffix or a particle. The absence of this all-important vowel -a for the Mizenkei is compensated for by the suffixes, as will be shown in later paragraphs.

(2) The Renyōkei is formed in exactly the same way from the primary stem ending in -i as in the case of Yodan verbs, thus -i + *i > -i. Or it may be that this base, like the Mizenkei, is the primary stem itself.

(3) The Shūshikei is derived from the primary stem by adding the *nomen futuri* vowel *-u, as in Yodan verbs, thus -i + *u > -u. (Compare: u = 𐰃 anc. Chin. *jīu*.)

(4) The Rentaikei consists of the Shūshikei and the suffix -ru. The -u in this suffix is the *nomen futuri* vowel, whereas the -r- is a participial suffix corresponding to the -r in Osmanli "aorist" termination -r, -ir, -er, present-future participial termination -ir, -ur, -ar, Yakut *nomen praesentis* -ar, Khalkha Mongol "prāskriptiv" -ārā, -ērā, Manchu present participial termination -ra, -re, -ro, etc. (KKM., pp. 62-4; N., pp. 121-2).

(5) The Izenkei differs from the Rentaikei in that the final -u is here replaced by -e, which has come from *-a-*yi as in the case of Yodan verbs. The probable reason for the insertion of the participial suffix -r- is that, in the case of the Rentaikei, it served to impart an adjectival force to the stem, while in the construction of the Izenkei it carried the concept of the perfect. But why was not the same distinction made in the formation of the Rentaikei and the Izenkei of the Yodan verb? The only answer seems to be that the two

conjugations are due to different linguistic habits, or that one of them, be it the Yodan or the Kami-nidan, is a later evolution.

(6) The Meireikei is composed of the stem ending in *-i* plus **yi*, without the potential vowel **a*, thus *-i* + **yi* > *-i*.

3. *Shimo-nidan* (Lower Bigrade) Verbs

The conjugation of these verbs, called the second conjugation by Sansom, is given as follows:—

(1) Mizenkei	-e	Ex. are
(2) Renyōkei	-e	are
(3) Shūshikei	-u	ar-u "to be born, be produced"
(4) Rentaikei	-uru	ar-uru
(5) Izenkei	-ure	ar-ure
(6) Meireikei	-e	are

This conjugation differs from the Kami-nidan, discussed above, only in that the *-i* in the Mizenkei, Renyōkei, and Meireikei is here replaced by *-e*. There are at least three possibilities as to the history of this vowel. It may have come from an open variety of *-i*, in which case the present conjugation can be regarded as a variant of the Kami-nidan conjugation. It is equally possible that the Mizenkei vowel *-e* was originally a back vowel, which, under the influence of the palatalization of the preceding consonant, became *-ā* = *-e*. Thus, for example, the verb *aru* "to be born" may have been derived from the primary root **ar*, which gave rise to two secondary roots **ar* and **af*. From the former, it would seem, developed the primary stem *ara* which is found in the adjective *ara-ta-ši* "fresh, new", whilst the latter formed the stem **afa*, which soon became **arā* under the influence of *-i*. It may be argued then that in the Manyō period the Japanese *e* resembled *īā*, as is shown by the Manyō-gana (e.g. 列 *re* = anc. Chin. *liāt*). But on the strength of such Manyō-gana as 家 (anc. Chin. *ka*), 價 (anc. Chin. *ka*), for *ke*, 霸 (anc. Chin. *pa*, *p'uk*) for *fe*, 馬 (anc. Chin. *ma*) for *me*, we must assume the existence of a very open variety of *e*, i.e. *ā*. If this supposition be accepted, we may consider the Mizenkei to be the stem itself. The remaining forms would then be derived as follows: Renyōkei **ā* + **i* > *-e* (cf. 介 anc. Chin. *kai* for *ke*; 愛 anc. Chin. *āi* for *e*), Shūshikei **ā* + **u* > *-u* (cf. 豆, 頭 *d'au* for *dzu*) and Meireikei **ā* + **yi* > *-e*. The Rentaikei and the Izenkei consist of the Shūshikei plus the suffixes *-ru* and *-re* respectively, as in the Kami-nidan verbs. The third possibility is

that the stem *ara* had a parallel form **araj*¹ which became the stem *are* of the verb *aru* "to be born". The presence of the form *tsugi* as in *imo ni tsugi koso* "Pray, tell my love (that . . .)", besides *tsuge* as in *ive ni tsuge koso* "Pray, tell my family (that . . .)" (Manyō, xx), seems to speak for the first possibility, though the form *tsugi* may be purely dialectal.

4. *Kami-ichidan (Upper Unigrade) Verbs*

These verbs follow what is called the fourth conjugation by Sansom:—

(1) Mizenkei	-i	Ex. <i>mi</i>
(2) Renyōkei	-i	<i>mi</i>
(3) Shūshikei	-i-ru	<i>mi-ru</i> "to see, look"
(4) Rentaikei	-i-ru	<i>mi-ru</i>
(5) Izenkei	-i-re	<i>mi-re</i>
(6) Meireikei	-i	<i>mi</i>

The conjugation may be treated in the same way as that of the *Kami-nidan* verbs, with the exception of the *Shūshikei*, which in the present case is marked by *-ru* instead of *-u*. The function of the *-r* in the *Shūshikei* is not clear; it is quite possible that the *Shūshikei* suffix *-ru* is a later development, since the forms without this suffix also occur in the *Manyōshū*, e.g. *mibeši* (xvii) and *miramu* (v) where *mi* is the *Shūshikei* of *miru* "to see, look" (cf. *K.*, p. 241). However that may be, the *-i* in this conjugation is not a suffix, but is part of the stem. Thus, in the case of *miru* "to see, look" its stem is *mi*, which appears to have evolved from **muj* (or **muy*), but not **mu* as Sansom considers (*H.*, p. 155).

5. *Shimo-ichidan (Lower Unigrade) Verbs*

The conjugation of these verbs seems to have originated in the Heian period. Ex. :—

(1) Mizenkei	<i>ke</i>	(4) Rentaikei	<i>ke-ru</i>
(2) Renyōkei	<i>ke</i>	(5) Izenkei	<i>ke-re</i>
(3) Shūshikei	<i>ke-ru</i> "to kick"	(6) Meireikei	<i>ke</i>

¹ In my article entitled "The History of the Japanese Particle *i*" (*BSQS*, Vol. V, Part IV) I stated that the final vowel *-a*, *-o*, and *-u* of certain substantives became *-e* and *-i* under the influence of the particle *i* which followed. This, however, is not the only possibility. It may be that in early Japanese many substantives ending in *-a*, *-o*, and *-u* had a parallel form ending in **aj*, **oj*, and **uj* respectively. The final **j* in these latter forms seems to intensify the substantival meaning, and thus the forms ending in **aj* have been handed down as front vocalic varieties ending in *-e* and *-i*, whilst the shorter forms are preserved only in the attributive position. This, however, does not affect my views on the history of the particle *i*.

The conjugation is identical with the Kami-ichidan, the only difference being that the stem ends in *-e* in the present case. The stem of the verb **keru** "to kick" has come from **koy*, which is preserved in the word **akoye** "a spur (of a cock)", though Andō thinks that the **ke** of **keru** "to kick" was also pronounced *ku* and *ko* on the ground that the word **kuwe** "to kick" appears in the Nihongi (*K.*, pp. 247-8). From reasons I cannot go into here, I definitely consider that the **kuw** of **kuwe** is a variant of **koy*. The root **koy* would give rise to **ke** inasmuch as the character 陪 (anc. Chin. *b'uāi*) was used for transcribing *be*, and 梅, 昧 (anc. Chin. *muāi*) for *me*. Thus the earlier form of the verb **keru** "to kick" would certainly have been **koyu*, which belonged to the Shimo-nidan conjugation, although its conjugated forms are not preserved in literature. As an analogous case we may consider the Shimo-nidan verb **u** "to get, be able". The root of this verb is **ey* (or **āy*), but not **ur* as suggested by Kanazawa (cf. *K.*, p. 236.). From the root **ey* (or **āy*) has been derived the stem **e**, which forms the Mizenkei of the verb **u** "to get, be able". The derivation of the remaining conjugated forms needs no explanation. Thus there is no material difference in the formation of the two verbs **koyu* "to kick" (stem **koy*) and **u** "to get, be able" (stem **e** < **ey* or **āy*).

6. *Kagyō-henkaku* Verb: **ku** "to come"

This verb conjugates as follows:—

(1) Mizenkei	ko	(4) Rentaikei	kuru
(2) Renyōkei	ki	(5) Izenkei	kure
(3) Shūshikei	ku	(6) Meireikei	ko

The stem of this verb is probably **ku* (or **kū*), which would give rise to **ko** (< **ku* + **a*) for the Mizenkei, **ki** (< **ku* + **i*) for the Renyōkei, and **ku** (< **ku* + **u*) for the Shūshikei. The Rentaikei and the Izenkei are built on the Shūshikei with the additional suffixes *-ru* and *-re* as in some other conjugations. The Meireikei may be identical with the Mizenkei in its structure; or it may include the imperative suffix **yi*, thus **ku* + **a* + **yi* > **kuai* > **ko** (cf. **fo** = 倍 anc. Chin. *puāi*, *b'uāi*).

7. *Sagyō-henkaku* Verb: **su** "to do"

(1) Mizenkei	se	(4) Rentaikei	suru
(2) Renyōkei	si	(5) Izenkei	sure
(3) Shūshikei	su	(6) Meireikei	se

The stem of this verb appears to be **sui*, which would give rise to the following forms: (1) Mizenkei **sui* + **a* > **sia* > **sā* ≥ *se*, (2) Renyōkei **sui* + **i* > **sii* > **si* ≥ *ši*, (3) Shūshikei **sui* + **u* > **siu* ≥ *su* (cf. *su* = 須 anc. Chin. *sīu*), (4) Rentaikei **sui* + **uru* > **siuru* ≥ *suru*, (5) Izenkei **sui* + **ure* > **siure* ≥ *sure*, and (6) Meireikei **sui* + **ayi* > **siai* ≥ *se* (cf. *se* = 勢 anc. Chin. *shī*).

8. *Nagyō-henkaku Verbs*: *šīna* "to die" and *inu* "to go away".

(1) Mizenkei	<i>šin-a</i>	<i>in-a</i>
(2) Renyōkei	<i>šin-i</i>	<i>in-i</i>
(3) Shūshikei	<i>šin-u</i>	<i>in-u</i>
(4) Rentaikei	<i>šin-uru</i>	<i>in-uru</i>
(5) Izenkei	<i>šin-ure</i>	<i>in-ure</i>
(6) Meireikei	<i>šin-e</i>	<i>in-e</i>

The conjugation calls for no comment, for it is a combination of the Yodan and the Nidan (or the Ichidan) conjugations. It may be noted, however, that all the disyllabic verbs whose stem ends in an *n* plus the vowel *e* belong to the Shimo-nidan conjugation. We may therefore suppose that the final stem consonant *-n* of *šīnu* "to die" and *inu* "to go away" was never palatalized; otherwise these verbs would also have followed the Shimo-nidan conjugation.

9. *Ragyō-henkaku Verb*: *ari* "to exist"

(1) Mizenkei	<i>ar-a</i>	(4) Rentaikei	<i>ar-u</i>
(2) Renyōkei	<i>ar-i</i>	(5) Izenkei	<i>ar-e</i>
(3) Shūshikei	<i>ar-i</i>	(6) Meireikei	<i>ar-e</i>

If the stem of this verb is **ar*, then the conjugation differs from that of the Yodan verbs only in the Shūshikei, which in the present case is marked by the *nomen actionis* vowel *-i*, instead of the *nomen futuri* vowel *-u* as in the Yodan conjugation. This may be accounted for by the fact that there was a sporadic mutation between *i* and *u* in ancient Japanese. It is equally possible that the *nomen futuri* **yu*, from which *-u* and *-ku* have evolved, had a parallel form **yui*, which became *-i*, and was used to form the Shūshikei of *ari* "to exist", whereas the usual *nomen futuri* vowel *-u*, which had a weaker substantival force, served to form the Rentaikei. This conjecture seems justifiable in the light of the mutation *-a* ~ *-ai* and *-u* ~ *-ui* in various suffixes both in Turkish and Mongol (*KKM.*, pp. 68, 71, 83; in particular p. 89). It may be added that the verbs *wori* "to exist" and *u* "to exist" are related to *ari* "to exist". The root of

the verb **ari** seems to be **al*, and that of **wori** and **u** is in all probability **wol*. The latter, i.e. **wol*, may have given birth to two secondary roots **wor* and **wuy*. The root **wor* served as the stem of the Rahen verb **wori** "to exist", whilst the stem **wi** of the defective Kami-nidan verb **u** (= *wu*) "to exist" has been derived from **wuy*. Thus I hold the usual explanation that **wori** "to exist" is a compound of **wi** (the Renyōkei of **u** "to exist") and **ari** "to exist" as inaccurate.

II. SUFFIXES

1. Suffixes used with the Mizenkei

(a) **-mu**, **-maši**, **-maku**. The suffix **-mu** denotes probability of occurrence, and hence often serves to form the indicative future. It is composed of **-m** and the *nomen futuri* vowel **-u**. The suffix **-m** is used to form a *nomen possibilitatis*, and corresponds to the **-m** of the following suffixes in Khalkha Mongol:—

(i) **-mdzo** ~ **-mts**, used to impart the signification "can, may, can be, etc.", to the verb to which it is suffixed (*KKM.*, pp. 12, 75-8).

(ii) **-mv** (< **-ma**), **-m**, used to form a *nomen descriptionis* with the meaning "so (great, small, etc.) that . . ." (*KKM.*, pp. 37, 77, 94-5).

(iii) **-mār** ~ **-mvr**, which forms a *nomen agendi* (or *acturi*) with the meaning "should be, can be" (*KKM.*, pp. 38, 95-7).

(iv) **-mχ²ē** ~ **-mχ¹i** (< **maqai* ~ **mekei*), used in the formation of a *nomen cupiditatis* indicating proneness, inclination, or ability.

Although only the Mongol suffixes are here quoted, the suffix **-m** is common also to Turkish and Manchu-Tungus, as Dr. Ramstedt has shown.

The Japanese suffix **-mu** conjugates as follows:—

(1) Mizenkei	-ma	(4) Rentaikei	-mu
(2) Renyōkei	—	(5) Izenkei	-me
(3) Shūshikei	-mu	(6) Meireikei	—

Of these the Mizenkei **-ma** is usually treated independently by the Japanese grammarians for some reason beyond my comprehension. It is used with **-ši** to indicate a desire. The suffix **-ši** (\leq **si*) in **-maši** is indivisible and, together with the preceding **-a-** (of **-ma-**), corresponds to the *nomen possibilitatis* **-a-si** ~ **-e-si** in Turkish (*KKM.*, pp. 100-101, 75). The suffix **-maši** has three forms: Mizenkei **-mase** (< **masi* + **a*), Shūshikei and Rentaikei **-maši** (\leq **masi*), and Izenkei **-mašika**, which last is a later development, possibly formed on the analogy of the Izenkei **-šika** of the preterite suffix **-ši** (cf. ii, 2, c.).

The suffix **-maku** is also used to form a *nomen possibilitatis*, consisting of the Mizenkei **-ma** of **-mu** and the *nomen futuri* **-ku** (cf. i, 1 (3), (4)). It corresponds to the Mongol *nomen cupiditatis* suffix cited above (iv).

The Izenkei **-me** of **-mu** undoubtedly consists of **-m** and **-e** (< ***a** + ***yi**). Thus it is evident that the suffix **-mu**, as far as we can at present trace it back, has no connection with the verb *miru* "to see, look", as usually supposed (*H.*, pp. 187-8).

(b) **-yu**, **-ru**. These suffixes were used to form passive and potential verbs in the Manyō period. Used with the Yodan verbs they were conjugated as follows:—

(1) Mizenkei	-ye	-re
(2) Renyōkei	-ye	-re
(3) Shūshikei	-yu	-ru
(4) Rentaikei	-yuru	-ruru
(5) Izenkei	-yure	-rare
(6) Meireikei	-ye	-re

In the earliest literature the forms in **-y-** occur much more frequently than those in **-r-**, although in later times the former fell out of general use. Both **-y-** and **-r-** appear to have come from the same origin as the Turkish suffix **-l-**, used in the formation of the passive verbs and the Mongol **-l-**, which serves to impart an intensive or iterative signification to the verb to which it is suffixed (*V.*, §§ 4-7). It seems quite possible that both **-y-** and **-r-** in Japanese go back to an earlier **-l-**, which gave rise to **-l'** and **-r'**. The new stems with these suffixes followed the Shimo-nidan conjugation, as did the verb *aru* "to be born", which has been derived from the stem ***aŕ** (cf. i, 3). The form in **-l'** would have then given rise to ***l'ā** (< ***l'** + ***a**) for the Mizenkei, ***l'i** (< ***l'** + ***i**) for the Renyōkei, ***l'e** (< ***l'** + ***a** + ***yi**) for the Meireikei, and ***l'u** (< ***l'** + ***u**) for the Shūshikei, of which the three former were later reduced to **-ye**, whilst the ***l'u** became **-yu**. The forms in **-r-** may be explained in a similar manner.

In the case of the Nidan and the Ichidan verbs, the suffix **-ra-** is inserted between the stem of the verb and the passive-potential suffix. It will be remembered that in the formation of the Mizenkei of the verbs whose stem ends in **-i** or **-e** the potential vowel **-a** is not used. It is to compensate for this loss, which is vital for the function of the Mizenkei, that the vowel **-a** is here inserted preceded by a binding consonant **-r-**.

Thus I consider that the **-r-** forms are equally as old as the **-y-** forms, although it is usually conjectured that the latter are the older of the two, apparently without any foundation. Nor can I agree with those grammarians who maintain that these suffixes and the Nidan and the Ichidan verbs contain **ari** "to exist" and **u** "to get, be able" (*H.*, p. 160). Those who advance such a theory ought to explain (1) the reason why the **-yu** is suffixed to the Mizenkei, and not to the Renyōkei, and (2) the exact force of the assumed verbal elements in the Nidan and the Ichidan conjugations.

(c) **-su**, **-šimu**. These suffixes are used to form the causative mood. Suffixed to the Mizenkei of the Yodan verbs they follow the Shimo-nidan conjugation as shown below:—

(1) Mizenkei	-se	-šime
(2) Renyōkei	-se	-šime
(3) Shūshikei	-su	-šimu
(4) Rentaikei	-suru	-šimuru
(5) Izenkei	-sure	-šimure
(6) Meireikei	-se	-šime

The suffix **-su** is usually identified with the verb **su** "to do" (*H.*, p. 164), but no attempt seems to have been made to explain why this suffix should be used with the Mizenkei of the verb. If **-su** is really of verbal origin, it should certainly be joined to the Renyōkei, but not to the Mizenkei. In my opinion the causative suffix **-su** has no relationship with **su** "to do". Both the **-s-** in this suffix and the **-ši-** of **-šimu** appear to have come from an earlier **-*š** or **-*si**, which probably corresponds to the Mongol **-tši-** (< **-*ti-**) and the factitive suffix **-t-** in Turkish (*V.*, §§ 24-6).

The hypothetical earlier form **-*š**, when followed by the potential vowel **-*a**, would give rise to the Mizenkei **-se** ($\leq -*šā < -*š + *a$) and, when followed by **-*ayi**, the Meireikei **-se**, whilst the formation of the Shūshikei, Rentaikei, and Izenkei can easily be explained. The Renyōkei **-se**, however, cannot be derived from **-*š** plus the *nomen actionis* vowel **-*i**, unless we suppose that the Renyōkei **-se** was pronounced at one time very like **-si**, which is not impossible.

There is a difficulty in determining the exact nature of the **-m-** in **-šimu**. If it is identical with the *possibilitatis* suffix **-m** discussed under ii, 1a, it must have been palatalized in the present case to have followed the Shimo-nidan conjugation. This conjecture seems to be supported by the fact that the suffix **-šimu** may be used with the

Mizenkei of all verbs, whereas the causative *-su*, when used with the Nidan and the Ichidan verbs, must be preceded by *-sa-*, which consists of the potential vowel *-a* and the binding consonant *-s-*. Thus we may consider that the *-m-* in the former suffix plays the part of the *-a-* in the latter.

(d) *-su*. This suffix differs from the causative *-su* in that it follows the Yodan conjugation: Mizenkei *-sa*, Renyōkei *-ši*, Shūshikei and Rentaikēi *-su*, Izenkei and Meireikei *-se*. Modern native scholars style it an "honorific" suffix, replacing the older term "honorific causative". It is used for all persons, as the following clearly show.

(1) 1st person: *wa ga tatasereba* "while I am standing" (*H.*, p. 164).

(2) 2nd person: *na tsumasu ko* "O girl picking (gathering) herbs" (*M.*, i, pp. 75-6).

(3) 3rd person: *asobašīši šīši* "the wild boar which he was pleased to shoot" (*H.*, p. 165).

Giving ten examples on the suffix *-su*, all taken from the earliest literature, Mr. Sansom states that in them "one can trace no causative meaning, but only an honorific sense, and that (e.g. in 2) is sometimes doubtful". On this ground he concludes that "it is possible that the verbs in *-su* had originally no causative meaning, but were merely slightly emphatic, so that *na tsumasu ko* would perhaps correspond to "maiden who dost pluck herbs" (*H.*, p. 165). Professor Pierson, on the other hand, admits the existence of the "honorific causative" form, but prefers to consider *tsumasu* quoted above "to be *tsuma*, a kind of *nomen actionis*, and *su* to do (or to be), 'to do a picking' or 'to do a handling'". (*M.*, i, p. 76.)

Rather different is my interpretation, according to which the *-s-* in this so-called honorific suffix is connected neither with *su* "to do" nor with the causative suffix *-su*. It is a volitive-optative suffix indicating willingness or eagerness for the action described by the verb, without implying causation. It is probably of the same origin as the *-s* in the Mongol optative suffixes *-āsā*, etc. (Khalkha), *-su*, *-suyai*, *-yasuyai* (Classical), the Turkish imperative (3rd pers.) *-sun*, etc., and the conditional *-sa*, as well as the Manchu imperative *-su ~ -so* (*KKM.*, pp. 9-10, 70-3, 114). Note that the *-ā-* in *-āsā* and the *-ya-* in *-yasuyai* are akin to the potential vowel *-a* in Japanese.

Thus the expression *wa ga tatasereba*, cited above, would mean "while I am standing intently (or eagerly)" and *na tsumasu ko* "O

girl eagerly picking (or anxious to pick) herbs". In this respect my interpretation somewhat resembles that of Mr. Sansom.

The last example quoted above is perhaps not appropriate for explaining my point, but the expression **a wo matasuramu tsitsivavara va mo** (Manyō, v) may be translated "O my father and mother who will be anxiously waiting for me" or "O my father and mother who will be pleased to wait for me". It is from this latter meaning "to be pleased to . . ." that the honorific sense seems to have sprung.

The optative mood was indicated by the Mizenkei **-sa** plus **-ne**, thus **-sane**, as in **na norasane** "O and let me know your name" (*M.*, i, pp. 75-6). The suffix **-ne** is in all probability identical with the Meireikei of **-nu**, which usually follows the Renyōkei, as will be explained later (ii, 2*b*). It is interesting to note that the optative use of the suffix **-su** is preserved in the Omorosōshi (a Luchuan anthology dating from c. A.D. 1150-1650). The anthology, containing 1,551 songs, has but one love-song. In this we find the expressions **ikiya ūyu** and **ikiya ūyo** (written in the Kana), which have been translated by Mr. F. Ifa, the great Luchuan scholar, into Japanese **ika ba ya** "I should like to go" or **ikōka** "Shall I go?" Judging from the fact that in the same anthology the phrase **iſi ga** "of the stone" is also written **iſi giya**, I consider the two expressions under consideration to be the palatalized varieties (**ikya-ſu* and **ikya-ſo*) of **ika-su* and **ika-so*, which correspond to the Mizenkei **ika** of the Japanese verb **iku** "to go" and the volitive-optative suffix **-su**. In the light of the Luchuan parallel we may suspect that the suffix **-su** may also have been applied to the 1st person with an optative meaning in early Japanese, although such a use is not found in literature.

When the concept of desire was strongly felt, the Mizenkei which did not contain the potential vowel was deemed insufficient, and hence the vowel **-a** was added before suffixing the volitive-optative suffix **-su**. It is in this way that the so-called honorific verbs such as **mesu** (< **mi** + **asu*) "to be pleased to see, rule", and **kesu** (< **ki** + **asu*)¹² "to be pleased to put on (clothes)" have sprung, where **mi** and **ki** are the Mizenkei of **miru** "to see, look" and **kiru** "to put on (clothes)". It must, however, be pointed out that in the expression **wa ga keseru** "my wearing" (*Kojiki*) the volitional force of **a* which is contained in **keseru** (< **ki** + **asi* + **aru*) is so weak that this word hardly differs in meaning from **keru** (< **ki** + **aru*). The fact that this is the only example where the signification of **-su** is completely obliterated leads us to suspect that the form **keseru** was

deliberately chosen in answer to the *na ga keseru* "thy wearing" in the preceding poem.

(e) **-ku**. This is a parallel form of the *nomen futuri* suffix **-u** (i, 1 (3), (4)). In the Manyō period it was used to form a modal participle, indicating (1) the possibility of occurrence, or (2) the mode of an action, or the state described by the word to which it was suffixed. It is for this reason that **-ku** was joined to the Mizenkei of the verbs and suffixes. Thus, for example, *ume no yana tširaku va idzuku šikasuga ni kono Ki no yama ni yuki va furitsutsu* (Manyō, v)—where *tširaku* is the modal participle of *tširu* "to be scattered"—may be translated "Wherever it be that the plum blossoms may be scattered, the snow is falling on this mountain of Ki." I consider, therefore, that Mr. Sansom's translation "have scattered" for *tširaku* is not appropriate, whilst Professor Yamada's interpretation as "scatter-place" is entirely unfounded (*H.*, p. 149). The very common usage of the suffix under consideration is to indicate exactly how utterance is about to be (or was) made, thus introducing a direct quotation, e.g. *itsuvarite mawosaku* "... " to *mawosu* "what (he) told (Yamatotakeru) in pretence (was) '...' ", thus (he) said" (*Kojiki*).

When used with the verbs other than the Yodan and the Ragyō-henkaku **-ku** was preceded by **-ra-**, as will be explained under ii, 3a. For the suffix **-maku** see ii, 1a above.

(f) **-nu**, **-zu**, **-ži**. According to the grammar these negative suffixes conjugate as follows:—

(1) Mizenkei	—	-zu	—
(2) Renyōkei	-ni	-zu	—
(3) Shūshikei	—	-zu	-ži
(4) Rentaikei	-nu	—	-ži
(5) Izenkei	-ne	—	—
(6) Meireikei	—	—	—

The history of these suffixes is not at all clear. The **-n** may be related to Chuvash *an* "do not", Goldi and Olcha *ana* "not, without", Korean *ani* "do not!" etc. If so, we may assume that the **-n** has developed from **an*, taking into consideration *na* "do not", *ina* "No!" and *ani* "how should (could)..." which last is used in an ironical construction. It would seem then that the **a* in **an* was of secondary nature, so that when the suffix **an* was used with a stem ending in a vowel the **a* was dropped, but when used with a stem ending in a consonant it was retained. Thus the Mizenkei

vowel *-a* of the Yodan verbs followed by *-n* may be part of the negative suffix *-*an*. This leads us to suppose that the negative adjective *naši* has been derived from **anaši*, whose initial vowel *-*a* was later dropped, probably due to the stress-shift. If this supposition be correct, the form *nakenaku* "the fact of not-being is not" (*M.*, i, p. 219) would once have been **anakenaku*, which may be analyzed as follows: **ana* + *ki* + **ana* + *ku*, where *-ki* and *-ku* are the Rentaikei and the Renyōkei of the adjective suffix *-ki* (cf. iii; iv, 1, below).

Still more puzzling is the identity of *-zu* and *-zi*. Although there may be some relationship between these suffixes and Osmanli *dāyil* "is not", Chaghatai *tügül* "is not", etc., whose initial consonants appear to go back to an earlier **ḡ*, it is not easy to explain the birth of the two forms *-zu* and *-zi* in Japanese. Besides, the Mizenkei vowel is entirely unaccountable in this particular case. I would therefore reserve all these three negative suffixes for further consideration.

2. Suffixes used with the Renyōkei

(a) *-tsu*, *-tari*. The suffix *-tsu* indicates perfection of an action described by the verb, and follows the Shimo-nidan conjugation as shown below:—

(1) Mizenkei	<i>-te</i>	(4) Rentaikei	<i>-tsuru</i>
(2) Renyōkei	<i>-te</i>	(5) Izenkei	<i>-tsure</i>
(3) Shūshikei	<i>-tsu</i>	(6) Meireikei	<i>-te</i>

This suffix has apparently come from an earlier *-*ti* or *-*t'*, which would give rise to the above conjugation; the Renyōkei would once have been *-*ti*, which we can safely assume to have become *-te*. The assumed earlier form *-*ti* (or *-*t'*) may be of the same origin as the Turkish preterite *-di* (*-dī*, *-dū*, *-du*), and the Mongol *converbum perfecti* *-džu* (< *-*dži*), which latter occurs also in the preterite imperfect *-džuqi* in Classical Mongol (*KKM.*, pp. 81-3, 106-7).

The Renyōkei *-te*, together with the verb *ari* "to exist", formed a descriptive perfect suffix *-tari* (< *-te* + *ari*). From this formation we learn that when *-te* + *ari* became *-tari* the vowel *-e* must already have been *-e* or *-ā*; otherwise *-te* + *ari* would have become *-*teri* in much the same way as *-ki* + *ari* > *-keri* and *-si* + *ari* > *-seri* (cf. *H.*, pp. 185-7, 212-13).

(b) *-nu*. According to Mr. Sansom this suffix and *-tsu*, discussed above, "seem to have been used indifferently, even in the earliest

known practice." He considers that "-tsu is rather more emphatic than -nu" (*H.*, pp. 179-80). The suffix -nu is usually identified with the verb *inu* "to go away", probably because both the suffix and the verb, besides having similar meanings, follow the Nagyō-henkaku conjugation. Thus:—

(1) Mizenkei	-na	(4) Rentaikei	-nuru
(2) Renyōkei	-ni	(5) Izenkei	-nure
(3) Shūshikei	-nu	(6) Meireikei	-ne

However, I am of opinion that the -n of -nu is related to the Mongol -n which was once used in the formation of verbal nouns, but which serves now to form the *converbium modale* (only indicated by the nasalization of the preceding vowel), and the imperfect present in the forms -n, -na, etc. (*KKM.*, pp. 15-16, 48-9, 78-80, 108-10; *N.*, pp. 97-8). In Turkish also -n was once used to form verbal nouns, but is now employed, together with -ya ~ -gā, to form the preterite participial suffix -yan ~ -gān (*N.*, pp. 119-20). A comparative study of the Japanese suffix -nu with the copulative verb *nari* "to be" and the "archaic verb" *nu* "to be", an ingenious invention due to the late Dr. Aston, is beyond the scope of the present paper, interesting though it would be.

(c) -ki, -ši. These preterite suffixes are conjugated as follows:—

(1) Mizenkei	-*ke	-*se
(2) Renyōkei	-*ki	—
(3) Shūshikei	-ki	-ši
(4) Rentaikei	—	-ši
(5) Izenkei	—	-šika
(6) Meireikei	—	—

In the case of the verbs *ku* "to come" and *su* "to do", -ki and -ši may also be suffixed to the Mizenkei, apparently to avoid the reduplication of *ki* and *ši* (cf. i, 6, 7 above).

The suffix -ki appears to go back to the same origin as the *nomen imperfecti* -*ya (~ -*ge) in Mongol, the preterite -χa (-χe, -χo) or -ka (-ke, -ko) in Manchu, and probably also the Turkish imperfect gerundial suffix -a (*KKM.*, pp. 25-7, 85-7).

Although not generally recognized, I think that -ke is the Mizenkei of -ki, as Mr. Sansom considers (*H.*, pp. 183-4, 148-9). The -ke would then have been composed of -ki and the potential vowel -*a, thus -ki + *a > *kā = -ke. The usual contraction theory -ki + ara + ba > -keraba > -keba can only be regarded as highly improbable,

if not phonetically impossible, though **-keri** would in all probability be a compound of the Renyōkei of **-ki** and **ari** "to exist" (cf. *H.*, p. 184). The form **-keba** and the compound suffixes **-kemu** and **-kemaši** are composed of the Mizenkei of **-ki** plus the particle **ba** and the suffixes **-mu** and **-maši** respectively. These latter have already been explained under ii, 1a.

The suffix **-ši** is probably related to the *nomen perfecti* **-sɣ** (\sim **-se**) in Khalkha Mongol, which, together with the Classical Mongol form **-γsan**, goes back to ***γsan**. The preterite gerundial suffix **-ksa**, **-ha** in Tungus is said to have the same origin. The suffix ***γsa** is also preserved in the *converbum abtemporale* **-sār** in Khalkha Mongol, denoting the idea "since, from the time when . . ." (*KKM.*, pp. 27-9, 88-9; 54, 117-18). The earlier form of the Japanese **-ši** would have been ***si**, from which the Mizenkei **-se** was formed by the addition of the potential vowel ***a**, thus ***si + *a > *sā ≥ -se** (cf. *H.*, p. 183).

The modal participial suffix **-šiku** is composed of **-ši** and the *nomen futuri* **-ku** (cf. *H.*, 147-8). The probable reason for choosing the Shūshikei in preference to the Mizenkei is that the form under consideration was chiefly used for indicating the mode of a past action, and hence the concept of potentiality was not strongly felt, e.g. **wagimoko ga omovertšiku-ši omokage ni miyu** "that sorrowful attitude of my sweetheart (towards our parting) appears in my vision of her" (Manyō, iv).

But in the formation of the Izenkei the potential vowel was deemed necessary, hence the evolution of **-šika** ($< *siku + *a$). For examples see *H.*, pp. 184-5.

3. Suffixes used with the Shūshikei

(a) **-ramu**, **-raši**; **-raku**. The suffixes **-ramu** and **-raši** are used in a conjectural description, and conjugate as follows:—

(1) Mizenkei	—	—
(2) Renyōkei	—	—
(3) Shūshikei	-ramu	-raši
(4) Rentaikei	-ramu	-rašiki
(5) Izenkei	-rame	—
(6) Meireikei	—	—

"There can be little doubt," says Mr. Sansom, "that **-ramu** is compounded of **aru** and the future suffix **-mu**" (*H.*, p. 189). This, however, is not only very doubtful, but is almost impossible, because

-ramu is suffixed to the Shūshikei of a verb, which base is hardly ever followed by another verb. On the other hand, the Shūshikei does admit of suffixes in spite of Sansom's statement that "Unlike the other forms of the simple conjugation, the Predicative cannot serve as a base for the construction of compound conjugational forms by the addition of suffixes, . . ." (*H.*, p. 130.)

In fact the **-r-** in **-ramu** and **-raši** is the participial suffix, as we find in the Rentaikei and the Izenkei of the Nidan and the Ichidan verbs (cf. i, 2-5). The **-a-** in these suffixes is the potential vowel which we have frequently met, whereas the **-mu** is identical with that treated under ii, 1a, and **-ši** is the suffix used to form a *nomen possibilitatis*, also explained under ii, 1a. The suffix **-ki** in **-rašiki** appears to have evolved from **kui*, and to correspond to the Mongol *-gai* (~ *-yai* ~ *-gei*), which is used to form both adjectives and substantives (*N.*, pp. 108-9). The corresponding Turkish *-gai* is considered by Mr. Poppe as a Mongol loan (*N.*, p. 122).

The suffix **-raku** is used to form the modal participle of verbs, where the Mizenkei does not include the potential vowel **-a** (cf. ii, 1e). It consists of the participial suffix **-r-**, the potential vowel **-a**, and the *nomen futuri* **-ku**. Ex.: *wotomera ga ime ni tsuguraku* "what the girls told me in my dream is as follows" (Manyō, xvii). The suffix **-raku** may also follow the Shūshikei of **-tsu** and **-nu** (ii, 2a, b), i.e. **-tsuraku** and **-nuraku**, both of which are used to form a modal participle. Exs.: *akašitsuraku mo nagaki kono yo wo* "the possibility of my passing this long night" (Manyō, iv), *yo no fukenuuraku* "the possibility of the advancing of the night" (Manyō, x).

(b) **-meri**, **-beši**. These two suffixes conjugate as follows:—

(1) Mizenkei	—	—
(2) Renyōkei	-meri	-beku
(3) Shūshikei	-meri	-beši
(4) Rentaikei	-meru	-beki
(5) Izenkei	-mere	-bekere
(6) Meireikei	—	—

It will be seen from the above that **-meri** follows the conjugation of **ari** "to exist", save the Mizenkei and the Meireikei, in which the suffix is lacking. This has led some grammarians to think that it includes the verb **ari** "to exist". Indeed, Mr. Sansom states: "It is doubtless a compound of **-mu**, the future suffix, and **ari**, analogous in formation with **-keri**" (*H.*, p. 188). This, on the contrary, is

extremely doubtful, and can even be considered impossible for two reasons. First, the suffix **-mu** is wanting in the Renyōkei, and hence cannot be followed directly by another verb. Secondly, the form **-mu**, when followed by **ari**, can hardly become **-meri**.

However, it is evident that the **-m** of **-meri** is identical with that in the suffix **-mu** (ii, 1a). It seems that **-me-** goes back to an earlier ***maĩ-**, where **-aĩ-** is a secondary suffix, with a specialized function of indicating appearance. The **-ri** is probably composed of the participial suffix **-r-** and the *nomen actionis* vowel **-i**. Both the Rentaikēi and the Izenkei contain the same **-r-** which, in the case of the former, is followed by the *nomen futuri* vowel **-u**, and in the latter by the Izenkei vowel **-e** ($< *a + *yi$).

The suffix **-beši** consists of **-be-** and **-ši**. The former appears to be a variant of the **-me-** in **-meri** and to have evolved from ***baĩ** ($\sim *maĩ$). It serves to indicate expectation, propriety, or reasonableness with the meaning "should, ought to, must". The component suffixes **-ši** and **-ki** are identical with those in **-raši** and **-rašiiki** (ii, 3a), whereas **-ku** is formed of the **-ki** and the *nomen futuri* vowel **-u**.

The Izenkei **-bekere** is composed of the Rentaikēi **-beki** and the Izenkei vowel **-e** ($< *a + *yi$), thus **-beki** + $*a + *yi > *bekiai > -beke$, followed by the intensifying suffix **-re**. This sign of intensification corresponds to the Mongol *ele* (la, le) which, together with the preterite **-be** ($\sim -ba$), forms the *converbium conditionale* **-bele** ($\sim -bala$) (KKM., pp. 44-5, 104-5). Of the same origin as the suffix **-re** are the **-re** in **kore** "this", etc., the intensifying **-ra** (**-ro**) in **yo-ra** "the night", **Okura-ra** "Okura, indeed", etc., in Japanese, the enclitic **-l** in Osmanli *şol* "that", *ol* "that (yonder)", Chuvash *lešə* ($< *ele-si$) "that", and so forth. For the various usages of the Japanese intensifying suffixes **-re**, **-ra**, **-ro**, see K., pp. 268-70. Thus I consider the suffix **-re** in **-bekere** to be of different origin from the **-re** in the Izenkei of some verbs and verbal suffixes (cf. i, 2 (5); ii, 1b, c; ii, 2a, b).

(c) **-maži**. This negative suffix conjugates as follows:—

- | | | | |
|---------------|----------------|---------------|------------------|
| (1) Mizenkei | — | (4) Rentaikēi | -mažiiki |
| (2) Renyōkei | -mažiku | (5) Izenkei | -mažikere |
| (3) Shūshikei | -maži | (6) Meireikei | — |

The **-ma-** is the Mizenkei of the suffix **-mu** (ii, 1a), whilst the **-ži** is the Shūshikei of **-ži** (ii, 1f). The **-ki** in the Rentaikēi is identical with the **-ki** in **-rašiiki** (ii, 3a), and the **-ku** in the Renyōkei has been

derived from the same **-ki** and the *nomen futuri* **-u**. The Izenkei consists of the Rentaikei plus the Izenkei vowel **-e** (< ***a** + ***yi**) and the intensifying suffix **-re**, as in the case of **-bekere** (ii, 3b).

III. CONJUGATION OF ADJECTIVES

Japanese adjectives are usually divided into two classes according as their stem does or does not end in **ši**. In the grammars the conjugation of the adjectives whose stem does not end in **ši** is given as follows:—

(1) Mizenkei	—	(4) Rentaikei	-ki
(2) Renyōkei	-ku	(5) Izenkei	-kere
(3) Shūshikei	-ši	(6) Meireikei	—

The adjectives whose stem ends in **ši** do not take **-ši** in the Shūshikei, the remaining forms being identical.

The Shūshikei suffix **-ši** is nothing else than the **-ši** in **-maši** (ii, 1a) and **-raši** (ii, 3a), i.e. a *nomen possibilitatis* suffix. It goes back to an earlier ***si** and corresponds to the Manchu adjectival suffix **-su** (KKM., p. 101). The transition from the basic meaning of possibility to that of qualification or quality can be easily explained by an intermediate concept of capacity, and hence the application of the *nomen possibilitatis* suffix ***si** in the formation of an adjective should excite no wonder.

The suffix **-ki** can likewise be identified with the **-ki** in **raški** and, as we have already seen, goes back to an earlier ***kui** (ii, 3a). The presence of the form in **-ke** as in **kokoda kanašike** "I love her so" (besides **kokoda kovišiki** "I long for her so") and **nagake kono yo wo** "this long night", the former in the Adzuma-uta (Manyō, xiv), and the latter in the Sakimori-uta (Manyō, xx), leads us to suppose that the suffix **-ki** had a variant **-ke**, which would have come from ***kaj**. We may therefore assume the mutation ***kui** ~ ***kaj** in early Japanese.

The Renyōkei **-ku** is formed of the Rentaikei and the *nomen futuri* vowel **-u**. Together with the verb **ari** "to exist", it forms the suffix **-kari**, which follows the conjugation of **ari**.

The Izenkei suffix **-kere** is identical with that in **-bekere** and **-mašikere** (ii, 3b, c), that is to say, the final **-re** is an intensifying suffix, and is not derived from the verb **ari** "to exist", as Sansom considers (*H.*, pp. 97, 108). That the suffix **-re** is not an essential part of the Izenkei **-kere** can be seen from such usages as **tovoke**

ba "as (the way) is long" (Manyō, xvii) and *sagašike do* "though precipitous" (Kojiki), where the intensifying suffix *-re* is not used (cf. *K.*, p. 273).

IV. SUFFIXES USED WITH STEMS OF ADJECTIVES

1. *-keku*, *-kemu*

Mr. Sansom considers that the Mizenkei of adjectives was indicated by the suffix *-ku*, e.g. *kowe naku ba* "were it not for the voice", *kašikoku tomo* "although fearfully", and remarks that "the existence of an Imperfect Form is denied by many authorities, who state that *samuku ba*, for instance, is an elided form of *samuku araba*, where *samuku* is the usual conjunctive form" (*H.*, pp. 107-8).

In my judgment Mr. Sansom is right in considering the Mizenkei to have been marked by *-ku*. But this is a comparatively later development. The Mizenkei was at one time indicated by *-ke*, which is formed of the Rentaikei *-ki* and the potential vowel *-*a*, thus *-ki + *a > -*kã ≥ -ke*. The final vowel *-e* may once have been *-*ã*, as can be inferred from such examples as *masaka ši yoka ba* "if only the present is well" (Manyō, xiv), where *-ke* is replaced by *-ka*, although this latter form may be purely dialectal (cf. *K.*, pp. 268, 271; *H.*, p. 205). The *-ke* ($\leq -*kã$, or *-ka*) as the Mizenkei suffix became regularly weakened to *-ku*, leaving a few such instances as *kovišike ba* "if you yearn for me" (Manyō, xiv) (cf. iii, above).

Moreover, the earlier form *-ke* was preserved in the Manyō period in the suffixes *-keku* and *-kemu*, where *-ku* is the *nomen futuri* suffix and *-mu* is identical with the *nomen possibilitatis* *-mu* (ii, 1a). It has been considered that the form, for instance, *yokeku* "good result, effect" has been derived from *yoku aru koto*, which cannot become anything shorter than *yokaruko(to)*. The entire disappearance of *-ru-* and the change from *-a-* to *-e-* are then unaccountable. To overcome this difficulty Professor Pierson has suggested that the *-ke* in the cases under consideration may just as well have been *-*ka* or *-*kã*, since it is often written with the character 家 (Kan-on *ka*, Go-on *ke*, anc. Chin. *ka*) (*M.* i, pp. 33-4; ii, pp. 80-1, 224-5, etc.). This does not explain the falling off of the syllable *-ru-*, but it incidentally supports my derivation of the suffix *-ke* as put forward above.

The exact force of the suffix *-keku*, like that of *-(a)ku*, has never been understood properly. The *-keku* stands in the same relation to the modal participial suffix *-(a)ku* as does *-kemu* to the *nomen*

possibilitatis suffix **-(a)mu**. Thus, for example, **mi no ovokeku wo** (Kojiki) does not mean "one that is fleshy", as usually interpreted, but signifies "one that appears fleshy". For further examples with inaccurate renderings see *H.*, pp. 147, 149, 205; for the contraction theory see *H.*, pp. 204-5.

2. **-mi**

This suffix is considered by Mr. Sansom as "the conjunctive form of a termination, **mu**, of certain derived verbs", such as **ayašimu** "to suspect" (**ayaši** "suspicious") and **itamu** "to be painful" (**itaši** "painful") (*H.*, pp. 294-5). Both Professor Andō and Professor Yamada hold a similar view (*K.*, pp. 205-8). Dr. Pierson, on the other hand, after a very thorough study of the suffix **-mi**, has arrived at the conclusion that it is the *Renyōkei* of an obsolete verb **mu* "to see as, regard as, consider as", from which the verb **miru** "to see" has developed, giving an exceedingly interesting psychological interpretation of this suffix (*M.*, i, pp. 86-7; ii, pp. 13-16). The explanation thus offered by Professor Pierson is, indeed, an admirable one, and on the whole entails no contradiction.

However, before we accept either theory the following questions must be answered:—

(1) If this **-mi** is of verbal origin or related to the verb-formative suffix **-mu**, how is it that we invariably find it in this particular form? There is nothing to show that it has ever been conjugated.

(2) Is there any material difference between **naši** in **ito mo sube naši** "Indeed there is no means (to stop him from going away)" (Manyō, xx) and **nami** in **ito mo sube nami yatabi sode furu** "There is nothing for it but to keep on waving my sleeves" (Manyō, xx)?

(3) In the example **wagimoko wo ašiirašimesi fito wo koso kovi no masare ba uramešimi move** "My love has grown intense; for this I feel resentment against the person who first introduced the girl to me" (Manyō, iv), can we not replace **uramešimi** by **uramešiku**?

It is certainly very strange that we do not come across any other conjugated forms of **-mi**, if this is really of verbal origin or the *Renyōkei* of the formative suffix **-mu**. Further, there is not the slightest difference in the actual meaning between **naši** and **nami**, except that the latter is dependent on what follows it. Thirdly, the word **uramešimi** does not contain the meaning "considering, regarding"; if it does the word **move** "I consider" would be a tautology. Even if such a reduplication be admissible, there is no doubt that the word

uramešimi in the present context can be replaced by the ordinary Renyōkei uramešiku.

From these reasons I consider **-mi** as a pure suffix with the meaning “(it) being . . . , because (it) is . . . , so . . . (that . . .)”. This suffix seems to have come from an earlier **mu_i* which corresponds to the *nomen descriptionis* *-ma*, *-m* in Khalkha Mongol, and Osmanli *nomen actionis* *-ma* ~ *-mā* (N., pp. 102, 120-1). Thus for the sake of convenience **-mi** may be called the descriptive gerundial suffix. Although Mr. Poppe treats some of the Mongol suffixes quoted under ii, 1a as indivisible, I am inclined to think that they all contain the same *-m*- as found in the Japanese *nomen possibilitatis* *-mu* and the suffix **-mi** under consideration.

On the other hand, the suffix **-mi** must be clearly distinguished from the verb-formative suffix **-mu**, although both Professor Andō and Professor Yamada find a close relationship between them (K., pp. 205-8). The latter suffix seems to have been derived from an earlier **β*, from which **-bu**, **-buru**, **-gu**, and **-garu** have also sprung.

It must be pointed out that the form in **-mi** is often preceded by the particle **wo**, which is considered as the sign of the objective case by those scholars who maintain that this form is a transitive verb (H., p. 294; M., i, p. 86). This, I think, is a great mistake. For example, in the poem *aki no yo wo nagami ni ka aramu nazo kokoba i no nerayenu mo fitori nureba ka* (Manyō, xv), if *nagami* is a transitive verb, it can only mean “lengthening”, or “considering . . . as long” (as Professor Pierson would interpret it), but neither makes any sense. If, on the other hand, we translate the poem “Why can I not sleep like this; is it because I am lying down alone, or perhaps because the autumn night is long?” the meaning is perfectly clear. Accordingly, the present usage of **wo** must be held as one of those already multifarious functions of this strange particle, but not as the sign of the objective case.

It may also be added that although the suffix **-mi** seems to have evolved from an earlier **mu_i*, and the stem of the verb *miru* “to see, look” from **mu_i*, the two have no connection with one another, since **-mi** consists of the two suffixes **-m** and **-i** (< **u_i*), whereas the *mi* of *miru* is the indivisible stem.

V. CONCLUSION

It has been suggested by some scholars that the oldest conjugation of the Japanese verbs is the Yodan. The chief reasons for this

conclusion appear to be (1) that there are many Nidan verbs which once followed the Yodan conjugation, and (2) that the Nidan and the Ichidan conjugations are formed from the Yodan by the addition of the verbs *ari* "to exist" and *u* "to get" (cf. *K.*, pp. 232-7). Mr. Sansom, on the other hand, after tracing the development of the conjugations, has concluded that "the original conjugation of most, if not all, Japanese verbs was of the type *shinu*, *shinuru*, *shini*, *shina*", i.e. the Nagyō-henkaku conjugation (*H.*, p. 153). Somewhat different are the views expressed by Professor Andō, who maintains that all the words that describe an action or a state in Japanese have developed from open monosyllabic roots, (1) by the vocalic changes in the root, (2) by the combination of two or more roots, (3) by the addition of some formative elements, and (4) by changing the final vowels (*K.*, p. 242). He has also suggested in one of his recent articles that the Renyōkei is the basic form from which the remaining conjugated forms of verbs and adjectives have been derived.¹

Our analysis tends to show that there were at least two distinct conjugations of verbs in early Japanese: one for those whose stem ended in an unpalatalized consonant and another for those whose stem ended in a palatalized consonant or a vowel. With our present knowledge of the language it is absolutely impossible to reduce them to a single conjugation, be it the Yodan or the one suggested by Sansom. Nor is it possible to trace all the Japanese verbs and adjectives to an open monosyllabic root. To illustrate this latter point we may consider the verb *otsu* "to fall". When examining the Kami-nidan conjugation I assumed the root of this verb to be **ot'*, which, together with other roots **ot*, **or*, **ot'*, **oz*, **os*, etc., has developed from the primary root **oδ* (cf. i, 3). These secondary roots may have given birth to the following words:—

- (1) **ot*: *oto-ru* "to be inferior", *oto-* "small, younger", etc.
- (2) **ot'*: *otsu* "to fall".
- (3) **or*: *oro* "a little", *oro-ka* "stupidity", *oro-ku* "to become stupid".
- (4) **ot'*: *oru* "to descend", *oru* "to be (become) stupid".
- (5) **oz*: *ozo* "dullness, stupidity".
- (6) **os*: *oso-ši* "dull, slow".

¹ *Gengo to Bungaku*. Taihoku Kokugo Kokubun Gakkwai, May, 1930. Vol. iii, pp. 40-1, 48-9.

It is quite easy to say that all these go back to **o*, but when even the relationship between these secondary roots is disputable, as at present, it would be more appropriate, though equally uncertain, to consider the primary root of these words to be **o* plus a certain dental consonant, e.g. **δ*.

It is also doubtful whether the Renyōkei served as the basic form of all the conjugations, in spite of Professor Andō's opinion quoted above. In the case at least of the Yodan conjugation the Renyōkei seems to have nothing to do with the remaining forms.

The most interesting of all the bases is perhaps the Izenkei which, together with the word *koso*, formed a linguistic convention known as the Kakari-musubi. Under this convention, when the grammatical subject is followed by *koso*, the Shūshikei is replaced by the Izenkei. Although in later times this practice became universal, both with verbs and adjectives, it was strictly limited to the verbs in the Manyō period. According to our analysis the final vowel *-e* of the Izenkei suffix consists of the potential vowel **a* and the imperative **yi*. This at once leads us to suppose that the word *koso* in this construction is related to the verb *kosu* "to wish, desire", but not of demonstrative origin, because both **a* and **yi*, of which the Izenkei vowel *-e* is composed, fulfil the functions demanded by the optative mood.

The inter-relationship between the bases and their suffixes may be summed up by saying (1) that the Mizenkei, which is a potential base, is used with various suffixes to denote potentiality or possibility, (2) that the Shūshikei, being a *nomen futuri*, is employed with various suffixes to indicate probability, and (3) that the Renyōkei, which is a *nomen actionis*, is the only suitable base for building perfect and preterite forms.

The Number "A Hundred" in Sino-Tibetan

By J. PRZYLUŠKI and G. H. LUCE

IN their *Notes d'Étymologie Taï*, published in 1926 in the *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. xx, pt. i, MM. J. Burnay and G. Cœdès have compared the various Taï words meaning "a hundred". Ahom *pāk*, Shan *pāk*¹, Khamti *pāk*¹, White Taï *pāk*¹, Thô *pāk*¹, Nùng *pāk*¹, Dìoi *pā*¹—all go back to a form **pāk*, which is very close to the sixth century Chinese (*pak*).¹ MM. Burnay and Cœdès draw this just conclusion (I translate): "As for the basic form on which Ahom *pāk*, etc., rest, it seems impossible—in view of its wide extension in Taï, and, in addition, the exact correspondence of the tones—not to assign it to the original Taï language or, at least, to the period of Taï union; it seems also impossible to separate it from Old Chinese *pak*. It remains to determine if we have here a borrowing by original Taï from Chinese, or a form common alike to Taï and to Chinese: this question remains untouched."

The next step, it seems, should be to compare, with Chinese and Taï, some forms at least of Tibeto-Burman.

Side by side with classical Tibetan *brgya*, we have Balti *rgyā*, Purik *rgiā*, Ladakhi *rgya*. The other Tibetan dialects have *gya*.²

In Burmese, on the other hand, we have twelfth century *ryā*,³ modern *rā* (pronounced *yā*).⁴

We see that the final guttural, which is conserved both in Chinese and in Taï, has disappeared in Old Burmese and in the Tibetan dialects. As for the initial labial, which appears as a surd *p* in Chinese and in Taï, it reappears in classical Tibetan as a sonant, but is absent in Old Burmese and in the Tibetan dialects. The medial group, so complex in the classical Tibetan *-rgya*, becomes *ryā* in Old Burmese, and is reduced to a single vowel in Chinese and in Taï.

Various Southern Chin dialects still keep a trace of the initial

¹ Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, s.v. *pai*, Nos. 685, 686.

² Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. iii, pt. i.

³ *Epigraphia Birmanica*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 23 (Myazedi Inscr., Pillar A, l. 2).

⁴ We can hardly question the common origin of the Tibeto-Burman and Taï-Chinese forms, in view of the closely similar series for the number "eight", which is in classical Tibetan *brgyad*; in eleventh-twelfth century Burmese *ket*, *ghat*, *hyat*, or *rhac*; in sixth century Chinese *p'at*, in Siamese from the thirteenth century *pēt*.

labial: in Yawdwin it is a surd as in Chinese *-pra*; Chinbok has *p'ya*. We can compare also Gyarung *paryé* and Mikir *p'áro*.¹

In the Northern Chin dialects the medial group appears to be contracted into *zā*, *jā*, *jhā*, or reduced merely to *ya*. In the Kuki dialects the same medial group gives Pürüm *riyāh*; Hirōi, Lamgāng *arja*; Rāngkhōl and Langrong *rajā*. Compare also Pānkhū *rajā* (Central Chin sub-group).²

Finally, in two Aka forms cited by Hodson³: *phogwa* and *purrua*, a vocalic element is inserted between the initial labial and the medial group. These forms are particularly instructive because, classical Tibetan *brgya* being practically unpronounceable, we must probably assume the existence of an old vowel after the initial. Compare Gyarung *paryé* and Mikir *p'áro*.

In the light of all these indications it seems possible to reconstruct for original Sino-Tibetan some such form as **pargyak*.⁴ The final and the initial are well conserved in Chinese and in Taï, while the Tibeto-Burman languages preserve better, in general, the medial element.

We are thus led to suppose, at the base of some modern words, a complex of at least two syllables. Neither Taï nor Chinese permit us to guess it. It is thus apparent that the mere comparison of Chinese and Taï does not carry us very far back.

¹ Houghton, *Essay on the Language of the Southern China*, p. 86, s.v. *p'ya*.

² Duroiselle, *Ep. Birm.*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 27.

³ *JRAS.* 1913, "Note on the Numeral Systems of the Tibeto-Burman dialects," p. 331 ff. Cf. *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. iii, pt. i, p. 622.

⁴ Or **parugyak*; for in view of such forms as Mikir *p'áro*, Aka *phogwa*, *purrua*, E. Daña *hōg*, Chulikata Mishmi *malū*, it still seems doubtful if Siamese *rōy*, Laotian and Black Taï *hōy*, do not themselves go back to the same common origin as *pat*.

Bhāgavatism and Sun-Worship

By S. K. DE

IN his article on *The Nārāyaṇīya and the Bhāgavatas* published in the *Indian Antiquary*, September, 1908, Grierson put forward a somewhat remarkable hypothesis (pp. 253-4) of the solar origin of Bhāgavatism. The view does not appear to have attracted much notice from scholars competent to pronounce an opinion on the subject; but it has neither been directly approved nor directly discredited. Since the theory has been repeated by Grierson in his article on *Bhakti-mārga* in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* ii, p. 540, where he practically reproduces his previous statements and arguments, a few remarks on the question may be offered.

Grierson very clearly states his position when he says: "We have no literary evidence as to the train of reasoning by which this doctrine (i.e. the monotheistic *bhakti*-doctrine of the Bhāgavata religion) was reached, but to me it appears more than probable that it was a development of the Sun-worship that was the common heritage of both branches of the Aryan people—the Eranian and the Indian." His relevant arguments may be summarised thus: (i) All the legends dealing with the origins of the Bhāgavata religion are connected in some way or other with the sun. (ii) Some of the exponents, incarnations, or devotees of the cult are either descendants of the sun or connected therewith. (iii) The Bhāgavata eschatology lays down that the liberated souls first of all pass through the sun on its way to the Bhagavat. (iv) The Bhagavat is identified with Viṣṇu, who was originally a sun-god.

One wishes that most of the obscure ideas in Indian religious history could be traced back so clearly and definitely; but, unfortunately, the available data forbid us to make such a summary reconstruction. It is not necessary to trace here the development of *bhakti*-ideas, whether monotheistic or otherwise, in early Indian literature; for competent scholars have already brought forward enough evidence to show that these ideas can be traced back to remote antiquity and that they had no connection, in their origin or development, with sun-worship. The inchoate *bhakti*-ideas in Vedic literature are not connected with any of its five or six solar deities, not even with Viṣṇu; but centre chiefly round the more ethical Varuṇa, who is associated indeed with the solar Mitra, but whose origin is admittedly

obscure. Not even Mitra could attain the supreme eminence of his Iranian double, but merged his Vedic individuality in that of his greater associate Varuṇa. The Iranian cult may have developed as sun-worship, but no such cult centred round the Vedic Mitra. If some hymns of a devotional character are addressed to Aditi and the Ādityas, it is done chiefly through their connection with Varuṇa and through their more pronounced ethical character as deities of grace and benevolence. In the only Upaniṣad in which theistic devotionalism of a somewhat sectarian character is prominent and unmistakable, and which directly employs the term *bhakti*, it is connected not with a solar god but with Rudra-Śiva, a deity of entirely different origin. Our data may not be enough to determine the exact train of ideas through which the *bhakti*-doctrine developed in Bhāgavatism; but it is clear that the traces of the idea in early Indian literature are independent of any original or developed trait of sun-worship.

It is likewise unnecessary for us to trace in detail the early history of monotheistic ideas in Indian religious history.¹ We have enough evidence now to show that it is too hasty a generalisation to regard Indian monotheism as a development of sun-worship. Heliolatry is very ancient in India, and no one would deny that certain mythological figures are perhaps solar in origin. Solar myths can also be traced in some of the Indian religious cults and legends of admittedly independent origin. Some elements even of the Buddha legend, as Senart has demonstrated, can be derived from solar cults. All this may be admitted; but they cannot prove any direct or inner connection of Indian monotheism, which has a long and independent history, with any form of sun-worship. Indeed, no student of Indian religion will seriously maintain to-day that Indian monotheism, the history of which can be traced back to Vedic times, where it cannot be shown to have any connection with any of the Vedic sun-gods, is a form of heliolatry, either in its origin or in its development, even assuming the influence or contamination of solar legends and solar cults.

¹ Whether *bhakti* in its earlier historical stages was at all monotheistic is a question which, as Miss Mrinal Das Gupta (*IHQ.* vi, 1930, pp. 331-3) has already shown, is extremely debatable. Early Indian monotheism need not have been a purely ethical doctrine, centring round devotional ideas; it was also speculative and ritualistic, as evidenced by the Agni-Brahmapaspati-Hiraṇyagarbha-Prajāpati hymns and by later Brāhmaṇic and theosophic theories. The idea of the All-god and the One-god must, however, be distinguished.

Even the earliest traces of Bhāgavatism as a popular cult of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa-Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva do not betray any such connection. While the legendary, euhemeristic, and Brāhmaṇic elements in the frankly obscure histories of Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa and Vāsudeva do not involve any reference to a solar deity, the generally accepted solar origin of Viṣṇu proves nothing. Though his original solar character and his cosmic association with light, life, and blessedness may have helped to raise him to his later eminence, it has yet scarcely anything to do with his epic character as a sectarian god of Viṣṇuism, Nārāyaṇism or Bhāgavatism. Even if strong traces of his solar origin are still retained in the epic conception of this deity in his many epithets, adventures, and direct identification with the sun, he is still not a solar god in the epic, but an entirely new mythological being, transformed by new myths and legends, and re-shaped by philosophy, mysticism, and practice of piety, as well as by a complex body of superstition, custom, and sentiment.

Nor is epic Viṣṇuism anywhere a form of sun-worship. There are Sauras or sun-worshippers in the epic itself,¹ but these stand apart from the Viṣṇuītes, Nārāyaṇīyas, or Bhāgavatas. If *bhakti* for the Sun-god is described (in special connection with the story of Karna) in *Mbh.* iii, 301, 1 f., the epic sectarianism was elastic enough to admit, as occasion arises, *bhakti* for Śiva or Brahmā, as well as for a host of other deities. Not much capital need be made out of the myths or traditions which declare that the Sātvatas or Pāñcarātras derive their doctrine from the Sun himself (xii, 335, 19; 339, 119f; 348, 59), or that they have a faith (curiously connected with what is called Sāṃkhya-Yoga) taught to Sarasvatī by the Sun (xii, 318, 3-6), or that the emancipated souls pass through the sun-door to Nārāyaṇa (xii, 344, 14f.). These stories or statements are somewhat qualified in the epic itself; for all the different mythical accounts of the origin of the Pāñcarātra-Nārāyaṇīya-Sātvata-Bhāgavata religion agree in deriving the doctrine directly from Nārāyaṇa himself or from the Bhagavat; the Sun in the form of Sūrya or Vivasvat being only one of the secondary recipients and promulgators (339, 110-12 and 118-21; 348, 44f.). These statements, however, are on a par with those made in the *Bhagavadgītā* itself (iv, 1-3) that the doctrine was

¹ The antiquity and the indigenous character of the worship of the Saura cult must be admitted; but foreign influence, chiefly from Iranian sources, on the later development of the cult is also probable (see R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism, etc.*, §§ 114-16).

originally communicated to Vivasvat, or that those who die while the sun is in his *uttarāyana* go to Brahman (ix, 24). These legends and beliefs undoubtedly show the influence of solar myths or solar cults on Pāñcarātra or Bhāgavatism, but they do not prove that its monotheistic doctrine of *bhakti* was derived from sun-worship. The same remarks must also apply to Vaiṣṇava hagiology, which connects its saints and incarnations with solar myths. The sources of an *Acta Sanctorum* are always diverse and polygenous. By a curious process of religious syncretism, the epic Viṣṇu as the supreme deity, as well as Viṣṇuism, absorbed older myths and legends (e.g. the cosmogonic myths of Prajāpati) and put on newer mythical identifications. The influence of independent Saura sects or Saura cults, as well as the residues of the original conception of Viṣṇu as a solar god, must have something to do with all this; and the easy-going religious attitude of the epic, with its theory of manifestations or incarnations and with its accommodating philosophical doctrine, which believed in unity but allowed its temporary personifications as diversity, did not disdain conscious or unconscious contaminations.

Barth would go a step further and regard Kṛṣṇa himself (independently, and not as identified with Viṣṇu) as a solar deity. H. Ray Chaudhuri¹ is right in rejecting such an opinion with the remark that the hypothesis is of a piece with those brilliant theories which would resolve the figure of the Buddha into a solar type and the history of Buddhism into a solar myth.

¹ *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, p. 26.

Notes on Gujrātī Phonology

By T. N. DAVE

I

-d-, -r-, -dh-

MODERN Gujrātī has three phonemes in the group of voiced cerebrals : viz. the unaspirated stop *d*, the unaspirated tapped *r*, and the aspirated stop *dh*, there being no corresponding aspirated tapped in the standard language.¹ In Gujrātī script *d* and *r* are written with the same symbol, while *dh* has a different symbol. In the interior of the word all the three appear quite frequently. Professor R. L. Turner has shown in *Festgabe Hermann Jacobi* (1925), p. 35, that Gujrātī has the same sound for M.I. *d*- and *-d*-, and on p. 40 he has grouped Gujrātī among those Mod.I. languages which have obliterated the distinction between M.I. *-d*- and *-dd*-, and has shown that M.I. *-d*- or *-dd*- > Mod.G. *-d*- (see *JRAS.* 1921, pp. 525, 531, 534, for the illustrations). But Mod.G. seems to present the following correspondences :—

M.I. *-d*- > Mod.G. *-r* ;

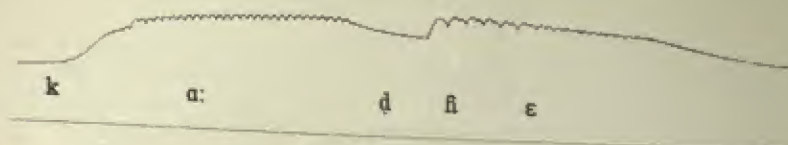
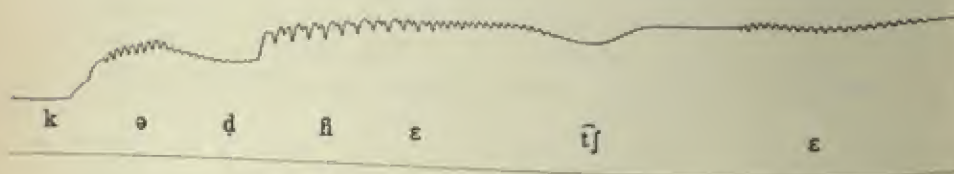
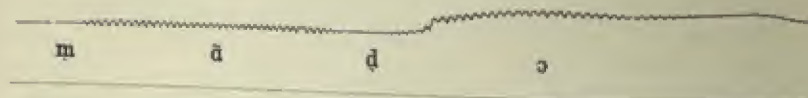
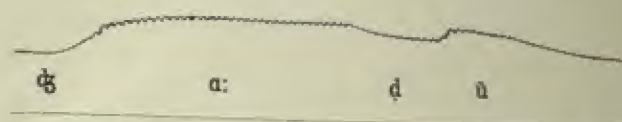
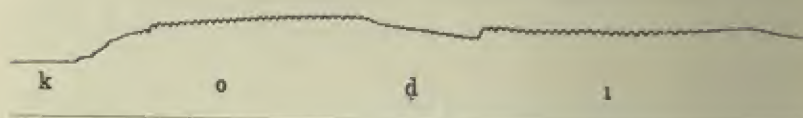
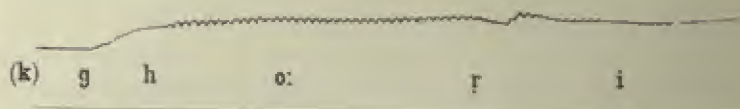
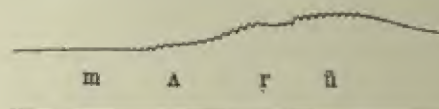
M.I. *-dd*- > Mod.G. *-d* ; and

M.I. *-dh*- and *-ddh*- > Mod.G. *-dh*-, in standard Gujrātī, but *-rh*- in various dialects.

The existence of the phoneme *-r*- can easily be seen in the accompanying kymograph tracings of the words spoken by the writer (who mainly represents the standard Kāthiāwār dialect) and taken at the phonetic laboratory at University College, London, under the supervision of Mr. Stephen Jones. It is seen in the word *ghoṛī* < Pkt. *ghoḍiā* < Skt. *ghoṭikā*, and in *marū* < Pkt. *maḍa*-, and may be contrasted with *-d*- in the tracings of the Mod.G. words *koḍī* < Pkt. *kaṇḍiā*, *kavaḍiā* < Skt. *kapardikā* ; *jāḍū* < Pkt. *jaḍḍaa*- extension of Skt. *jāḍya*- and *māḍo* < Pkt. *maṇḍao* < Skt. *maṇḍakuḥ*. The

¹ This is true in a general way only. For, dialectically, the phoneme *rh* is very common. Following is the probable isogloss for this sound : *dh* for the whole of Kāthiāwar and probably the whole of Pāṭanwārā, northern parts of Gujarat including the part from Mount Ābu to Palanpur : for *rh*, Ahmedabad, Cairā, Brooch and Surat and the south of Gujarat. It is represented by the same symbol as *dh* in Gujrātī script.

relation, M.I. $-\dot{d}h-$, $-\dot{d}dh-$ > Mod.G. $-\dot{d}h-$, in the speech of the writer is shown in the kymograph tracings of Mod.G. $kadh\epsilon$ < Pkt. $kadh\dot{a}i$ "boils" and in $k\ddot{a}dh\epsilon$ < Pkt. $k\ddot{a}dh\dot{a}i$ "takes out".



The following lists of words illustrate the three correspondences stated above.

(1) M.I. *-ḍ-* > Mod.G. *-ṛ-* :

M.I.	Mod.G.
<i>kaḍaga-</i> :	<i>kaṛū</i> bracelet.
<i>kaḍacchu</i> :	<i>kaṛcho</i> ladder.
<i>kaḍappa-</i> :	<i>kaṛaplū</i> bundle of grass.
<i>kaḍahu</i> :	<i>kaṛū</i> a vegetable medicine.
<i>kaḍāha-</i> m :	<i>kaṛāi</i> f. saucepan.
<i>kaḍi</i> :	<i>kaṛī</i> (dialectically), <i>keṛī</i> (standard) waist.
<i>kaḍua</i> :	<i>kaṛcū</i> bitter.
<i>kīḍaya-</i> :	<i>kīṛo</i> worm.
<i>kīḍiyā</i> :	<i>kīṛī</i> ant.
<i>kūḍa-</i> :	<i>kūr</i> fraud.
<i>koḍia-</i> :	<i>koṛiū</i> earthen bowl.
<i>khaḍa-</i> :	<i>khaṛ</i> grass.
<i>khaḍakkai</i> :	<i>khaṛke</i> arranges.
<i>khaḍakkāra-</i> :	<i>khaṛkār</i> a noise.
<i>khaḍiā</i> :	<i>khaṛī</i> white earth.
<i>gaḍa-</i> :	<i>gaṛ</i> swelling on the body.
<i>ghaḍai</i> :	<i>ghaṛe</i> fashions, makes.
<i>ghaḍa-</i> :	<i>ghaṛo</i> a pot.
<i>ghaḍāvai</i> :	<i>ghaṛāve</i> causes to make.
<i>ghaḍiā</i> :	<i>ghaṛī</i> moment.
<i>ghoḍau</i> :	<i>ghoṛo</i> horse.
<i>caḍai</i> :	<i>caṛe</i> mounts, rises.
<i>chaḍai</i> :	<i>chaṛe</i> clears the grain from chaff.
<i>jaḍā</i> :	<i>jaṛ</i> peg.
<i>jaḍai</i> :	<i>jaṛe</i> fixes, fits.
<i>jhaḍī</i> :	<i>jhaṛī</i> rain storm.
<i>jhāḍa-</i> :	<i>jhāṛ</i> tree.
<i>jhāḍai</i> :	<i>jhāṛe</i> cleans.
<i>naḍai</i> :	<i>naṛe</i> obstructs.
<i>nāḍī</i> :	<i>nāṛī</i> pulse of the arm.
<i>taḍī</i> :	<i>taṛī</i> (from the extended form) the toddy tree.
<i>*troḍai</i> :	<i>troṛe</i> cuts, breaks.
<i>thaḍa-</i> :	<i>thaṛ</i> a trunk of the tree.
<i>dhaḍa-</i> :	<i>dhaṛ</i> a body without a head.
<i>dhāḍī</i> :	<i>dhāṛī</i> gang of robbers.
<i>paḍai</i> :	<i>paṛe</i> falls.
<i>paḍaha-</i> :	<i>paṛo</i> a declaration.

M.I.

padāiyā :
paḍikkamma- :
paḍicchanda- :
paḍicchāya- :
pīḍai :
pāḍaya- :
pāḍosia- :
pīḍai :
pīḍā :
puḍa- :
phāḍai :
phedai :
phodai :
phoḍi- :
baṇua- :

bīḍiā :
beḍaya- :
boḍa- :
bhaḍa- :
bhaḍakka- :
bhāḍaya- :
mauḍa- :
maḍaya- :
mūḍa- :
meḍaya- :
moḍai :
raḍai :
rāḍi- :
vaḍa- :
vāḍi- :
vāḍiā :
saḍai :

M.I.

aḍḍa- :
uḍḍai :
uḍḍāvai :
oḍḍa- :
koḍḍa- :

Mod.G.

parāi kite.
paṛkamṇū a Jaina religious ceremony.
paṛchanda an echo.
paṛchāyo a shadow.
pāre fells.
pāro vicinity.
paṛośi neighbour.
pīre gives pain.
pīṛ pain.
paṛ cover.
phāre splits.
phere destroys.
phore breaks.
phorj breakage.
baṛu (extended) the boy who undergoes the sacred thread ceremony.
bīṛi a wrapping of leaf.
beṛo boat.
boṛo bald-headed.
bhaṛ brave man.
bhaṛko blaze of fire.
bhāṛū rent.
māṛ a head-dress.
maṛū a corpse.
mūṛo (extended) a measure for corn.
meṛo upper storey.
moṛe cuts.
raṛe cries.
rāṛi cry.
vaṛ banyan-tree.
vāṛi hedge, fence.
vāṛi a garden.
sare rots.

(2) M.I. -ḍḍ- > Mod.G. -ḍ- :

Mod.G.

āḍū (extended) cross.
uḍe flies.
uḍāve squanders.
oḍ builder of clay houses.
koḍ curiosity, eagerness.

M.I.	Mod. G.
<i>khaḍḍā</i> :	<i>khāḍī</i> (prob. from <i>khaḍḍī</i>) ditch.
<i>gaḍḍariā</i> :	<i>gāḍar</i> sheep.
<i>gaḍḍiyā</i> :	<i>gāḍī</i> carriage.
<i>jaḍḍaa-</i> :	<i>jāḍū</i> thick.
<i>tidda-</i> :	<i>tīḍ</i> a grasshopper.
<i>paḍḍaya-</i> :	<i>pāḍo</i> buffalo-calf.
<i>paḍḍiyā</i> :	<i>pāḍī</i> buffalo-heifer.
<i>buḍḍai</i> :	<i>būḍe</i> sinks.
<i>laḍḍai</i> vb. :	<i>lāḍ</i> n. (prob. from <i>laḍḍa-</i>) showing off.
<i>laḍḍua-</i> :	<i>lāḍeo</i> a sweetmeat.
<i>haḍḍa-</i> :	<i>hāḍ</i> bone.

(3) M.I. <i>-ḍh-</i> >	Mod.G. (standard) <i>-ḍh-</i> and dialectically > <i>-ṛh-</i>	
<i>āḍhai</i> :	<i>āḍhe</i> starts to go out (used for cattle when they go out to graze) :	<i>ārhe</i>
<i>kaḍhai</i> :	<i>kaḍhe</i> boils :	<i>karhe</i>
<i>kaḍhiā</i> :	<i>kaḍhī</i> soup :	<i>karhī</i>
<i>gaḍha-</i> :	<i>gaḍh</i> fort :	<i>garh</i>
<i>dāḍhā</i> :	<i>dāḍh</i> tooth :	<i>dārḥ</i>
<i>dāḍhiā</i> :	<i>dāḍhī</i> or <i>ḍāḍhī</i> beard :	<i>dārḥī</i>
<i>pīḍhi</i> :	<i>piḍhī</i> a beam in the roof.	
<i>poḍha-</i> :	<i>poḍhū</i> (extended) plump :	<i>porhū</i>
<i>maḍha-</i> :	<i>maḍh</i> small house.	
<i>maḍhia-</i> :	<i>maḍhyū</i> set jewels, etc. :	<i>maṛhyū</i>
<i>loḍhai</i> :	<i>loḍhe</i> gins the cotton.	

(4) M.I. <i>-ḍḍh-</i> > Mod.G. <i>-ḍh-</i> (standard) and <i>-ṛh-</i> dialectically		
<i>aḍḍhāiya-</i> :	<i>aḍhī</i> two and a half :	<i>aṛhī</i>
<i>oḍḍhaṇa-</i> :	<i>oḍhaṇ</i> upper covering :	<i>oṛhaṇ</i>
<i>kaḍḍhai</i> :	<i>kāḍhe</i> takes out :	<i>karhe</i>
<i>koḍḍha-</i> :	<i>koḍh</i> leprosy :	<i>koṛh</i>
<i>ḍhāḍha-</i> drum :	<i>dhāḍhī</i> a cast of drum-beaters.	
<i>buḍḍha-</i> :	<i>būḍho</i> old :	<i>buṛho</i>
<i>vaḍḍhai</i> :	<i>vāḍhe</i> cuts :	<i>vārhe</i>
<i>vaḍḍhamāṇaya-</i> :	<i>vaḍheṇ</i> a city in Kāthiāwār.	

II

WHISPERED *-j* OR THE PALATALIZATION OF THE PRECEDING CONSONANT

M.I. *-ī* or *-e* > *-j* (i.e. the whispered *-j* which is heard in some words, while in others it merely remains in palatalizing the previous

consonant). The influence of a M.I. or O.G. final *-i* on the preceding consonant or on the vowel of the preceding syllable has already been noticed. N. B. Divatia (*Wilson Philological Lectures*, pp. 224-5) has noted in his spelling of *काँइ*, etc., what is really a palatalization of the consonant. Professor R. L. Turner (*Gujrātī Phonology*, p. 365) has noticed the fact that a M.I. *-i* changes *a* of the preceding syllable to *e*, e.g. *kaḍi* > *keṛi*. The full facts appear to be as follows:—

(1) Dir. sing. of nouns ending in *-i* in M.I.: *ḍkhi* < M.I. *akhi*, *āgi* < M.I. *aggi*, *rāti* < M.I. *rāti*, *nāti* < M.I. *nāti*, *gāti* < M.I. *gāti*, *nāti* < M.I. *nāti*, *dāti* < M.I. *dāti*, *pāti* < M.I. *pāti*, *kaṛi* (dialectically) < M.I. *kaḍi* (Skt. *kaṭih*), *jharī* < M.I. *jharī*, *nāri* < M.I. *nāḍi*, *vāri* < M.I. *vāḍi*, *dhāri* < M.I. *dhāḍi*, *phorī* < M.I. *phoḍi*, *rāri* < M.I. *rāḍi*, *khāḍi* < M.I. **khāḍi*, *piḍhi* < M.I. *pīḍhi*, *ṭāḍhi* < M.I. *thaddhi*, *bhṭi* < M.I. *mahisi*, *maṣ* (dialectically, standard *meṣ*) < M.I. *masi*, *pāti* < M.I. *pāti*, *khāṭi* < M.I. **khāṭi* (may be from *khāṭā*, i., and the palatalization may be analogical), *cāri* < M.I. *cāri* "fodder", and so on.

(2) Imperative 2nd sing.: M.I. *-hi*. OldG. *-i* > Mod.G. *-i*. Examples: *lakhī*, *ūthī*, *beṣī*, *ramī*, *karī*, *bolī*, *cālī*, *vāci*, *māri*, *āvi*, *ughārī*, *ramā-rī*, and so on for all the verbs ending in consonants. For the vowel-ending monosyllabic verbs, the forms are free from any trace of the palatalization, e.g. *khā*, *pī*, *jā*, *gā*, *thā*, etc.

(3) Loc. sing. of nouns in *-a*, ending in *-e* in M.I., in *-i* in OldG., and in *-i* in Mod.G.:—

The normal locative ending in such words in Mod.G. is *-e*, which is transferred to this type from the *ghoṭaka*-type. But in a few stereotyped expressions the old loc. sing. ending still remains M.I. *-e* having the same development as M.I. *-i* dealt with above. The stereotyped expressions: *gāmi gayo* "went to a village", OldG. *gāmi gayau*; *hāthi āvyo* "was found", OldG. *hāthi āviu*; *peṭi paṛyo* "was carried in the womb", OldG. *peṭi paḍiu*; *kāmi āvyo* "was useful", OldG. *kāmi āviu*; *heṭhi āvyo* "came down", OldG. *heṭhi āviu*; *b-hāri juo* "see outside", OldG. *bāhiri jou*; *gherī beṭho* "was suspended (from work, service, etc.)", OldG. *ghari baiṭhau* (as already explained for this word by Professor Turner (*Guj. Phon.*, p. 365)).

NOTE.—The pronunciation of this *-i* varies in quality in various dialects of Gujrāt, and it is practically absent in the dialect spoken round about Surat.

A Grammar of the Language of Kwara 'Ae, North Mala, Solomon Islands

By W. G. IVENS, Litt.D.

THE Kwara 'Ae language is spoken by a hill people who live in the neighbourhood of the mountain called *Ala Saa*, North-West Alite Mountain, on North Mala, Solomon Islands. The present grammar has been compiled from a translation of the Gospel according to St. Matthew (1930), the translator being Mr. N. C. Deck, of the South Sea Evangelical Mission on North Mala, and the publishers the British and Foreign Bible Society. Use has been made also of a booklet of 32 pp. entitled "Kwara 'Ae Questions", and notes kindly supplied by Mr. Deck have been used in the compilation of this grammar.

At Fiu, on the west coast of North Mala, there are Christian villages inhabited by people gathered from both Kwara 'Ae and Fata Leka peoples, and the language spoken is presumably not pure Kwara 'Ae or pure Fata Leka. The missionaries of the Melanesian Mission at Fiu have provided the following books for the use of their people: (1) A translation of the Gospel according to St. Matthew (1912); (2) a Catechism (1910); (3) a translation of the Book of Common Prayer (1923). Using these as a basis, Mr. S. H. Ray compiled a grammar of the language of Fiu which appears in his *Melanesian Island Languages*, Cambridge Press, p. 487.

The Kwara 'Ae language is sufficiently akin to the Lau language of the coastal people of North-East Mala for a comparison to be made between them. A Lau grammar by the present compiler was published in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. V, Part II, 1929. The Malu'u language, a grammar of which appears in Mr. Ray's *Melanesian Island Languages*, p. 498, is closely allied to the Kwara 'Ae language, both being hill languages of North Mala.

1. ALPHABET

- (1) Vowels : *a, e, i, o, u.*

Diphthongs : *ae, ai, ao, au.*

Consonants : *f, k, ngg; d, t, b; kw(q), gw; l, r, ; s; m, ngw;
n, ng.*

- (2) Sounds. The vowels have the Italian sounds. They may be short or long in sound; a double vowel indicates a long sound.

Closed syllables do not occur. There is no indication of the occurrence of "Umlaut". The sounds *ei*, *eu*, *ou* do not occur.

The sound of *k* is hard; *ngg* is printed in the texts as *g*; *d* is pronounced *nd*, except when it begins a word; *l* and *r* are differentiated; *b* is pronounced as *mb*. The *ngw* sound is printed in the texts as *w*. That it represents the Sa'a, Mala, *mw* may be seen by comparing any word in which it occurs with the similar word in Sa'a. In one case Sa'a *mw*, *mwela* "child", appears as *ng* in Kwara 'Ae *ngela* "child". Dr. Codrington, *Melanesian Languages*, p. 214, compares Fiji *linga* "hand" and the common Melanesian *limba* "hand". Ulawa has *nima* "hand". This gives an interchange of *mw*, *m*, *ng*, and Codrington says that the nasal *m* is the oldest of the three sounds used in this connection. The island of Mala itself bears three names, in three different parts, viz. Mala, Mwala, Ngwala, showing an interchange of *m*, *mw*, and *ngw*. In the Kwara 'Ae texts "ng", i.e. the "ng" of English "sing", is printed as *n*. To pronounce the *t* the tongue is pressed against the teeth, and then released.

The "Melanesian g" is not heard in Kwara 'Ae; it has been dropped in certain words, e.g. *i'a* "fish", and its loss is marked by a "break" in the sound which is represented in this grammar by the sign '. In certain other words the "Melanesian g" is represented in Kwara 'Ae by *k*: *kami* "we", Florida *igami*. Other consonants dropped in Kwara 'Ae are *k*, *l*, *t*, and their loss is generally denoted by the presence of a "break" in the sound: *la'u* "to be whole", Sa'a *laku*; *fata'a* "speech" for *fatala*; *ta'a* "bad", Mota *tatus*. The "break" is far more noticeable in Kwara 'Ae than in Lau.

The only use of *w* in Kwara 'Ae is in the compound sounds *kw(g)*, *gw*, *ngw*. A *kw* in Kwara 'Ae may represent a *w* in Sa'a: *kwakwa* "mouth", Sa'a *wawa*; *kwalu* "eight", Sa'a *walu*. The *gw* sound in Kwara 'Ae may represent *pw* in Sa'a, *q* in Mota: *gwau* "head", Sa'a *pwau*, Mota *qatu*. The loss of initial *t* may result in the lengthening of the initial vowel: Florida *tambu* "holy", Kwara 'Ae *aambu*. A *g* in Florida may be dropped in Kwara 'Ae, and a "break" then occurs: Florida *gambu* "blood", Kwara 'Ae *'ambu*. A *k* in Kwara 'Ae may stand for *ngg* in Florida, the island Florida or Nggela being known on Mala as Kela. The adjectival ending *'a* in Kwara 'Ae is for *ka* or *ga*.

Interchange of vowels: *o* in Lau may become *u* in Kwara 'Ae: Lau *tofu* "to chop", Kwara 'Ae *tufu*; again Lau *fanua* "land", is Kwara 'Ae *fanoa*; Sa'a *lio* "to see", Kwara 'Ae *lia*; Lau *'abulo*

"to act", Kwara 'Ae *'abula*. In certain words an *i* is added for euphonic reasons; *saloi* "heavens", *talei* "path", *utai* "rain", *igoi* "flood".

The English word "corn" has become *koli* in Kwara 'Ae, showing a change from *n* to *l*, the "r" of "korn" not being sounded.

2. ARTICLE

(3) (a) Demonstrative:—

Singular: *na*; *ta*, *ta'i*; *gwai*, *fai*; *mae*.

Plural: *ki*, *kiri*, *ri*; *ti*; *ngwai*; *rai*.

(b) Personal: *sa*, *i*.

Na is the definite article "the", and is used with nouns both in the singular and in the plural: *na maa* "the eye"; *na afamanu ki* "the lilies". It is used with numerals: *na akwala* "ten"; *na ro alako* "the two sons"; it forms a plural with *ki* or *kiri* following the noun: *na fajarongo ki* "the disciples"; *na salo loo kiri* "the heavens". Ordinarily nouns may be used without *na*: *fafanga'a ana arainga* "the wedding feast". The use of *na* with the noun denotes a particular object: *na 'ai* "a tree", "the tree".

Ta and *ta'i* are forms of the numeral for "one". *Ta* denotes "a, any, another, a certain one": *ta i'a* "a fish"; reduplicated *ta ai ta ai*, etc., it denotes "the one, the other". *Ta* may be used with numbers: *ta fulu* "ten"; *ta lima* "one five", "five"; *ta ro ru* "two things". It is used compounded with *ta'i*, *mae*, and *fai*: *ana ta ta'i kula* "in a certain place"; *ta ta'i 'ada* "one of them"; *ta mae fata'a* "one word"; *ta fita fai ngali* "how many years?"; *ta'i ngwai* "a man"; *ta'i fai nguu* "a song".

Gwai denotes "a": *gwai 'uru* "a widow"; *gwai ua* "a hill"; *gwai mata'inga* "sickness". By comparison with Malu'u *gwa*, with similar use, *gwai* would seem to be compounded of *gwa*, a noun, and the preposition *i*, used as a genitive.

Fai is used of things spherical in shape, or of one of a series: *fai bubulu* "a star"; *fai ua* "a hill"; *fai rade* "a reed"; *fai 'u'u* "a finger"; *fai nguu* "a song"; *ro fai ngali'a* "two carryings". *Fai* may be the same as Lau *fe* with the genitive *i* added, or it may be a contraction of *fau* "time", "occurrence", and *i* genitive.

Mae is a contraction of *maa* "eye", "one", and *e* genitive, and denotes "one, a unit": *mae dangi* "a day"; *mae rodo* "a night"; *ta mae fata'a* "one word"; *mae taelo* "a gate".

The word *afu* in *afu berede* "a loaf", may be the Lau *fua* "fruit", etc., by metathesis. Kwara 'Ae is very fond of changing the order of syllables, e.g. *leak* "to go", for *leka*.

Ki, *kiri*, *ri*, follow the noun and indicate plurality; *ri* (cf. *ri* in Roviana. Ray, *Melanesian Island Languages*, p. 544): *i salo loo ri* "in the heavens"; *ana kaidai loo kiri* "in those days"; *ru ki* "things"; *ru nee ki* "these things"; *ruu nee kiri* "the things"; *mae fata'a nee kiri* "these words"; *gwata ki* "pigs". *Ki* may be separated from its noun, and placed at the end of the sentence: *fata'a nee sakatafa mai faasia kwakwana sa God ki* "the words that proceed out of the mouth of God". (With *ki* may be compared Lau *gi*, Sa'a 'i, used as plural of things.)

Ti is used of the plural "any": *ti ngela* "what children"; *ti ai* "whoever"; *ti ai kira saea* "some people say".

Ngwai is a prefix denoting reciprocity of relationship: *ro ngwai asina* "two brothers"; *fiu ngwai asina* "seven brothers"; it is also used before the word *nguae* "male", with the suffix *na* added, to denote "sister of a man, brother of a woman": *ngwai ngwaena inau* "my sister", etc.

Rai appears in the phrase *rai ngwane uria* "a multitude". This is probably the Malu'u *ila* in *toa ila ngwane ki* "husbands"; *ai ila ai ki* "wives". By comparison with Maran Sound *rai*, *lai*, Florida *lei*, Ulawa *alai*, this *rai* is shown to be a plural sign.

(4) The personal article with names of males is *sa*: *sa Pita* "Peter". (Cf. Roviana *sa* article. Ray, *Melanesian Island Languages*, p. 544.) It is used with *ru* "thing" to denote "person": *sa ru* "So-and-so"; *sa ro ta'i* "what two people?" *sa ta'i* "who (male)?" *Sa* is not used with the plural. The personal article used with names of females is *i*: *i Meri* "Mary". This article is not used with *afe* "wife" or *kini* "woman", nor is it used with the plural. (Cf. Inakona, Guadalcanal, *ki*, Lau *ni*, feminine articles.)

3. NOUNS

(5) There are two classes of nouns, those which take the suffixed pronoun and those which do not. The first class denotes parts of the body, positions, actions or conditions, the word for "brother-sister" relationship. These are all used with suffixed pronouns. Other words denoting relationships use the personal pronoun to denote possession.

(6) Verbal Nouns. These are formed by the addition of the

suffixes 'a, nga, 'anga,¹ fa, la, ta: *mae* "to die", *mae'a*, *maela* "death"; *fata* "to speak"; *fata'a*, *fatala* "speech, word"; *fatalamua* "your words"; 'a may be added to a noun: *ngwae* "man", *bara ngwae'a* "a company of men". The termination 'a is evidently for *la*. 'O'o "to work", 'o'onga "work"; *mata'i* "to be sick", *mata'inga* "sickness"; *saunga'i* "to work", *saunga'inga* "work"; *ta'a* "to be bad", *ta'anga'a* "evil" shows 'a added to *nga*; *oga* "to desire", *kwa'oga'anga* "desire". The termination *la* is used by itself as a noun ending: *gwau* "head", *gwaula ni luma* "head of the house"; *tafi* "to flee", *tafila* "flight"; or as a gerundive with the pronouns always suffixed: *loge* "to loose", *logelana* "the loosing of it", where *logela* has no separate existence as a noun. *Fa* appears in the noun *tatalafa* "honour", from *tala* "to proclaim"; *tatalafa'anga* "kingdom" has probably a triple noun ending, *fa*, 'a, *nga*; *i na'o* "before", *i na'ofana* "before him". *Ta* is seen in *fikuta* "company", *fiku* "to gather together"; *oli* "to return", *olita* "heir"; *ore* "to be left", *oretana* "the remainder". The endings *fa*, *ta*, *la*, may all take a suffixed pronoun.

Compound nouns may be formed by the suffixing of 'a, *la*, *nga*, to the last member: *ala ngginggiri* "to gnash the teeth", *ala ngginggiri'a* "gnashing of teeth"; *fi tula* "to disbelieve", *fi talala* "doubt"; *sasi le'a* "to do good", *sasi le'anga* "goodness".

Independent Nouns. These are formed by suffixing *na* to (a) certain terms of relationship; (b) to the cardinal numerals to form the ordinals.

(a) The nouns so formed are always preceded by the prefix *ngwai* which denotes reciprocity of relationship: *ro ngwai asina* "two brothers, two sisters"; *ngwai ngwaena* "sister, brother".

(b) Numerals: *rua* "two", *ruana* "second"; *fai* "four", *faina* "fourth". The words for "third" and "eighth", *ula*, *kwaula*, show *la* as a termination, and also show the loss of the letter *l*. *La* in these instances is a change from *na*.

(7) Construct form. A construct form appears in a few words with the use of the genitive *e* and *maa* "eye", used as meaning "one": *mae dangi* "a day"; *ta mae fata'a* "one word".

(8) Genitive relation. The genitive relation of nouns to one another is effected by the use of the prepositions *ni*, *i*, *li*, *e*; of these *ni* is used mainly in construction: *ngwae ni kwai i'a* "a fisherman";

¹ 'anga appears to be a double noun ending 'a + *nga*.

to'oa ni rao "fishermen"; *i* is in common use as expressing "of, belonging to": *linga i ru* "sound of thing, voice"; *noni i ngwae* "body of man"; *i* is possibly *ni* with *n* dropped; *li* appears in the words *maa-li-mae* "enemy"; *maa-li-tako* "market-place"; *li* would appear to be a variant of *ni*; *e* is seen in *mole (mola e) taleda* "a thousand talents"; *botele e fau* "jar of stone"; and also in *faelangi (faa-e-langi)* "storehouse". The genitive *i* is commonly used (as in Sa'a) to express purpose: *nau ku i saea fuamu* "I am about to tell thee of it".

The word *doe* "thing" is added to nouns and verbs: *uunu doe* "a torch thing"; *doe liu* "very much".

Juxtaposition of two nouns conveys the idea of genitive relationship: *to'oa sa God* "the people of God". A genitive relationship is also shown by the use of the suffixed pronoun, third person singular, in agreement with the idea expressed in the second noun of the pair: *'aena ngwane* "a man's leg".

The ordinary personal pronouns are used as possessives in cases where the pronoun cannot be suffixed: *afe nau* "my wife"; *ma'a nau* "my father".

(9) Number. The plural is indicated by *ki*, *kiri*, *ri*, following the noun or noun phrase. These plural signs are not used with numerals: *ro ngwae* "two men". The words *oro* "to be many", *sui* "to be finished, all" may be added: *ngwae oro, ngwae 'oro ki* "many men"; *to'oa oro* "many people"; *to'oa nau ki* "my people"; *ru ki sui* "all things"; *ru nee ki sui go'o* "all these things".

Totality is shown by the words *sui* "to be finished", *ta'i fau* "one time, completely", *kwalu* "all" (eight): *kwalu sui fanoa* "all lands"; *na fajarongo nee kiri ta'ifau* "all the disciples".

The personal pronoun, third person plural, *kira*, is not used as a collective pronoun like *ira* "the" in Mota; it may be preceded by the noun *to'oa* "people" in order to express a collective idea: *to'oa nee kira fi'olo* "the hungry".

The possessive pronoun, third person singular, *na*, is suffixed to a noun form *afuta* in order to express totality: *afutana aba i kida neeri* "every part of that place". *Bara* "a company" expresses the idea "a number of, some": *bara ngwae'a* "many men".

(10) Gender. There is no grammatical gender. The words *ngwane* "male", *kini* "female", are added when the noun does not carry a sex distinction: *funga kini* "mother-in-law"; *kakarai kini* "hen".

Ma'a, *ma'asi* (vocative) "father"; *tea* "mother"; *aarai* "husband"; *afe* "wife"; *alako* "boy, son"; *sarii* "maiden, daughter"; *defo* "daughter, girl"; *ngwae futa* "brother"; *ngwai ngwaena* "sister, brother"; *ngela* "child", are all followed by the personal pronoun, and not by the suffixed pronoun, to indicate possession: *ma'a nau* "my father". *Asi* "brother-sister" is always used with a suffixed pronoun: *asiku* "my brother" etc.; *asina sa ru* "So-and-so's brother".

Ngwane "male" appears in a few phrases, but *ngwae* is in common use for "male" or "man" (*homo*).

The noun *ai* is used for both "thing" and "person": *ai ngwane* "a male"; *ta ro ai* "two things"; *ai fa'anda* "what thing?" *Ru* "thing" is used as meaning "certainly, in that case": *ru nia ke ada maasia* "certainly he would have watched" (cf. use of *doo* in Lau, *ola* in Sa'a).

The word *kala* "little" is used to denote something young: *kala ngela*, a little child. A further form *kaela* is used: *kaela ngela ti'iti'i ki* "little children".

(11) Vocative. This is shown by the use of 'ae, 'o, of which 'o is the personal pronoun, second personal singular. 'Ae may precede or follow, and both may be used together preceding the noun: 'ae 'o *ngwae ni rao* "thou servant"; *ma'asi 'ae* "Oh my father!"

4. PRONOUNS

(12) Personal. Pronouns used as the subject of a verb.

Sing. 1. *inau*, *nau*, *nau'a*, *ne*.

2. 'oe, 'o.

3. *inia*, *nia*, *nia'a*, *ni*.

Plur. 1 incl. *kia*, *kia'a*, *ki*; *ku*; *kulu*, *kulu'a*.

1 exclu. *kami*, *kami'a*, *mi*; *kaimili*, *kaimili'a*, *kaili*, *mili*.

2. *kamu*, *kamu'a*, *kamu'i*; *kaumulu*, *kaumula'a*, *kamulu*, *kaulu*; *mu*; *mulu*.

3. *kira*, *kira'a*, *ki*, *kiki*; *kirulu*.

Dual 1 incl. *koro*, *koro'a*, *ko*.

1 exclu. *kero*, *keroo*, *keoo*, *ke*; *kamere*, *mere*, *me*; *kamiroo*.

2. *kamoro*, *moro*, *mo*; *kamuroo*; *koroo*.

3. *kera*, *kera'a*; *kero*, *kero'a*, *ke*.

It will be noticed that dual 1 incl. *koro* is identical with dual 2 *koroo* except for the lengthened final syllable; note also dual 3 *kero*

and dual 1 excl. *kero*; also plural 1 incl. *ki* and plural 3 *ki*; also dual 3 *ke* and 1 excl. *ke*.

The form *inau* of the first person singular is not in common use; the form *nau* may be followed by the verbal particle *ku*, and *nau'a* 'aku "for my part", *ku* being added as well: *nau nau'a 'aku nee ku*; *ne* is only used with *i* expressing purpose: *nau kwa ne i leka* "as for me I shall go"; *ne i si dao to'ona ta ru* "there is nothing that I find"; *ne i lisi fuli 'aemu* "let me see thy footmark".

In the second person singular 'oe may be strengthened by 'o. The adding of 'a to certain forms, *nau'a*, *kamu'a*, *kira'a*, etc., is done for emphasis.

The shorter forms may be used alone as subject in the past tense: *nia nana'i* "he rested"; *sa Jone nia dao* "John came"; the longer forms in the singular may be followed by the shorter: *nia ni*; the longer forms in the plural require the use of the shorter forms as well, or of a verbal particle: *to'oa nee kira fi'olo ma ki ka siliuwau* "they that hunger and thirst". The forms in *lu*, *li*, *li'a* denote fewer persons. The form *kirulu* is of rare occurrence and generally denotes a trial.

These pronouns are used to denote possession when the suffixed pronouns of possession cannot be used.

Ro, *roo* of the dual endings is the numeral *ro*, *roo*, "two", and *lu* is a variant.

The pronouns of the third person singular and plural may be used of impersonal or inanimate things: *ni fa'auta nee* "how is it?"; *ni uta* "why?" (it how?).

Pronouns following verbs and prepositions as object:—

Sing. 1. *nau*.

2. 'oe, 'o, 'u.

3. *a*, *nia*.

Plur. 1. incl. *kia*; *kulu*.

1 excl. *kami*; *kaimili*, *kaili*.

2. *kamu*; *mulu*.

3. *da*; *kira*; 'i.

Dual 1 incl. *koro*.

1 excl. *mere*, *miroo*; *keroo*.

2. *moroo*, *muroo*; *kamoro*.

3. *daroo*.

The form 'u of the second person singular appears to be a variant of 'o, and it is used as object when the verb ends in *u*: *dau'u* "hold you"; *oga liu'u* "like you much". The longer form of the third person singular, *nia*, is used with the verb *toda* "to meet", with *sae filo* "to

question": *kero toda nia* "they two met him"; also with *ta'ifili* "alone, singly"; *ta'ifili nia* "he by himself". The preposition *fa'i* "with", takes both forms of the second person singular: *fa'i 'oe*, *fa'ini'o* "with thee".

A second object of the verb always appears in the suffixed pronoun third person singular and plural: *kami lilisia fai bubulu* "we saw (it) the star".

All prepositions governing pronouns have the pronoun suffixed as an anticipatory object in agreement with the object itself: *faafia ru nee* "on account of (it) that thing". If the object is in the plural the suffixed pronoun of the anticipatory object may be in the singular. The forms in *lu*, *li* denote fewer persons. The form *a*, third person singular, is used of things as well as of persons. The form *'i* is used, as in *Sa'a*, of inanimate or impersonal things: *ru ki sui kulu ka sasi sul'i* "all the things will we do".

Pronouns suffixed to nouns or to verbal nouns:—

Sing. 1. <i>ku</i> .	Plur. 1 incl. <i>ka</i> ; <i>kulu</i> .
2. <i>mu</i> .	1 excl. <i>mia</i> ; <i>mili</i> .
3. <i>na</i> .	2. <i>mua</i> ; <i>mulu</i> , <i>mulu'a</i> .
	3. <i>da</i> ; <i>dulu</i> ; <i>ni</i> .

Dual 1 incl. *koro*.

1 excl. *mere*, *miroo*.

2. *moro*, *moroo*, *muroo*.

3. *daroo*.

These are the pronouns denoting possession, and they are suffixed to nouns of the first class only. The forms in *lu*, *li*, denote fewer persons; *dulu* is euphonic for *dalu*.

The third person singular *na* is added to certain nouns: *sari'i* "girl", *alako* "boy, son"; *sari'ina Sion* "daughter of Sion"; *to'oana fanoa* "people of the land"; *tafana kulu* "what sort of a place?"

Several words which are employed as prepositions have these pronouns attached, proving them to be nouns; *fua* "to"; *kwatea fuaku* "give it to me"; *fuana* "in order that"; *sia* "to, towards, at the house of"; *siana safitana* "into the midst of it". Certain words which show a noun termination, but which have no independent existence as nouns, also have these pronouns attached: *afutana* "all of it"; *orolana* "many". The verb *to'o* "to hit, to try", used in

compounds, *sama to'o* "to touch", takes these suffixed pronouns of the object: *sama to'ona* "touch it".

The third person plural *ni* is used, as in Sa'a, of things only: *noni* "body, shape", *nonini* "the shape of them"; *sasi* "to do", *sasilani* "the doing of them".

(13) Demonstrative. *Na, nee*, "this"; *nee kiri* "these"; *ni, nini, ninia* "this, here"; *neeri* "that, those"; *neeria, nena* "that"; *bania* "that one mentioned before"; *funia* "that one down there"; *nai, neana* "that"; *loo, loonia* "that yonder"; *loobania* "that one over there"; *loo ri, loo kiri* "those yonder"; *loko, lokonia* "that up there".

The demonstratives follow the noun or pronoun: *kaela ngela ngwane na* "all the young children".

Nee is in very frequent use, and serves almost as an article. It has a use at the beginning of a sentence closely allied to the use of *nge*, explanatory, in Sa'a, "it is that, therefore, thereupon, well then". *Nee* is added to *nau'a, nia'a*: *nau'a nee* "I here"; *uita nee* "why?" *sulia nee* "therefore".

(14) Interrogatives. *Tai* "who?" used of the singular with the personal article prefixed: *sa tai* "what man? who?" *i tai* "what woman? who?" *sa tai 'amulu'a* "what man of you?" For the plural there is a use of the singular form *sa tai* with *faida* "with them" added: *sa tai faida etaeta ki'e lisia sa Jesus* "who were the first to see Jesus?" *Nee* may be added to *tai*: *tai nee* "what?" *ai tai nee* "which?"

Tae "what?" the article *na* may precede: *na tae* "what?" *ani tae* "with what?" *ta, tata* and *tafa* also occur: *ta fita* "how many?" *tafana kulu* "what place?" *tae nee* "what then!" *ta ngwae fa'auta* "what man?" *ta ru bore nee* "whatever things"; *tata le'a nee nau ki i sasiasia* "what good thing shall I do?" *ru ta ki* "what things?"

(15) Indefinite. The articles *ta, ta'i*, forms of the numeral for "one", are used indefinitely for "one, the other, any": *ta ngwae bore ke kwatea ta mae titiu i kaso* "whosoever shall give a cup of cold water"; *ta ru* "anything, something"; *ta ai ki ke ngalia, ma ta ai ke ore* "one shall be taken and another left". *Ti* is used of the plural with *fa'ida*: *ti fa'ida* "who of them?" *ti god matamata* "other gods"; *ti ngwae kira tua go'o* "there are some men standing"; *ti ai* "some things"; in the phrase *'aku ti 'aku* "I by myself", *ti* appears as singular.

(16) Relative. There are no relative pronouns; their place is supplied by the use of the suffixed pronoun with the demonstrative *nee*: *gwai fau nee kira aila ania* "the stone which they rejected".

(17) Emphatic. The noun *tala* is used with the suffixed pronouns and means "self, selves": *kira bore 'ada talada* "they themselves". *Talito'o* is used for "alone", the pronouns being suffixed: *ngwae kasi mauri ana berete talito'ona* "man shall not live by bread alone".

5. THE GENITIVE

(18) Nouns of the first class may take a suffixed pronoun of the third person singular when governing another noun: *abena 'ai* "a plank of wood".

The gerundives in *la* always have the suffixed pronoun: *saungilana* "the killing of him". A noun in the genitive follows the governing noun: *to'oa sa God* "the people of God"; *na Alako ngwae* "the Son of Man". The construct form is made by adding the genitive *e* to the first of two nouns: *ta mae (maa e) titiu i kafo* "a cup of water"; *mae utu* "a war band"; *botele e fau* "a stone jar".

Nouns of the second class may use the preposition *ana* "of, belonging to": *goulu ana tebolo* "the gold of the temple". The preposition *ni* is used in construction: *Ai ni ilito'onga* "the Tempter". The preposition *i* is used also in construction and denotes purpose as well: *lia i ngwae* "man's heart"; *bata i uliuli* "skins"; *i ke duni usikia* "in order to cover over us": *to'oa i Judia* "the people of Judea".

(19) Possessives. There are two possessive nouns, *'a*¹ and *na*. The suffixed pronouns are added to these. The only forms of the second possessive which I have found are *nana*, third person singular, *nani*, third person plural; *nana* means "belonging to", and may be compared with *nana* in Ulawa and Sa'a, and *nani* also occurs in Sa'a: *kaumulu nana ta'i Ma'a* "ye belong to one Father"; *kaumulu nani maeutu ni fuanga'a* "you have a guard"; *fokosi ki kira nani kilu* "the foxes have holes". The form *nina* also occurs: it means "belonging to", and may be compared with the Florida *nina* "his": *noa nina ngela* "no son belonging to him".

¹ There seems to be good evidence of the existence of a third possessive noun *a* (without a "break") as in Sa'a. If this is the case, the possessive *'a* is used only of things to eat and drink, and the rest of the subjoined usages, (b), (c), (d), are referable to the form in *a*.

The forms of the possessive with 'a are as follows :—

Sing. 1. 'aku.	Plur. 1. incl. 'akulu.
2. 'amu.	1. excl. 'ami'a ; 'aimili.
3. 'ana.	2. 'amu'a ; 'amulu'a, 'aumulu.
	3. 'ada ; 'adulu ; 'ani.
Dual 1. incl. 'akoro.	
1. excl. 'amere.	
2. 'amoro.	
3. 'adaroo.	

This possessive is used :—

(a) Of things to eat and drink : *fanga 'ada* " food for them to eat " ; *ro i'a go'o ninia 'aimili* " we have only two fishes ". With food in general the ordinary personal pronouns may be used : *fanga nau* " my food ".

(b) As meaning " for me, for my part ", etc. : *nia malii 'ana* " he was asleep " ; *nas'a 'aku nee ku faarongo ania* " As for me I declare it " ; *'aku ti 'aku* " I by myself " ; *lea na'a 'amu* " go thy way " ; *sa tae 'amulu'a* " what man of you ? "

(c) As the object of an intransitive verb : *krau 'ana fuana faene* " to drink the fruit of the vine " ; *ka oto 'ana ani fai rade* " struck him with a reed " ; *nia ka arefo 'ana* " he wonders at it ". The verb *to'o* " to have, to be possessed of ", is used with the possessive, also *dao* " to reach ", *karangi* " to be near ", *'o'o* " to work ", *tasa* " to exceed ", *sai* " to know " ; *si mulu to'o'ana fi to'onga* " if you have faith " ; *leleka ka dao 'ana* " reaching up to, until ".

(d) When a verb is separated from its object by an adverb : *ka sae filonga'i 'ada* " asks them definitely ".

'Ani, third person plural, is used of things only : *nau ku i duu taifau 'ani* " I repay them all " ; *nee noa kasi gilo ta'ifau 'ani* " which shall not be cast down ".

In certain constructions the preposition *i* is prefixed : *sacle'anga i'ada* " blessed are they ".

6. ADJECTIVES

(20) The adjective follows the noun. Words which are actually verbs may be used as adjectives and without verbal particles : *ru 'oro* " many things " ; *ngwae le'a* " a good man ".

(21) Certain words have a form of termination or of prefix which is used only of adjectives :—

(a) Adjectival terminations added to verbs or nouns to form adjectives are 'a and la: *rodo* "to be dark", *rodo'a* "black, dark"; *nafo* "surf", *nafo'a* "stormy, white"; *ku* "leprosy", *ku'a* "leprous"; *bili* "to be black", *bili'a* "black, dirty"; *susu* "breast", *ngela susu* "a sucking child"; *fau* "rock", *faula* "stony".

(b) Adjectival prefixes are 'a, ma, *ngwa*; these are used with verbs; the forms in *ngwa* are used with a reduplication of the verb to which they are prefixed: *liki* "to pour", 'a*liki* "spilt"; *loge* "to loose", 'a*loge* "loosed"; *fola* "to spread", 'a*fola* "wide"; *ngisi* "to divide", *mangisingisi* "in pieces"; 'o'i "to break", ma'o'i "broken", *asu* "to shake", *ngwaasusu* "shaky"; *sina* "to shine", *ngwa-sinasina* "brilliant".

(22) Comparison. Comparison is made by the verbs *tasa* "to exceed", used with the possessive, and *liu* "to pass", used with 'ana: *nía noa kasi tasa 'ana* "he is not greater than he"; *nee doe liu ana nia'a* "he is greater than he".

A positive statement carries comparison by implication: *ru nee le'a* "this one is good", i.e. is best.

7. VERBS

(23) The transitive verb is followed by the pronoun of the object suffixed; this pronoun is always retained in addition to the ordinary object.

Words may be used as verbs by prefixing a verbal particle, but some words are naturally verbs as being the names of actions. There are also verbs which have special forms as such by means of a prefix or a termination. The terminations which when added to verbs make them definitely transitive or determine their action upon some object are: *i*, *fi*, *li*, *mi*, *ngi*, *ri*, *si*.

i: *manata* "to think", *manatai* "to pity".

fi: *liu* "to go", *liufi* "to go about".

li: *mae* "to die", *maeli* "to die of".

mi: *ono* "to drink", *onomi* "to drink of".

ngi: *ma'u* "to be afraid", *ma'ungi* "to fear".

ri: *dau* "to lodge", *dauri* "to stay in".

si: *oli* "to return", *olisi* "to exchange".

The termination *a'i*, to which the consonants *ng*, *m*, *t*, are prefixed, with the addition in some cases of *ni*, is also used to convey a transitive force: *ano* "to bury", *anoma'ini* "to lay a foundation"; *sau*,

saunga'ini "to do"; *goni, gonita'ini* "to collect". In the case of *likitani* "to pour", the *i* of the suffix *ta'i* has been dropped. Certain forms occur without *ni* suffixed: *luka, lukata'i* "to loose"; *fo'o, fo'ota'i* "to pray"; these forms are used both transitively and intransitively; *mula'i* "only, solè", from *mu* "to cease", is used participially; *taunga'i, taunga'ini* "to persecute", are both used transitively.

Ani is also used as a transitive suffix, as in Lau: *ui* "to throw", *ui ania* "throw it"; *ma'u* "to fear", *ma'u ania* "to fear it"; *ala* "to permit", *ala ania* "permit it".

(24) Causative. The causative prefix is *fa'a*, which may be reduplicated: *fa'akwaufi* "to give drink to".

(25) Reciprocal. The reciprocal prefix is *kwai* used with verbs expressing the action of one upon another: *kwaifa'amanata'i* "to teach", *kwaimaasi* "to be ready", *kwaimaani fa'ini* "to be in agreement with".

The word *liu* "to move", with the prefix *kwai*, is used to denote reciprocal action: *kike kwate kwailiu ada* "they will deliver up one another".

A verbal prefix *fai* (Sa'a *hai*) is seen in *fai'olo* "across".

'A is a prefix of condition: *bula* "to turn", *'abula* "turned".

(26) Reflexive. A noun form *tala* "of one's own accord, by one's self", is used following the verb to denote reflexive action, the pronoun being suffixed, and *'ana* prefixed when dealing with the third person singular: *nia'ana talana* "he by himself"; *kira uri i manatalada talada* "they said within themselves"; *nia'a 'ana talana kasi fa'amauri nia* "he cannot save himself". *Tala* may be used by itself preceding the verb: *'oke tala ui toli ani 'oe* "cast thyself down".

(27) Passive. The passive is formed by the indefinite use of the personal pronoun third person plural *ki* with the verb: *ta ai kike ngalia* "one shall be taken"; *na fa'arongo'a le'a nee kike ba'a fa'atalo ania* "the gospel shall be preached".

(28) Compound. Compound verbs are: *ilito'o(na)* "to tempt", *manata to'o(na)* "to remember".

(29) Auxiliary Verbs. The verb *alu* "to put", is used as meaning "to become, to be"; *sau* "to make", with the possessive *'ana*, means "to become, to turn into".

(30) Reduplication of Verbs. Verbs are reduplicated in two ways:

(a) By reduplication of the first syllable: *rongo* "to hear", *rorongo*; *'ani* "to eat", *'a'ani*; *tua* "to stay", *tutua*.

(b) By repetition of the whole word: *tua* "to stay", *tuatua*; *fata* "to speak", *fatafata*.

Two verbs '*abula* "to act", '*ili* "to do", show irregular reduplication: '*abula*, '*abubula*; '*ili*, '*ilili*.

(31) Conjugation. The Kwara 'Ae verb may be conjugated by the short pronouns with or without the longer forms, or by means of the verbal particles.

The verbal particles are *ka*, *ku*, *kutu*, *ko*, *koto*, *ta*, *kata*, *e*, *ke*, '*e*, *i*.

The particles coalesce with the governing pronouns. *Ka* is used of general time. The action is viewed in the historic present, and consequently *ka* appears to be used of past time or of future time. *Ku* is used only with *nau* "I", and serves to strengthen it; *ku* may be used alone without *nau*. In my Lau grammar *ku* was treated as a pronoun, but the presence of the compound particle *kutu* in Kwara 'Ae makes it clear that *ku* is a particle and not a pronoun. *Ko* is used only in the second person singular: '*oe ko si ala ani kami mike leka kweau* "allow us to go"; *ko* may replace '*oe*, '*o*: *tatae*, *ko tikia ifitai* '*oe* "arise, take up thy bed".

Kutu is used only in the first person singular: *ma nau kutu gurada* "and I should heal them". *Koto* is used only in the second person singular: *sasi koto fa'afa'arongoa ta ngwae* "see thou tell no man". *Ta*, *kata*, are used indifferently with singular or plural, and with all the persons except first and second singular. The particles *kutu*, *koto*, may be compared with the Florida verbal particles *ku*, *tu*, and *ko*, *to*, used separately with the pronouns of the first and second persons singular, and *ta*, *kata*, with *ta*, *ka*, used separately of the first person plural inclusive, in Florida, but compounded with *i*, *u*, *ra*, otherwise. See Codrington's *Melanesian Languages*, p. 530.

E follows *ni* "he": *ni e fata* "he said"; *asi dandau ni e maliu 'ana* "the deep sea where he was asleep". There is a similar use of *e* in Sa'a, where it is treated as a pronoun, third person singular.

Ke, '*e* are used of the future or of consequent time, and *ke* is also used of the imperative: *mika leka mai mike lisia* "we are coming to see it"; *tatae*, *ko'e ngalia* "arise, take it"; '*oke leka* "begone"! *ni 'e aofia* "that he should be king"; *mu 'e si ma'u* "fear ye not"; or '*e* may be added to the verbal particle *ko*: '*oe ko'e* ('*oe* '*oke*), used of future time, etc. It seems probable that '*e* is the same word as *ke*, the *k* being dropped. See *ke*, '*e* in Sa'a and Ulawa.

I is used of purpose or of indefinite future time; it is not as definite as *ke*: *fasi nau kui leka* "that I may go"; *fasi nau'a la'u go'o kui*

leka "that I may go also"; *kui lisi'oe* "that I may see thee"; *i'oke dao siana sa God* "that you should reach God". *I* and *ke* may be compounded: *ike duru usikia* "that he might act on our behalf"; *sato ike rorodo'a* "the sun will be darkened". This *i* is probably the same as *i* used as a genitive.

(32) Negative Verbal Particles. The negative particle is *si*: *nau kusi leka* "I am not going"; *mu kasi leka* "do not you go"; *na madama i kasi madako* "the moon shall not shine". The verbs *no*, *noa*, *noa'a* "not to be" may be added: *nia noa kasia sasia* "he did not do it"; *noa ta ru kasi ore* "nothing shall be left"; *noa liu kasi fungu* "certainly does not bear fruit". *Iri* is also used (cf. *Sa'a ili*): *nau ku iri saea fuamu* "I say not unto you"; *so Jone ka iri fanga, ma kasi kwau* "John did not eat or drink".

(33) Negative. The negative forms used are *no*, *noa*, *noa'a*. These are verbs: *no noa'a ka noa liu* "not at all"; *kira no 'ada* "they were not, they ceased to be"; *ta ngwae fasi ke mauri noa'a* "that any one should be saved, no"; *no ta ru si idu kulu* "nothing shall move us".

(34) Dehortative. The dehortative is *sasi*, but *si* also serves: *sasi koto faarongoa ta ngwae* "do not tell any man"; *'oe kosi bili* "do not steal"; *mu kasi leka* "do not go". *Sasi* also denotes "lest, so that not": *sasi bata i uliuli ka busu* "lest the skins burst". *Kata* (Lau *ata*) has the same use: *mu kata leka kicau* "go not forth".

(35) Times and Moods. The preterite is shown by the use of *na'a*, *sui na'a* "finished", *ua go'o* "long ago" following the verb: *nia leka na'a* "he has gone"; *nia leka sui na'a* "he has gone finished"; *nia olo 'ana ua go'o* "whom he appointed". When no particle is used the time is past. The verb *tuatua*, *tutua* "to stay, by and bye", is used to strengthen the future: *tutua ke ba'a dao* "will come to pass".

For the imperative the simple verb is used, with or without the verbal particles *ke*, *ko*; *basi* may be added for politeness: *'oe leka* "go!" *leka mai* "come here!" *kaumulu muke leka* "go ye!" *idu kwau, ma ko leka uana kula loo ba* "be thou removed, and go yonder".

(36) Subjunctive. The subjunctive is formed by the use of *fasi*. *iri* (Lau *eeri*), *fasi iri* preceding the verb: *fasi nau kui leka* "that I may go"; *fasi iri kike rao fuana* "that they should work for him"; *iri ke oi ana i Eve* "in order to deceive Eve"; *mu kata qaifi fasi nau ku dao mai* "think not that I am come". *Fasi* also denotes

"supposing that, as if": *fasi nau ku i leka, noa'a* "the idea that I should go, never!"

(37) Conditional. *Si* "if, as if, supposing that"; *fasi* may be added or may be used by itself with the same meanings: *ma si fasi di'ia nee nia ngwaluda* "supposing that it were possible"; *si kawmulu bore to'oa ta'a* "if ye then being evil". *Di'ia* "like it, supposing", may be used alone: *di'ia nee 'oe 'o Alako sa God* "if thou art the Son of God".

(38) Illative. The illative is *fi* (*fi*) "thereupon, in consequence, then": *ma bata i uliuli neeri ka fi ta'a naa* "and the skins are spoiled in consequence".

(40) Potential. *Tala 'ana* is used for "can, be able": *ai nee tala'ana ngalilana ru neeri* "he that can receive this".

(41) Gerundive. A gerundive is formed by the addition of the suffix *la* to the verb with the suffixing of the pronouns of the object: *loge* "to loose", *logelana* "the loosing of it"; *mauri* "to live"; *fa'amaurilana* "the making well of him"; *sui* "to finish", *suilana* "the finishing of it, its end"; *luka* "to loose", *lukata'i* "to be loosed", *lukata'inilana* "the loosing of it"; *te'e'e* "to be small"; *i te'ete'elaku* "during my youth"; *sasi* "to do", *sasilani* "the doing of them (neuter)"; *doe* "thing", *doelana* "the doing of it". The gerundival suffix *la* is also used with personal pronoun suffixed on the lines of nouns of the first class: *foo* "to pray", *foolaku* "my prayer".

INTERROGATIVES

(42) Interrogative. *Uta*, "why, how?" *fa'auta, fa'auta mo, mo fa'auta* "how, in what manner, how much?" *uita la'u* "how?" *juana ta, una tae* "why?" *angita, i angita*, "when, at what time?" *fita* "how many?" *fita fau* "how many times?" *ta fita ngwae* "how many men?" *Ifai, nifai* "where?" *ifai mai, ita mai ifai* "whence?"

(43) Time. *Kaidai* "when"; *'ana kaidai nee* "now"; *kadi* "place, time"; *na, nee* "now"; *i niniari* "now"; *ka dao uri niniari* "up till now"; *tau* "a long time"; *la'u, la'u go'o* "again"; *dao 'ana, leleka ka dao 'ana* "until"; *maasia* "while"; *maakwalia* "until"; *i na'o, ua i na'o* "of old, formerly"; *ua, ua go'o* "of old, before"; *firi, suli kudi* "for over"; *ua* "yet"; *tutua* "hereafter, bye and bye"; *'isi* "last"; *i buri, i buri 'ana* "after"; *sui, sui na* "finished, afterwards".

I ta'ena "to-day" (Florida *i taeni* "now"); *rorodo* "to-morrow"; *sa rodo* "by night"; *ofodangi* "early morning, to-morrow morning"; *asoa, i asoa* "by day"; *tofungana asoa* "midday", *tofungana rodo* "midnight" (Sa'a *toohuungana*); *saufafi, saulafia* "evening".

(44) Place. *Mai* "here, hither"; *mai ana, ita mai ana* "from"; *i see* "here, now"; *i nee* "here"; *i kula neeri* "there"; *loo, loo ko, loo ba, loo ri, loo kiri* "there"; *i neeri* "there", *to'o i neeri* "thence"; *i neana* "there"; *kwau* "away"; *bali* "side", *bali loo ba* "the other side"; *sa, sana, saena, i saena* "in, at"; *sa rodo* "in the night, last night"; *alaa* "up"; *i ano* "down"; *ila* "within, inside"; *i maa* "outside"; *karangi* "near"; *tau* "far off"; *i safitana* "in the middle (of it)"; *i olofana* "under (it)"; *i nunufana* "under, under the shadow of".

The adverb *mai* "hither, here, 'place whence'", is also used, as in Lau, with the locative *i* to denote "place at": *Ma'a nau mai i Hefen* "My Father in heaven"; *ifai nee sa Jesus tuatua mai ana i na'o* "where did Jesus live before?" *na porofete mai i Nasarete* "the prophet from Nasareth" *na porofete ki mai i na'omu'a* "the prophets which were before you"; *mai sana gwai salo* "from the cloud".

Loo ri, loo kiri "there, those", are used of plurals. For *sa, sana, saena* compare Sa'a *saa, saana, Ulawa sie, sicku*, etc.

(45) Manner. *Ilinga'i, ilinga'inia* "like, like it"; *alafana, saea, mala* "as, like"; *una* "thus"; *una eri, una eri la'u go'o* "thus"; *di'i, di'ia* "supposing that"; *uri* "thus, to speak thus"; *usulia* "thus, like, following"; *uira, ira* "thus"; *uri i ta* "therefore"; *si* "if, supposing that"; *tasa* "too much, very"; *liu, doe liu* "very much, excessive"; *ta'ifau* "'one time', altogether"; *na'a* denotes the preterite; *ru* "thing" is used as meaning "certainly"; *ru nia ke ada maasia* "certainly he would have watched for him"; *sui* "thereupon"; *talinga'i* "completely"; *talito'ona, ta'ifili* "only"; *bore, bore ma* "haply"; *kata* "haply"; *sasi ki kata rongo* "lest haply they should hear"; *'o'o* "at all".

Bore, bore ma introduce a note of indefiniteness or of qualification; *go'o* qualifies the preceding word, and is added to *la'u* "again"; *la'u go'o* "again, also"; *baera* "is emphatic": *aarai faolu baera* "the bridegroom cometh!" *kwa* is used like Mota *ga*: *nau kwa nei leka* "as for me I shall go"; *ba'a* is used before the verb with a future sense, by and bye (cf. Sa'a *haro*): *kike ba'a talai kamu* "they shall lead you"; *sulia* "because"; *ba* is explanatory, as in Lau, and follows a noun or a verb: *'oe 'o nguwe ba 'oke leka mai* "art thou he

that should come?" *sakonga'i* "for no reason, gratuitously"; *uri ma* "well, then!" *basi* (Lau *fasi*) conveys a polite request: *lia basi* "behold?" *ko ado basi fa'inia ngeae futa o'e* "be reconciled to thy brother".

9. PREPOSITIONS

(46) Simple Prepositions:—

Locative: *i, sa, i sa.*

Motion to: *sia, sie, suli, ua.*

Motion from: *faasi, ita.*

Causation: *suli.*

Position: *faafi, fafo, suusi.*

Dative: *fu, fua, funi.*

Instrumental: *ani.*

Relation: *ana, ani,¹ fa'i, fa'ini, osi, ua, usi.*

Purpose: *fuana.*

Genitive: *i, ni, e.*

With the exception of the locative, the instrumental, the genitive, and also *ana, ani, fuana, osi, ita*, all the foregoing prepositions are used with a suffixed pronoun. The locative *i* is used with all place names, and with adverbs of time and place. It appears in *ifai* "where?" It is also used with *la, lala* "in".

Sa is used with *na*, pronoun, suffixed: *sa rodo, sana rodo* "in the night"; *mai sana gwei salo* "from the cloud"; *sia* is used with the pronouns *ku, da*, suffixed: *daodao siaku* "reach me"; *sie* is used with the rest of the suffixed pronouns (cf. Sa'a *saa, see*) and denotes "after, following, because, beside". *Suli* means "to follow": *ruu sulia* "follow it". *Ua* denotes "to, for": *leka uana* "go to him"; *ifi mai uamia* "open the door for us". *Faasi* is used as a verb meaning "to leave" and denotes "from". *Ita* is used of "place whence" and is followed by *ana*. *Faafi, fafo* mean "over, above"; *faafi* also means "against, because". *Suusi* means "against, opposing, opposite to". Both classes of pronouns are suffixed to the dative, third singular: *funā, funia, fuana* "to him".

Ani denotes the instrument (as in Sa'a): *ani abada* "with their hands"; *ani fuada* "by their fruits".

Ana denotes "of, belonging to, from, during, in" (as in Sa'a); the article is not used following it: *ana kaidai nee 'oke fo'o* "when, at the time when, thou prayest"; *geogeo ana ano* "dust of the

¹ Possibly Florida *nia* by metathesis.

ground"; *kike ngalia ti ru ana sa tai faida* "from whom do they receive these things?"; *ana ofodangi* "in the morning"; *nea ta lefene ana* "no leaven therein". *Ana* also denotes possession: *nee ana ta'i sifi* "having one sheep".

Ani, of relation, denotes "of, with": *lolo ani ngwane* "full of men"; *alangia ani sa ru* "name him after So-and-so"; *ta'i ngwane kira sae ani sa Matiu* "a man named Matthew"; *ani 'oe* "for your part". The pronoun may be suffixed: *toongi ania toongi* "clothe with a garment"; *ka aila ania* "refuse to do it".

Fa'i means "with": *fa'ikamu* "with you"; *ni* may be added: *fa'inia* "with him", in addition.

Osi is used with the possessive: *'osi aku* "because of me, for my sake"; *uana* means "for him, for, in order to"; *usi* denotes "protection, on behalf of": *folo usi* "to keep watch over".

Fuana means "for it": *fuana manata'anga 'aku* "for a remembrance of me".

The genitives have been dealt with under "Nouns".

(47) Compound Prepositions. These are nouns which are used with the locative *i*: *i fafo* "above"; *i safitana* "in the midst of (it)"; *i buri* "behind"; *i na'ofana* "before (him)"; *i malitana* "in the presence of". *I fafo* "above", is also used with the suffixed pronoun.

(48) Certain verbs are used as prepositions: *garangi* "to be near", *garangia* "near".

10. CONJUNCTIONS

(49) Copulative *ma*.

Adversative *ta, ta nee* "but"; *na ma, noe ma* "or"; *bore, bore nee, bore ma* "haply, but".

Connective *sui, sui ma, sui ta, sui la'u, uri ma, irai ma*.

Conditional *si, fasi*.

Interrogative *ne*.

11. NUMERALS

(50) Cardinal. *Eta, ta, ta'i, tae* "one"; *rua, ro, roo* "two"; *ulu* "three"; *fai* "four"; *lima* "five"; *ono* "six"; *fiu* "seven"; *kwalu* "eight"; *siko* "nine"; *tafulu, tanggafulu, akwala* "ten".

The particle *e* is not used with the numbers in counting except in the word *eta* "one". The article *na* is used with all the numbers except *eta*: *na ta'i akwala* "one ten, ten". In composition "one" is *ta* or *ta'i* or *tae*: *ta'i 'ada* "they alone"; *ta lima* "one five, five";

ta ro ru "two things"; *ta ulu babala* "three huts". *Ta*, *ta'i*, *tae* also denote "a, any".

Ro is used in composition for "two": *ro nguwa* "two men"; *ta ro ai* "two things".

Kwalu "eight" is used (as in Sa'a) for an indefinite number; *kwalu kaela mata'inga* "all kinds of sicknesses"; *kwalu sui faua* "all lands, the world".

The *ta* of *tafulu* is *ta* "one". For *fulu* of *tafulu*, *tanggafulu*, see Codrington, *Melanesian Languages*, p. 247.

Akwala is used for "ten" denoting a unit. To express the units above ten *ma* is used: *akwala ma tae* "eleven"; *akwala ma ro nguwa* "twelve men"; *ma* may be omitted.

A number short of ten is *tarenga*, a verb: *akwala ka tarenga* "a number over the ten"; *fiu tafulu fiu fau* "seventy times seven"; *tafulu ma ro* "twelve".

"One hundred" is *talanga*: *talanga i fau (faua)* "a hundred times".

"Thousand" is *tooni*; *fai tooni nguwa* "four thousand males". "Ten thousand" is *mola*: *molai nguwa* "ten thousand men"; *mola* also denotes "very many".

Ada is "ten", used of coconuts, as in Sa'a; "ten", of birds, is *lama*: *ta'i lama* "one ten"; *ai* is used of ten bamboos filled with almonds, or of a thousand taros, expressing a unit in each case. "One hundred and twenty-three men" is *talangai nguwa ma ro akwala ma ulu*.

(51) Ordinals. The cardinals with a noun ending *na* form the ordinals. In the case of the words for "third" and "eighth" (as in Lau) *na* is changed to *la* and *l* is dropped: *kwaula*.

Etana "first", *ruana* "second"; *ula* "third"; *faina* "fourth"; *limana* "fifth"; *onona* "sixth"; *fiuna* "seventh"; *kwaula* "eighth"; *sikona* "ninth"; *tanggafula* "tenth".

The ordinals precede the noun: *ruana nguwa* "the second man"; the article *na* may precede. To express "first", *i na'o* "before" is used: *ai i na'o* "the first".

(52) Multiplicative. The noun *fau* "time" is used. *Fita fau* "how many times?" *ta'i fau* "once"; *ulu fau* "thrice"; *ruana fai oli'a* "the second time of returning"; *ulu fai kadi fo'onga'a* "three times of prayer".

The causative *fa'a* is not used with numerals.

(53) Distributive: *to'o* (as in Sa'a).

(54) Interrogative. The interrogative is *fitā* "how many?"
fitā fou "how many times?"

12. EXCLAMATIONS.

(55) 'Ae 'o signs of the vocative; these may either precede or follow the noun; 'o is the personal pronoun, second singular. *Iu* "yes" of assent. *No*, *noa*, *noa'a* "no". *Kwa* follows personal names: *Aofia kwa* "O King!" *Ne* is used in questions: *ma ka uri fuana sa Pita, Ne!* "and he says to Peter, What!" *mamana ne* "is it true?" *Re* expresses surprise, and has more or less of an interrogative force.

Mabale Stories

By J. TANGHE

(Continued from Vol. V, p. 586.)

ηkoi na ηkumba THE LEOPARD AND THE TORTOISE

bakendeke (1) dzibongo, bakomi (2) o molako.

They went (to) the river-bank, they arrived in a fishing-camp.

na ηkele ba'aki (2) mweti. (3) ηkumba jo tr: (4)

In the morning they cut down a tree. The tortoise he so:

"jainda (5) biu, ηkoi, oindaka (6) bo: (7) ηgai

"We shall cut down we, leopard, cut down first, I

namotamba (8) na bontole; mokakwaka. (9)

shall catch it on the breast; as soon as it will be falling,

nabongwa." (10) ηkoi a'ambi (2).

I shall turn round." The leopard agreed.

baindi (2) mweti. te mokabenga (11) nekakwa. (12)

They cut down a tree. When it was going to fall down,

ηkumba amotambi, (13) abongoi, (14) mwango (15) mokwei (16)

the tortoise caught it up, he turned round, it fell

o nse. baindi (2) mosu: (17) ηkoi

on the ground. They cut down another, the leopard

atambi, (2) mωmokwedgi, (18) awei. (16)

caught it up, it fell upon him, he died.

ηkumba amokwei, (18) amosesi, (18) akai (16) o

The tortoise took him, he cut him to pieces, he went to

mboka, akodgi (19) na bamboka (20) tr: "ηkoko-

the village, he said to the village-people so: "grandfather-

ηkoi (21) akodgiki (22) tr bamatomela (23)

leopard just said so that they should send to him

dzikemba dza ndgidgi na mokwa na mom/ʔu." (24)

a plantain of taboo and salt and a big jug."

bakwedzi ga (25) o bwat ω . nkumba adgonggi (2) o
 They shipped in the canoe. The tortoise went back to
 molako, alambi (2) nkoi na dzikemba
 the fishing-camp, he cooked the leopard with the plantain
 na mokwa o mom^{fu}, akatodgi, (26) alei, (16)
 and the salt in the jug, he took off the fire, he ate.
 aidgidza. (27) akwei (16) nkua inso, abeidza (28) na
 he finished. He took the bones all, he gathered in
 esika jawi; (29) aikanggi (30) na mbet ω , akwedgidza (25)
 place one; he bound them in a mat, he embarked
 o bwat ω ; anakalela, (31) mpiodgi inakabima (31)
 in the canoe, he starts weeping, the tears start coming out.
 nkumba akomi (2) o mboka, bamotuni (32)
 The tortoise arrived in the village, they asked him
 bango tr: "okedgi (19) ndr?" nkumba jo tr:
 they so: "Thou hast done what?" The tortoise, he so:
 "modzika-nkoi (21) aindiki (22) mweti, mpr (33) m ω mokwedgi, (19)
 "Uncle-leopard (had) cut down a tree and it fell on him,
 awei; (16) akodgiki (22) tr: "jakoma (5) je o
 he died; he has said so: "When wilt arrive thou in
 mboka, bwam^{fu}ulolaka, (34) bolelaka (5) bobele boledgi." (35)
 the village, do not unroll me, mourn only (to) mourn."
 balubodgi (36) nkoi, bobele (35) nkua mpamba, (37)
 They put ashore the leopard, only bones
 aidginggi (38) na mbet ω . baledgi, (19)
 he had bound them in a mat. They mourned,
 balelaka (1) banso, nkumba akwei (16)
 they had been mourning all, the tortoise took
 monduli, (39) audgi (19) jo tr: "namolei (40) na
 a tooter, he tooted he so: "I have eaten him with
 mokwa na madgi, namolei (40) na mokwa na
 salt and palm-oil, I have eaten him with salt and
 madgi, a. s. o." batuni (2) bango tr: "nkumba, je
 palm-oil." they asked they so: "Tortoise, thou

onakolo (41) *ti ndr?* " *nkumba jo ti:* "nanalela (42)
sayest so what?" The tortoise he so: "I am mourning
modzika." baledzi (19) boba (43) banso. *nkumba andzi* (19)
the uncle." They mourned again all. The tortoise tooted
mondulr: "namolei na mokwa na madgi,
the tooter: "I have eaten him with salt and palm-oil."
a. s. o." babobi (43) netuna bango *ti:* "nkumba,
They began again to ask they so: "Tortoise,
onalela (44) *ti ndr?*" nanalela bobele modzika-nkoi."
thou criest so what?" I am mourning only uncle-leopard."
bango *ti:* "nkako! le nainu bin tofulola." (45) basni
They so: "A lie! let yet we that we unroll." They saw
bobele nkua mpamba. *nkumba akwei* (16) o mai,
only bones. The tortoise fell in the water,
akuki (2) na mondulr mwandr, (46) *jo ti:* "namolei (40)
he escaped with tooter his, he so: "I have eaten him
na nkandza, na mokwa na madgi." bakundi (2)
with slyness, with salt and palm-oil." They buried
nkoi, batoggi (2) nkasa, (47) baikala, (48) mwana
the leopard, they twisted leaves, they put them. Child
moko (49) wa mangala (50) *jo ti:* "le mpr nga nala." (51)
a certain of yaws he so: "Let also I that I put."
bango bamolemoledzi, (52) bamobeti (53) mpr
They were angry with him, they beat him and
bamomanidza, (54) atoggi (2) mokasa (47) mwandr
they put him out of the way. He twisted basket his
mpendza, (55) aikala (56) o nsunga ja mai.
own, and he put it on the edge of the water.
baikakeka (57) na nkale: nkasa ja
They went and looked in the morning: the baskets of
bakolo nto. jo aikakeka (57) adzi (58)
the older people empty. He went and looked, he had got
nkumba. nkumba amosisi: (59) "ndgongia (60)
the tortoise. The tortoise threatened him: "Put me back

naki, ndenakotumbodgi (61) mangala, nenawei (62)
 quickly. I shall tear open to you the wounds, I shall die
 wantrwa, (63) nenaƆodgi (64) asimbi (2) mondzika mwana
 immediately, I shall rot. He blew a wind. The child
 onamei (65) aaki (2) nsolo, jo tr: "aƆodgi." (20)
 that one noticed the stench, he so: "He is rotten."
 amobwaki (66) o mai, aikalela (67) bakolo
 He threw him into the water, and he cried to the old people
 jo tr: "nadgiki (58) nkumba, mbia jo tr: "ombwaka, (68)
 he so: "I had got the tortoise, then he so: "Throw me back,
 nenajei (69) nsolo." mbia aƆodgi, (19) ajei (16)
 I shall become stench." Then he rottened, he became
 nsolo, namobwaki." (70) bakolo bango tr:
 stench, I have thrown him back." The older ones they so:
 "nkako!" bakomi (2) na nkele, bakei (16) elango, (71)
 "A lie!" They arrived in the morning, they went together,
 bango bamimbombi. (72) mwana akeki (2) mokasa,
 they hid themselves. The child looked (at) the basket,
 adgi (58) nkumba. nkumba jo tr: "ombwaka (68)
 he had got the tortoise. The tortoise he so: "Throw me back
 naki, nenajei (69) nsolo." bakolo babimi (2)
 quickly, I shall become stench." The old ones came out
 na mbangu (73) bamolubodgi (74) o mokidgi, bakei (16)
 with haste they took him ashore on the ground, they went
 na ndi (46) o mboka. nkumba jo tr:
 with him to the village. The tortoise he so:
 "jamboma (75) binu, bobekaka (5) mwadga wa nkondi, (76)
 "If you will kill me you, do call the woman favourite,
 bonkwateke (77) nga o nsugga ja mai, nananola (78)
 cut me me on the edge of the water, that I may rest
 nkingu janga o ebeleja ja mwadga.
 neck my on the thigh of the woman.

bakedgi (19) bonamei (79) nkumba ananodgi (78) nkingu
 They did so. The tortoise rested the neck
 o ebelw, bakweti (2) nkumba amimbendi; (72)
 on the thigh, they cut. The tortoise drew back himself;
 ebelw ja mwasi etenidga. (80) mwadga awei. (16)
 the thigh of the woman was cut, the woman died.
 nkumba akuki (2) na mai, audgi (19) mondui:
 The tortoise escaped in the water, he tooted the tooter:
 "bosisoi, bosisoi!" (59)
 "Caught, caught!"

balei (16) nkasa boba, baikakeka (57)
 They put the baskets again, and they went and looked
 na nkale. elange ja mangala amodgi, (81)
 in the morning. The boy of the yaws had got him,
 bamokangi, (82) bakei (16) bonganga (1) o mboka
 they bound him, they went (to fetch) medicine at
 monsoo. (83) monsoo jo ti: "eç, eç, eçrrr! (84)
 the king-fisher's. The king-fisher he so: "kj, kj, kjrrr!
 bolamba mai, eç, eç, eçrrr! matoke, (85) eç, eç, eçrrr!
 boil water, kj, kj, kjrrr! bubbling, kj, kj, kjrrr!
 mai ma mweja, (86) eç, eç, eçrrr! bomomelaka (87) o
 water hot kj, kj, kjrrr! put him in
 mai, eç, eç, eçrrr! neboeni. (88) wantiwa awei. (16)
 the water, kj, kj, kjrrr! You will see, immediately he is dead.

te bakedgi (19) bo (89) enakoloko (90) jo. badgengi (2) o
 When they had done as had said he, they returned to
 mboka, bakangi (2) nkumba, balambi (2) mai. nkumba
 the village, they tied the tortoise, they boiled water. The tortoise
 jo ti: "bombomaka (91) o nsanga ja ebale. ba'ambi (2)
 he so: "kill me on the edge of the river. They agreed
 mpamba. mai matoke, (2) bamokwei, (82) bamomedgi (82)
 . The water bubbled, they seized him, they put him
 o mai, awei. dzibandga dzi'idgi (92) bonamei.
 into the water, he died. The story ends so.

NOTES

(1) **bakendeke** < **ba-a-kende-ke**, remote definite past tense of **kende**, to go. **ba-**, personal pronoun prefix referring to **ŋkai** and **ŋkumba**; **a-**, tense-prefix; **kende**, verb-stem and **-ke** tense-suffix. Verbs in **a** have suffix **-ka**, those in **o**, suffix **-ko**: **balelaka**, they have twisted; **basonoko**, they have sewn. Note: The final object of **kende**, to go, and **ja**, to come, immediately follows the verb: **akendeke ndunda**, he went (to fetch) vegetables, **ajei dzikambo**, he has come (for) a palaver, **bakei bonganga**, they went (to fetch) medicines.

(2) **bakomi**, indef. past tense of **koma**, to arrive. Likewise, **ba'aki**, **a'ambi**, **baindi**, **atambi**, **adzangi**, **alambi**, **akomi**, **batuni**, **akuki**, **bakuki**, **batangi**, **atangi**, **asombi**, **aki**, **a'odgi**, **akeki**, **babimi**, **badzangi**, **bakangi**, **balambi**, **ba'ambi**, indef. past tenses of **aka**, **amba**, **inda**, **tamba**, and so on, all verbs in **a**; **baeni**, **bakweti** from **ene**, **kwete**, verbs in **e**; **ba'odgi**, **matoki** from **ʃola**, **toko**, verbs in **o**.

(3) In unstressed syllables **i** and **e** often alternate; also **o** and **u**: e.g. **bwatw**, canoe, besides **bwatu** and **bwato**. Attention should be paid to the suffixes **-eli** and **-ele**, when the final vowel is significant, **-eli** being suffix to nouns of instruments and **-ele**, suffix to nouns indicating the place where something is done, e.g. **ebaeli**, a ladder but **etukele**, a sleeping-room, from **ba**, to mount, and **tuka**, to sleep.

(4) The citative adverb **ti** has been sufficiently discussed in *Mabale Stories*, *Bulletin*, Vol. V, Part II, p. 361, note (3), and Part III, p. 584, note (15).

(5) **jainda** < **e-a-inda**, immediate future of **inda**, to fell. **a-**, tense-prefix; **e-**, personal pronoun ref. to a noun **esika** meaning (i) place, (ii) moment, (iii) when, if. The real subject is **biu**, we, and follows the verb. Compare further **jakoma ja** and **jamboma biu**.

(6) **oindaka**, 2nd pers. singular of the imperative of **inda**, to cut down; **o-** is the pers. pron. prefix and **-ka** the continuative suffix, added to the imperative to express emphasis. Further, **bolelaka** and **bobekaka** from **lela**, to mourn and **beka**, to call.

(7) **bo**: < **boso**, properly a substantive meaning forehead, front, and used as an adverb and a preposition in the sense of: in front, first, formerly, in front of, before; **bo** is also used as an adverb meaning as: **tena makaya bo mateni ngai**, cut the tobacco-leaf as I did. Note: A certain number of names of villages on or near the Congo are introduced by **bo-**, e.g. **Bomangi**, **Boʃoto**, **Bokatulaka**, **Bobeka**, **Bondziggili** and **Bomana** (officially and wrongly **Umangi**, **Upoto**, **Ukaturaka**, **Mobeka**, **Mondingiri**). Here **bo** is not prefix 14, but the

substantive **bo** < **boso**, which clearly appears from the pronunciation of **bomana**, where **bo-** bears the stress as well as **-mana**.

(8) **namotamba**, simple tense of **tamba**, to catch; **mo-** pron. prefix direct-object ref. to **mweti**.

(9) **mokakwaka**, immediate past future of **kwa**, to fall.

(10) **nabongwa**, immediate future of **bongwa**, to turn round.

(11) **mokabenga**, immediate future of **benga**, to be going to.

(12) **nekakwa**, future infinitive of **kwa**, to fall; **neka-**, prefix.

(13) **amotambi**, indef. past tense of **tamba**, to catch up; **mo-** refers to **mweti**.

(14) **abongoi**, indef. past tense of **bongwa**, to turn round, neuter form; the active form is **bongola**, to make to turn round. The primitive form **bonga**, is no longer to be found; secondary derivatives are **bongolela** or **bongwela** (**bongo-ela** < **bongo-l-ela**) to make to turn to, and **bongolisa** or **bongwisa** (**bongo-isa** < **bongo-l-isa**) to make to turn.

(15) **mwango** < **mo-aygo**, independent personal pronoun, ref. to **mweti**.

(16) **mokwei**, indef. past tense of **kwa**, to fall. Likewise, **awei**, **akei**, **alei**, **akwei**, **ajei**, **bakei**, **balei**, indef. past tenses of **wa**, **ke**, **le**, **kwa**, and **ja**. As to the formation of the indef. past tense of the verb, cf. *Bulletin*, Vol. V, Part III, p. 576, note (16).

(17) **mosu**: < **mo-susu**, **mo-** prefix referring to **mweti**; **susu**, indef. pronoun = other. Cf. *Bulletin*, Vol. V, Part III, p. 362, note (13).

(18) **mωmokwedgi**, indef. past tense of **kwela**, to fall upon, applicative of **kwa**, to fall. (**l + i > dzi**, cf. note (19)). **mω-** refers to **mweti**, **mo-** to **ηkoi**. Also in **a-mo-kwei** (from **kwa**, to take) and in **a-mo-sesi** (from **sese**, to cut to pieces).

(19) **akodgi**, indef. past tense of **kolo**, to say, to speak. Likewise **okedgi**, **baledgi**, **audgi**, **aʔodgi**, **bakedgi**, indef. past tenses of **kela**, **lela**, **ula**, **ʔola**.

(20) **bamboka**, the village-people, abbreviated from **batu ba mboka**.

(21) **ηkokō-ηkoi**, **ηkokō** (pl. **bankokō**) properly means ancestor, just as **modzika** in **modzika-ηkoi** properly uncle, i.e. mother's brother.

(22) **akodziki**, near definite past tense of **kolo**, to say. In Ngala, the near def. past tense is as a rule made by adding **-ki** to the verb-stem, though in Mabale, through assimilation, the end-vowel of the stem becomes **i**; so in **aindiki**, he has cut down, from **inda**, to cut down. With monosyllabic verbs **-ki** is added, not to the verb-stem, but to the indef. past tense; so in **nakei-ki**, I went, **dzinci-ki**, it was raining, **awei-ki**, he was dead, near def. past tenses of **ke**, **no**, and **wa**, the

indef. past tenses of the same verbs being: *nakɛi*, *dɛɛnoi*, and *awei*. N. *dgi-*, in *dɛɛnoi* refers to *dɛɛkolo*, heaven, which substantive is always expressed with the verb.

(23) *bamotomela*, conjunctive of *tomela*, to send to, applicative of *toma*, to send. *ba-* refers to people understood, equals French "on", German "man"; *mo-* is the objective personal pronoun prefix referring to *ɲkɛi*.

(24) *momɸu*. The unvoiced bilabial fricative is a very widespread sound. We found it not only in the Ngala-group, but also in the Mongo, Luba, and Kongo dialects. Ngala-group: *Mabale*: *dɛɛɸɔli*, basket, *emɸamɸa*, an incapable and awkward fellow, *boɸo*, seed; *Iboko*: *mantoɸi*, rubber, *o nta ɸi*, near; *Ndobo*: *ɸwatɔ*, canoe; *Likoka*: *eɸeɸɛkɛ*, wind, *waɸi*?, where?; *Eleku*: *eliɸo*, door, *koɸo*, cup, *ɸuta*, to pay; *Mbenga*: *momɸeɸe*, wind, *ɸola*, to rotten; *Motembo*: *-ɸotu*, sharp, keen-edged, *-ɸindu*, black; *Losengo*: *iɸulu*, bird, *liɸoso* skin; *Lifoto*: *iɸulu*, bird, *etaɸi*, branch, *iɸɔɸɔɸ*, wind. *Mongo*: *ɛɸelo*, wall, *loɸoso*, skin; Luba: *mɸumu*, chief, *kaɸja*, fire, *maɸuka*, shield. The Tschwapa and Lopor rivers should be pronounced *Lwaɸa* and *Loɸoli*. The native name of Charlesville is *dɛɛkokoɸundi*. Lemfu, a Bakongo town, is pronounced *lɛmɸu*.

The voiced variety *v* is rather less commonly met with. Ngala group: *Ndobo*: *mva*, dog; *Mbunji*: *vatu*, canoe, *mva*, dog, *bueɽi*, male, *dibue*, stone, *dibua*, nine. Luba: *muvu*, hippopotamus, *vula*, rain, *lwævu* (place-name, commonly Luebo); Kongo: *mvula*, rain, *vundula* (place-name, commonly Vundula).

(25) *bakwedgidza*, indef. past tense of *kwedgidza*, to embark (active), causative of *kwela*, to embark (neuter), to go aboard, applicative of *kwa*, to take. The indef. past tense of all verbs ends in *-i*: *tɛna*, to cut, *atɛni*, he cut, *kolo*, to say, *akɔdgi*, he said, *bɛtɛ*, to beat, *abɛti*, he beat; the indef. past tense of the causative ends in *a*: *tenidza*, to cause to cut, *atɛnidza*, he caused to cut; cf. *akwedgidza*, *aɛgidza*, *bamomanidza*, indef. past tenses of *kwedgidza*, *idgidza*, and *manidza*.

(26) *akatɔdgi*, indef. past tense of *katola*, to take off.

(27) *aɛgidza*, indef. past tense of *idgidza*, causative of *ila*, to finish.

(28) *abɛidza*, indef. past tense of *beidza*, to put.

(29) *jawi* < *e-a wi*, one; *e-* refers to *esika*; *ja* is the genitive particle, always used to indicate the concord between the numeral one, and the noun determined: one man, *motu wawi* (*o-a-wi*); one day, *makolo mwawi* (*mo-a-wi*). The numerals 2-5 simply take the

prefix: two men, *batu 'babe*, three days, *mikalo mi'atu*, four islands, *bianga binei*, five spears, *makango matanu*. The numerals 6-10 *motoba*, *nsambo*, *mwambi*, *dzibwa*, *dzomi* are substantives and, of course, unvariable.

(30) *aikangi*, indef. past tense of *kanga*, to bind; prefix *i-* refers to *nkua*.

(31) *anakalela*, present continuative of *lela*, to weep, to mourn, to cry. Also *inakabima*, pres. cont. of *bima*, to come out; prefix *i-* refers to *mpiadzi*.

(32) *bamotuni*, indef. past tense of *tuna*, to ask. *mo-* refers to *nkumba*.

(33) *mpr*, sometimes *mɸɪ*, conjunction used to connect two sentences or parts of sentences. The other conjunction *na*, which also signifies "and", is used to connect two substantives or pronouns, e.g. *amopei nsu mpr adzuggi*, he gave him the fish and he went back; *mama na mwana wandɪ*, the mother and (with) her child.

(34) *bwamɸulolaka* < *bo-a-m-ɸulola-ka*; 2nd pers. plural, negative imperative of *ɸulola*. *bo-*, pref. subject; *a-* negative tense-prefix; *m-* pers. pron. pref. object; *-ka*, continuative tense-suffix, indicating emphasis. *ɸulola*, to unroll, is the inersive of *ɸula*, to roll up.

(35) *bolelaka bobele boledzi*. *bolelaka*, hortative imperative of *lela*, to cry; *boledzi*, absolute infinitive of *lele*, depending from *bolelaka*; *bobele*, adverb, meaning "only, simply", when preceding the verb and "definitely" when following the verb.

(36) *balubodzi*, indef. past tense of *lubola*, to put ashore; the neuter form is *lubwa*, to go ashore.

(37) *mpamba*, properly a substantive, meaning "naught, nothing", and used as an adverb and an adjective, with various meanings: *ameki ti nebuka ndzete mpamba*, he vainly attempted to crack the stick; *bakeiki bokila na nkele, mpr badzuggi mpamba*, they went hunting in the morning and they came back without game; *motu (wa) mpamba*, an insignificant fellow, *dziɸolɪ (dga) mpamba*, an empty basket.

(38) *aidzinggi*, indef. past tense of *dzingga*, to gather; *i-*, prefix referring to *nkua*, bones.

(39) *monduli*, tooter, made from the horn of a buffalo.

(40) *namolei*, indef. past tense of *le*, to eat; *mo-* refers to *nkai*.

(41) *onakalo*, present indicative tense of *kalo*, to say, to speak.

(42) *nanalela*, present indicative tense of *lela*, to cry, to mourn.

(43) *bo'ba*, again, is an infinitive used here as an adverb. Cf. *balei nkasa boba*, they again put the baskets. An equivalent construction, with *boba* conjugated is found in: *babobi netuna bango ti*, they again began to ask, and we could say as well: *babobi netuna banso* and *babobi nele nkasa*.

(44) *onalela*, present indicative tense of *lela*, to mourn.

(45) *toFulola*, present conjunctive of *Fulola*, to unroll.

(46) *mwandi*, possessive pronoun; *mwa* (*mo-a*) refers to *monduli* and *ndi* (or *jo*) to *nkumba*.

(47) *nkasa*, collective of *mokasa*, a leaf, pl. *mikasa*.

(48) *baikala*, successive tense of *la*, to put; the tense-prefix is *ika-*; possibly < *ba-i-ika-la*; then *i-*, prefix would refer to *nkasa*.

(49) *moko* < *mo-oko*; *-oko*, indefinite adjective = a certain, some.

(50) *mangala*, plural of *dzingala*, yaw. The co-operation or even the presence of diseased or infirm people is looked upon as prejudicious to the success of an undertaking. They therefore are not admitted.

(51) *nala*, present conjunctive of *la*, to put.

(52) *bamolemoledgi*, indef. past tense of *lemola*, to be angry with; *mo-* refers to *mwana*; *lemoa*, to be angry.

(53) *bamobeti*, indef. past tense of *bete*, to beat; *mo-* refers to *mwana*.

(54) *bamomanidga*, indef. past tense of *manidga* (see note 25), remove, to put out of the way, causative of *mana*, to be off; *amani*, he is off.

(55) *mpendga*, alone, adjective and adverb, probably originally a substantive of the *n-n* class: *ngai mpendga*, I alone, I in truth; *bafaranka ba mpendga*, one franc coins; *mpo ja mpendga*, an exception.

(56) *aikala*, successive tense of *la*, to put; *ika-*, tense prefix.

(57) *baikakeka*, successive tense of *keka*. Likewise *aikakeka*.

(58) *adgi*, for *adgwei*, indef. past tense of *dgwa*, to get, to meet; the reciprocal form is *dgwana*, to meet each other.

(59) *amosisi*, indef. past tense of *sisa*, to threaten; *mo-*, pers. pron. object, referring to *nkoi*. The intensive form is *sisola* and means "to dupe"; neuter form, *sisoa*, to be deceived; cf. *bosisoi*! you are caught! indef. past tense of *sisoa*.

(60) *ondzongia*, imperative of *dzongia*, to put back, causative of *dzonga*, to return; *n-*, pers. pron. prefix 1st pers. singular, object.

(61) *ndenakotumbodgi*, future indicative of *tumbola*, to open (a wound); *ko-*, pers. pron.-prefix, 2nd pers. singular, object; *tumbola*,

reversive of **tumba**, to burn ? ; neuter form **tumbwa**, to be opened : **mpota etumboi**, the wound is opened.

(62) **nenawei**, near future of **wa**, to die.

(63) **wantrwa**, immediately ; literally : on the spot (**wa-nse-wa**) ; **ntr** = **nse**, ground. The locative prefixes have not been preserved in the Ngala-group, nor has the infinitive prefix (**ku-**) ; remnants of the 16th class (B. **pa-**, Ngala-Mabale **wa-**) are found in a few words as **wantrwa**, immediately, **walo** ? where ? **wabo** (**mei**), here, **wana** (**mei**), yonder ; remnants of the 17th class (B. **ku-**, Ngala-Mabale **o**) are found in the quasi-preposition **o** as in **o nse**, on the ground, **o ntei**, in the middle, and in **owo**, there.

(64) **nenaʔodgi**, immediate future of **ʔolo**, to rot.

(65) **onamei**, demonstrative of the second form (with **-na**) ; **mei** (**mei**, **mi**, **mr**) is enclitic emphatic suffix.

(66) **amobwaki**, indef. past tense of **bwaka**, to throw ; **a-**, pers. pron. pref. subject, ref. to **mwana** ; **mo-**, pers. pron. pref. object, ref. to **nkumba**.

(67) **aikalela**, successive tense of **lela**, to cry ; **ika-**, tense prefix.

(68) **ombwaka**, imperative singular, 2nd person of **bwaka**, to throw ; **m-** pers. pron. pref., 1st person sing. object, ref. to **nkumba**.

(69) **nenajei**, near future of **ja**, to come, here : to become.

(70) **namobwaki**, indef. past tense of **bwaka**, to throw ; **mo-**, pers. pron. pref., 3rd person sing. object.

(71) **elongo**, together, properly a substantive of the **e**-class, meaning a series ; in other dialects, **molongo** ; in the dialect of Bonkula, **lilongo**, family, village.

(72) **bamimbombi**, indef. past tense of **bomba**, to hide ; **mi-**, reflexive pronoun prefix ; **m-**, phonetical element introduced before the accent. (Cf. "Mabale Stories," *Bulletin*, Vol. V, Part II, p. 361, note (1).) Cf. **amimbendi**, indef. past tense of **benda**, to withdraw.

(73) **na mbangu**, with haste ; **mbangu**, substantive = fear (+ **banga**, to fear). **na mbangu** is also used to express the superlative : **motu monene na mbangu**, a very great man (cf. German : *fürchterlich gross*).

(74) **bamolubodgi**, indef. past tense of **lubola**, to take ashore ; **mo-** ref. to **nkumba**.

(75) **jamboma** < **e-a-m-boma**, near future of **boma**, to kill ; **m-** ref. to **nkumba**. For **e-**, cf. note (5).

(76) **nkondr**, favourite women of the **ndongo**, harem.

(77) **bonkweteke**, hortative imperative of **kwete**, to cut. **ŋ** < **m-**, pers. pron. pref. object; **ke-** continuative suffix expressing emphasis.

(78) **nananola**, present conjunctive of **nanola**, to rest; **ananodgi**, indef. past tense of the same verb.

(79) **bonamei**, properly the demonstrative pronoun of the **bo-** class (second form, in **-na**). For **-mei**, see note (65).

(80) **etenidga**, indef. past tense of **tenidga**, to cut off, causative of **tena**, to cut, and used here in a passive sense.

(81) **amodgi** for **amodzwei**, indef. past tense of **dzwa**, to get; **mo-** refers to **ŋkumba**.

(82) **bamokangi**, indef. past tense of **kanga**, to catch; **mo-** refers to **ŋkumba**; **bamokwei**, ind. past tense of **kwa**, to take.

(83) **o mboka monsoso**, at the kingfisher's; **mboka**, substantive = village. Cf. **o mboka ja monsoso**, in the village of the kingfisher.

(84) **eç, eç, eçrrr** is the call of the kingfisher, which we represented by the palatal **eç**, on behalf of its strong **i-** resonance.

(85) **bolamba**, imperative plural, 2nd person of **lamba**, to boil.

(86) **matoko**, simple tense of **toko**, to bubble, here used as an adjective. **mai ma mweja**, hot water, literally, water of fire.

(87) **bomomelaka**, hortative imperative, 2nd pers. pl. of **mela**, to put in; **-ka**, emphatic suffix. **mo-**, ref. to **ŋkumba**.

(88) **neboeni**, near future of **ene**, to see.

(89) **bo**, cf. note (7).

(90) **enakoloko**, habitual tense of **kolo**, to say; **na-** tense prefix, **-ko**, suffix. In subordinate sentences the real subject follows the verb, which is then introduced by the impersonal pronoun **e-**.

(91) **bombomaka**, hortative imperative of **boma**, to kill; **m-** refers to **ŋkumba**.

(92) **dgi'idgi**, indef. past tense of **ila**, to finish.

CONNECTED TRANSLATION

They went to the bank of the river and arrived at a fishing-camp. The following morning they cut down a tree. The tortoise said: "If we cut now, will you, leopard, cut first, and I shall catch the tree on my breast; as soon as it will be falling down, I shall turn round." The leopard agreed. They cut down a tree, and, when it was falling down, the tortoise caught it up and he turned round; as to the tree, it fell to the ground. They cut down another, the leopard caught it up, but it fell upon him and he died.

The tortoise took the leopard and cut him to pieces; he went to the village and said to the inhabitants: "Friend-leopard asked that a taboo-plantain should be sent to him and salt and a big jug as well." So they shipped those things and the tortoise went back to the fishing-camp. He boiled the leopard with the salt in the jug, he took the dish off the fire, he ate it and cleaned it up. He took all the bones and gathered them, he bound them in a mat, and embarked them into the canoe. He started weeping and tears started running down.

The tortoise arrived in the village and the people asked him: "What have you done?" The tortoise said: "Our friend, the leopard, cut down a tree and it fell on him and he died. He asked that, on his arrival at the village, people should not unroll him but just only mourn him." They put ashore the leopard, in fact only bones, which the tortoise had bound in a mat. They started weeping, and when all of them had done so the tortoise took his tooter and he tooted: "I have eaten him with salt and palm-oil, I have eaten him with salt and palm-oil, a.s.o." The people asked him: "What are you saying, you?" The tortoise answered: "I am mourning uncle-leopard." Again they all mourned, and the tortoise blew his tooter: "I have eaten him with salt and palm-oil, a.s.o." Again they asked him: "Tortoise, what are you crying?" "Well," the tortoise answered, "I am simply mourning uncle-leopard." But, the people replied: "You are a liar, just a moment and we unroll the mat ourselves." And what did they behold? A lot of bones and there was the end of it.

The tortoise fell in the water, he escaped with his tooter and tooted: "I have eaten him on the sly with salt and palm-oil." They buried the leopard, and twisted palm-leaves, which they put in the water. Thereupon a child, covered with yaws said: "Let me also put my basket in the water. But they were angry with him, beat him and put him out of the way. Nevertheless, he twisted his basket and placed it on the edge of the water. In the morning they went and looked at their baskets, but the ones belonging to the older people were empty. The child went and looked and he had got the tortoise. The tortoise threatened him saying: "Put me back, quickly, or I shall tear open your wounds, I should die immediately and rot." The tortoise then exploded. The child noticed the stench and said: "He is rotten." He threw him into the water and cried to the old people: "I had got the tortoise and he said, 'throw me back or I shall rot,' and, in fact, he began stinking, and I threw him back." The older ones called him a liar. They came back in the morning, went on together,

and hid themselves. The child also went and looked at his basket, and he had got the tortoise. The tortoise said : " Throw me away, immediately, or I shall rot." The old ones came out quickly, they took him ashore and went with him to the village. The tortoise said : " In case you people should kill me, please call my favourite, cut my head on the edge of the water and let me rest my neck on the thigh of the woman.

They did so. The tortoise rested his neck on the thigh of his favourite, they cut, but the tortoise drew back his head and the thigh of the woman was cut off and she died. The tortoise escaped in the water, and he blew on his tooter : " Caught, caught ! "

They placed their baskets once more, and went and looked in the morning. The boy with the yaws had got the tortoise. They fettered him, they went and fetched medicines at the kingfisher's. The kingfisher said : " Kj, kj, kjrrr, boil water, kj, kj, kjrrr, bubbling, kj, kj, kjrrr, hot water, put the tortoise in it, kj, kj, kjrrr, and you will see, he will be dead in a second.

When they had done what he had told them to, they returned to the village, tied the tortoise and warmed water. The tortoise said : " Kill me on the edge of the water." " All right," they retorted. The water bubbled, they seized him, and put him into the water, he died. That's the end of the story.

A Chinese Vocabulary of Malacca Malay Words and Phrases collected between A.D. 1403 and 1511 (?)

Transcribed, translated, and edited by E. D. EDWARDS and
C. O. BLAGDEN

THE list of words and phrases contained in this article is one of ten manuscript vocabularies bound up in a volume lettered *Kō Kueō Yī Yū* which forms part of the collection of Chinese books made by the well-known missionary, Morrison (who lived from 1782-1834), and has been deposited on permanent loan by University College, London, in the Library of the School of Oriental Studies.

All its contents are in Chinese characters, some of which are used in their proper senses to indicate the meanings, and others to serve as phonetic transcriptions, of the foreign words explained. Owing to the limitations of the Chinese phonetic system, these transcriptions are often imperfect and ambiguous, and that is one source of uncertainty in the identification of the Malay words in the list here published. Another is that the Chinese collector and his informants may sometimes have misunderstood each other, and the former may have misheard a word given to him even if it was the right one. Besides all this, there may also have been mistakes made by copyists.

For the manuscript is not an original. The colophon says that it was revised, and the reviser may well have added a few errors of his own. Certainly someone did. From internal evidence it seems probable that the words and phrases, or at any rate some of them, were collected half a century or more before the list was revised. The earliest historical date connected with Malacca is 1403, when a mission was sent from China to visit it and open up diplomatic relations. That mission returned to China in 1405, and the record of it contains the earliest certain mention of the existence of Malacca that is known to us; nor is there any clear indication as to how long the place may have been in existence before that time. In 1511 it was conquered by the Portuguese, and the Malay Sultan and chiefs, together with a considerable part of the Malay population, fled and abandoned it.

But in Parts VIII, IX, and XIV of our vocabulary there are words and phrases which seem to imply the existence of a Malay government. Moreover, in the whole vocabulary no European loanwords at all have been found; and there would almost inevitably have been

some if any considerable part of it had been made after the time of the Portuguese conquest.

It appears to be practically certain, therefore, that the vocabulary was compiled from lists of words collected within the period indicated above, and that it is the oldest Malay vocabulary known to us, the next oldest being the one made by Pigafetta in 1521.

That it was derived from several different sources is made highly probable by the fact that the same word is often transcribed in quite distinct ways, sometimes even in the same section (cf. 61 (with 67-9), 73-4, and 89-90; 63 (with 208), 64 (with 195), and 79-82; 192 and 206; 212 (with 433), 216 and 434; 278 and 469; 284 and 384). From the number of such cases it may reasonably be inferred that several independent collectors had been at work, and that their various word lists were afterwards consolidated into one and roughly subdivided into parts by a compiler, possibly by the reviser who added the colophon in the middle of the sixteenth century.

Owing to the peculiarities of Chinese transcription the vocabulary can teach us very little about the phonetics of the fifteenth century Malay. Nor does it give us much new material for Malay lexicography. This is hardly surprising when one considers how extraordinarily conservative the language has shown itself to be in these respects. In the Sumatran inscriptions of Śrī Vijaya dating from A.D. 683-6, there are numerous words that are absolutely identical with their modern forms. (Cf. the vocabulary in *BEFEO*. xxx, 65-80.)

Nevertheless, it seemed worth while to rescue this old vocabulary from the obscurity in which it has rested so long. Malay documents older than the seventeenth century are decidedly rare, and very little indeed has come down to us from still earlier times; so that anything that can be discovered has a certain value. Besides, this document tells us something about the things that interested the Chinese collectors. Most of the words contained in it are substantives (and principally the names of things); then come adjectives; verbs are poorly represented, and other parts of speech are almost entirely wanting.

The greater part of the 482 entries could be identified at first sight. But others were not so obvious, and a few have resisted our best efforts. It is to be hoped, therefore, that other scholars will be more successful in dealing with them. When the Malay equivalents were not found in the usual dictionaries (such as those of Favre, Wilkinson, and Winstedt) an authority for them has been given,

unless, being loanwords, they are recorded in the ordinary dictionaries of the languages from which they were borrowed. Not all loanwords have been noted as being such, particularly when they are in common use in Malay; and they are generally given in their Malay, not their original foreign, forms. The titles of certain works of reference are given at the end of this paper. For the explanation of some of the botanical names we are also specially indebted to the personal assistance of Mr. H. N. Ridley, C.M.G.

It might have been expected that the Chinese transcription would indicate what kind of Chinese the collector used as a basis. But an examination shows that no single systematic method was in use, which confirms the conclusion already indicated above that several collectors, each with his own method, have been at work. The latitude they allowed themselves may be illustrated, for example, by the use of the character *chén*, which does duty for the Malay sounds *chén*, *chēng*, *jě(r)*, *jīng*, *ching*, and *chin*.

Accordingly the romanization adopted has been that of Pekinese, as found in Giles's dictionary, which though under the circumstances often conventional, has at least the merit of uniformity and facilitates reference. For the Malay, the ordinary system of romanization used by English scholars has been followed.

A literal translation of the Chinese catchwords has been given in most cases, in order to assist in determining the Malay equivalents.

For convenience of reference the entries have been numbered and an asterisk has been added to those which are discussed in the notes, such notes being numbered identically. In certain cases, where the reference is to another number, the latter has been added to the asterisk.

It is rather remarkable that Malay is not one of the languages recorded by Hirth in his article mentioned at the end of this paper, as having been officially studied during the period at which this vocabulary was compiled. Yet from internal evidence it seems likely that it was in fact compiled under official auspices, and *a priori* that would seem most probable. A Chinese-Japanese vocabulary, bound up in the same volume as our Chinese-Malay one, has a colophon indicating that it was revised in the same year, though not by the same person.

滿刺加國譯語

MALACCA VOCABULARY

PART I

天文 *Astronomy*

	<i>Meaning.</i>	<i>Sound Equivalent.</i>	<i>Malay.</i>
1	天	安刺	an la Allah*
2	日	哈利	ha li matahari*
3	月	補藍	pu lan bulan
4	風	安因	an yin angin
5	雲	亞灣	ya wan awan
6	雷	孤路	ku lu guruh
7	雨	烏占	wu chan hujan
8	天晴	安刺得都	an la tē tu (tōu) — tēdoh* ¹
9	露	安奔	an pēn ēmbun
10	星	兵因當	ping yin tang bintang*
11	煙	哈撒	ha sa asap
12	斗	兵當都竹	ping tang tu chu bintang tujoh*
13	霧	干必答	kan pi ta gēmpita*
14	霞	邦孤寧	pang ku ning mambang kuning*
15	天陰	安刺格藍	an la ko lan — kēlam* ¹
16	天黑	安刺希丹	an la hsi tan — hitam* ¹
17	天寒	安刺定因	an la ting yin — dingin* ¹
18	天熱	巴納恩安刺	pa na ssū an la — panas*
19	天旱	麻撈	ma lao kēmarau*
20	刮風	立安因	li an yin — angin*
21	狂風	安因到販	an yin tao fan angin tofan*
22	大風	安因補撒	an yin pu sa angin bēsar
23	小風	安因格只	an yin ko chih angin kēchil
24	涼風	色菊安因	sē chū an yin angin sējok*
25	好風	安因拜	an yin pai angin baik*
26	停風	安因不論的	an yin pu lun ti angin bērhēnti
27	阻風	安因刺布下	an yin la pu angin laboh*
28	惡風	安因者下	an yin chē hsia angin jahat*

	<i>Meaning.</i>	<i>Sound Equivalent.</i>		<i>Malay.</i>
29 無風	(There is) no wind	安因骨都	an yin ku tu	angin tédoh ?*
30 風響	wind sound, i.e. the sound of wind	安因布宜	an yin pu i	bunyi angin*
31 雷響	thunder sound = the sound of thunder	狐路布宜	ku lu pu i	bunyi guroh*
32 大雨	heavy rain	烏占布撒	wu chan pu sa	hujan bésar
33 小雨	small (gentle) rain	烏占格只	wu chan ko chí	hujan kécil
34 細雨	fine rain	烏占信你	wu chan hsin ni	hujan sēni
35 下雨	to rain	烏占都論	wu chan tu lun	hujan turun
36 雨久	continued rain	烏占刺麻	wu chan la ma	hujan lama
37 雲散	clouds scatter (disperse)	亞灣得即	ya wan té lang	awan tērang*
38 雲開	clouds open (disperse)	亞灣得即	ya wan té lang	awan tērang*
39 雲飛	clouds flying	亞灣得力邦	ya wan té li pang	awan tērbang*
40 月上	moon rise(s)	補藍巴路奈	pu lan pa lu nai	bulan baharu naik*
41 月落	moon set(s)	麻速補藍	ma su pu lan	bulan masok*
42 月明	moon (is) bright or moonlight	得浪補藍	té lang pu lan	tērang bulan*
43 月光	moonlight	得吟補藍	té yin pu lan	— bulan*
44 月半	moon half	登加補藍	tēng chia pu lan	tēngah bulan*
45 日出	sunrise	哈利格祿	ha li ko lu	matahari keluar*
46 日落	sunset	哈利麻速	ha li ma su	matahari masok* 2
47 日午	midday	哈利登加	ha li tēng chia	tēngah hari*
48 日晚	late in the day	哈利麻速	ha li ma su	matahari masok*
49 星出	(when the) stars come out	兵因當格祿	ping yin tang ko lu	bintang keluar* 33
50 白日裡	during the day	哈利西洋	ha li hai yang	siang hari*
51 電	lightning	肌藍	chi lan	kilat*

1. *Allah* (= "God") is appropriate here, but quite inadmissible in 8, 15-18, where the proper word is *hari*.

2. *hari* = "day", cf. 47, 50, 97, 100; *matahari* = "sun", cf. 45, 46, 48; for *mata*, cf. 64, 352.

8. Cf. 1, 29, 88, and 100.
10. For the transcription, cf. 49.
12. = "seven stars", usually applied to the Pleiades. For the Chinese character, cf. 268.
13. = "uproar" (from Sansk. *kampita*). But cf. Batak *golap gumpita*, "quite dark" (Favre, *Dictionnaire Malais-Français*, s.v. *gempita*).
14. = "The yellow sunset glow", conceived as a malignant influence.
16. *hari hitam* would be an unusual expression; literally "black day".
17. Cf. 94, 105.
18. The Malay order is inverted by the transcription, unless the meaning is to be "the heat of the day" or "the day is hot". Cf. 1.
19. = "drought". For the omission of the first syllable, cf. 14, 144, 228, 312, 313, 321, 328, 348, 415, and 441.
20. *li* makes no sense, unless it is for *dī*, which might mean "in (the wind)". Or it might represent the first syllable of *ribut* "storm" (in which case the Malay order is inverted). Or cf. 166.
21. *tofān* is the Arabic *tufān*, but the transcription suggests a pronunciation *taufān*.
24. The Malay order is inverted, unless it means "the coldness of the wind" or "the wind is cold".
25. = "favourable wind".
27. Literally "an anchoring wind", an expression unknown to us, but conveying the sense of the Chinese.
28. = "bad wind".
29. Cf. 8, 88, and 100. The second word is doubtful; perhaps *ku* should be *t'i*.
- 30, 31. The Malay order is inverted, unless these are sentences, e.g. "the wind sounds", in which case *běrbunyi* would be better than *bunyi*.
- 37, 38. The words seem certain, but the sense should be "bright (or clear) clouds".
39. The transcription suggests that the word was pronounced *tērēbang*.
40. = "moon just rising" (or "risen").
41. The Malay order is normally the opposite.
42. The Malay order is not necessarily wrong, but somewhat unusual, unless the meaning is "moonlight".

43. The first word should be the same as in 42.
 44. Normally this should mean "the middle of the month".
 45, 46. The first word should be *matahari*. Cf. 2 and 48. The last syllable of *kěluar* is also omitted in 49 and 316.
 47. The Malay order is inverted.
 48. Cf. 46, which gives the true sense.
 49. For the transcription, cf. 10 and 45.
 50. The Malay order is inverted.
 51. *lan* is presumably a case of mishearing.

PART II

地 理 *Geography*

	Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.		Malay.
52 地	earth, ground, world	布 迷	pu mi	bumi
53 石	stone	巴 都	pa tu	batu
54 路	road	遮 藍	ché lan	jalan
55 土	earth, soil	答 那	ta na	tanah
56 磚	brick	巴 答	pa ta	bata
57 城	city, city wall	谷 達	ku ta	kota*
58 村	village	路 孫	lu sun	dasun*
59 園	garden	鵠 奔	ko pên	kêbun
60 泥	mud, mire	答 那	ta na	tanah*
61 河	river	松 喝	sung ho	sungai*
62 山	hill	步 吉	pu chi	bukit
63 水	water	亞 亦 兒	ya i êrh	ayer
64 泉	a spring	媽 答 亞 兒	ma ta ya êrh	mata ayer*
65 井	a well	蘇 木 兒	su mu êrh	sumor
66 瓦	tile	亞 答 根 丁	ya ta yên ting	atap gënting*
67 大 河	large river	松 喝 補 撒	sung ho pu sa	sungai bësar
68 小 河	small river	松 喝 格 只	sung ho kô chih	sungai kéchil
69 河 寬	river wide	松 喝 奪 思	sung ho tô ssû	sungai luas*
70 大 海	large sea	撈 補 撒	lao pu sa	laut bësar
71 小 海	small sea	撈 格 只	lao kô chih	laut kéchil
72 大 湖	large lake	巴 也 補 撒	pa yeh pu sa	paya bësar*
73 大 港	large lagoon, harbour	松 岩 補 撒	sung yen pu sa	sungai bësar*
74 小 港	small lagoon, harbour	松 岩 格 只	sung yen kô chih	sungai kéchil*

		Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.		Malay.
75	大山	large hill	步吉補撒	pu chí pu sa	bukit besar
76	小山	small hill	步吉格只	pu chí ko chíh	bukit kecil
77	大浪	large waves	安巴補撒	an pa pu sa	ombak besar
78	小浪	small waves	安巴格只	an pa ko chíh	ombak kecil
79	水大	the water (is) big = tide high	亞亦補撒	ya i pu sa	ayer besar
80	水小	water small	亞亦格只	ya i ko chíh	ayer kecil
81	潮落	tide fall	亞亦麻速	ya i ma su	ayer masuk*
82	潮起	tide rise	亞亦巴桑	ya i pa sang	ayer pasang
83	東海	eastern sea	滂不撒地閩兒	lao pu sa ti mên ééh	laut besar timor
84	南海	southern sea	滂不撒習刺丹	lao pu sa hí la tán	laut besar selatan
85	北海	northern sea	滂不撒烏答刺	lao pu sa wu ta la	laut besar utara
86	山嵐	mountain mist	三巴	san pa	sapak*
87	嶺下	mountain range below = at the foot of the mts.	巴哇步吉	pa wa pu chí	bawah bukit*
88	息浪	still the waves	安巴骨都	an pa ku tu	ombak tenang?*
89	大江	large river	蘇艾補撒	su ai pu sa	sungai besar*
90	小江	small river	蘇愛格只	su ai ko chíh	sungai kecil*

57. also = "fort".

58. also = "orchard, grove of fruit-trees" in the jungle.

60. = 55. The Malay word means "earth, ground", not "mud, mire".

61, 67, and 69. *ho* is a curious substitute for the *ai* that is required here (cf. the *ko* for *kai* in 114). Some Chinese dialects have *hap*, *hak*, *ah* here and it seems possible that the transcription represents a dialect of Malay differing from the Malacca standard.

64. Literally, "eye of water" = 63 and 352.

66. = "tiled roof". Cf. 235.

69. Presumably the Chinese collector heard the initial *l* as a *d*.

72. *paya* = "swamp".

73 and 74. For *yen* some Chinese dialects have *ngang*, *nga*, others *yai*, *yai*, which latter would be more suitable here. The meaning "lagoon, harbour" is not quite correct, as the Malay word means

"river" (61), but the connection is evident, the reference being to the broad lower part of a river near its mouth.

81. The Malay means "water enters", not the falling tide (which is *ayer surut*). This is no doubt a case of misunderstanding.

86. = "fleecy clouds, indistinct masses of vapour in the sky".

87. = "(at) the foot of the hill".

88. The second half is doubtful: perhaps *ku* should be *t'i* and *tu* should be *lang*. The meaning would be "the waves (become) calm".

89, 90. For *ai* some Chinese dialects have the more suitable *ngai*.

PART III

時令 *Time*

	Meaning.		Sound Equivalent.		Malay.
91	春	spring	們冬	mèn tung	[unidentified]
92	夏	summer	巴都思	pa tu ssü	panas*
93	秋	autumn	溫入	wên pa	[unidentified]
94	冬	winter	的因	ti yin	dingin*
95	年	year	更納打溫	kéng na ta wên	tahun gēnap*
96	時	time, season	站	chan	jam*
97	晝	day	哈利丁加	ha li ting chia	tengah hari*
98	夜	night	罵藍	ma lan	malam
99	昏	dusk, twilight	格藍	ko lan	kélan*
100	晴	clear, blue sky	哈利得都	ha li tè tu (tou)	hari tedoh*
101	早	early (morning)	巴吉	pa chi	pagi
102	歲	year (of age)	達溫	ta wên	tahun
103	晚	late (evening)	麻藍	ma lan	malam*
104	涼	cool, chill	色菊	sè chü	séjok
105	冷	cold	定因	ting yin	dingin*

92. The second character of the transcription is wrong. Cf. 18.

94. There is no doubt as to the identification, but the transcription is not very good (cf. 105). For *ti* some Chinese dialects have *tik*, *tüt*, *tih*. On the above four words it may be remarked that as in Malay there are no seasons (in the Chinese sense of the word, and our own) the translations are only conventional.

95. Assuming the identification to be correct, the Malay order is inverted and the meaning would be "a full year". Cf. 102.

96. *jam* = "time, hour" (not "season").

97. The Malay order is inverted and the true sense is "midday" (= 47).

99. = "darkness". Cf. 15.

100. Cf. 8.

103. = 98, which gives the right meaning.

105. This is a better transcription than 94. Cf. 17.

PART IV

花木 *Flowers and Trees*

	Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.	Malay.
106 花	flower	布亞	pu ya bunga*
107 草	grass	弄布	lung pu rumput
108 竹	bamboo	布魯	pu lu buloh
109 棗	jajube	柯羅麻	ko lo ma khurma (P.)*
110 梅	plum, prune	亞三淡利亞	ya san tan li ya asam? —*
111 桑	mulberry	蘇及	su chi [unidentified]
112 蒜	garlic	垠旺布的	pa wang pu ti bawang puteh*
113 木	wood, tree	加右	chia yu kayu
114 西瓜	water-melon	閏的格	mên ti ko mēndikai*
115 甜瓜	sweet melon	不的	pu ti biṭṭikh (Ar.)*
116 黃瓜	cucumber	的閏步	tī mēn timun
117 甘蔗	sweet cane	得步	tē pu tēbu*
118 木耳	<i>Hirneola polytricha</i> , an edible fungus	真答溫	chēn ta wēn chēndawan*
119 龍眼	the lungan — <i>Nephelium longana</i>	必答納知南	pī ta na chih nan bēdara China*
120 荔枝	lichee	刺謨丹	la mo tan rambutan*
121 柑子	mandarin orange <i>Citrus nobilis</i>	利毛	li mao limau*
122 椰子	coconut	牛兒	niu érh nior
123 柿子	persimmon	柯參麻	ko ts'an ma kēsēmak*
124 茄子	egg-plant, brinjal	木茄	mu chia —*
125 稻子	paddy	巴的	pa ti padi*
126 核桃	walnut	市哇格刺思	shih wa ko la ssū buah kēras*
127 速香	fragrant wood for making incense	刺布	la pu rabun?*
128 樹香	"tree incense"	答麻兒	ta ma érh damar*
129 沉香	garoo wood, lign- aloes <i>Aquilaria</i> <i>agallochum</i>	加魯丁加藍	chia lu ting chia gaharu lan tēnggēlam*

	Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.		Malay.
130 丁香	cloves	真 皆	chén chieh	chéngkeh
131 木香	patchouli (root of a species of <i>Cassia</i> —mere thistle)	布 竹	pu chu	puchok
132 檀香	sandalwood	真 答 那	chén ta na	chēndana
133 乳香	frankincense, gum olibanum	更 地 魯 干	kēng ti lu kan	—*
134 茴香	a fragrant seed like dill (<i>Faniculum dulce</i>)	正 丹	chēng tan	jintan*
135 抹身香	perfumes, scent	巴 巴 灣	pa pa wan	ban-bauan
136 降真香	laka wood	加 右 刺 加	chia yu la chia	kayu laka*
137 安息香	benzoin	魯 干	lu kan	—*
138 蘇合香	rose maloes or liquid storax	木 刺	mu la	rasamala ?*
139 阿魏	asafoetida	鴛 孤	ying ku	inggu
140 蘇木	sapan or sappan wood	習 邦	hai pang	sé-pang
141 胡椒	pepper	那 答	na ta	lada
142 沒藥	myrrh	磨 兒	mó ér	murr (Ar.)
143 烏藥	<i>Lindera strychni-folia</i> (lit. black medicine)	烏 般 衣 丹	wu pan i tan	ubat hitam*
144 紫梗	gum-lac	巴 撈	pa lao	(ém)balan
145 白藤	rattan	撈 丹 布 的	lao tan pu ti	rotan puteh*
146 檳榔	betel-nut	連 安 別	lien an pieh	—*
147 排草	a tree grown in S. China from which a pungent incense is made. Its root resembles the willow root and is white	弄 布 亞 葉 兒	lung pu ya yeh érh	rumpit ayer*
148 血竭	dragon's blood (resin from <i>Demonorops draco</i>)	真 兒 那	chén ér na	jērnanng
149 藤黃	gamboge	亞 答	ya ta	artal, hartal*
150 萎葉	ginger leaves	西 亦	hai i	[unidentified]*

	Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.	Malay.
151 蘿蔔	(turnip) ? <i>Phytolacca acinosa</i>	羅巴	lobak*
152 片腦	camphor	加不兒	kapur*
153 薔薇露	rose water	亞亦兒麻亞	ayer mawar
154 華澄茄	cubeb	干謨骨思	kēmukus*
155 桄榔木	<i>Caryota ochlandra</i> coir-palm	蘇利飢	[unidentified]*
156 花梨木	Chinese rosewood	加由不惡	kayu bongor ?*
157 鐵梨木	iron wood	加由不息	kayu besi*

106. The transcription seems to represent *buah* "fruit", rather than *bunga* "flower".

109. = "date".

110. *asam* (literally "sour") is the first part of several plant names. The rest is not certain, but Mr. H. N. Ridley suggests *rēmēnia*, "the plum mango" (*Bouea microphylla*).

112. Literally "white onion (or bulb)", the usual name for garlic.

114. For *ko* some Chinese dialects have *kak*, *kaik*, *kah*. Cf. 61.

115. Other variant Arabic forms are *batfikh* and *bitfikh*. This word appears to be the original of the Malay *bêtek*, which the Chinese transcription is meant to represent. In our time it means the papaya (or papaw), a fruit first introduced by Europeans from America, to which about a dozen different names have been applied in as many (and more) Indonesian languages. Cf. *Encycl. v. N.-I.*, s.v. *papaja*.

117. = "sugar cane". Cf. 416.

118. The Malay word means "fungus", in general.

119. The Malay word (literally "Chinese plum") = "jube", *Zizyphus jujuba* Lam. (*Rhamnæ*).

120. *rambutan* is *Nephelium lappaceum* L. (*Sapindacæ*). The Chinese name refers to *N. litchi* Camb.

121. *limau* = any citrus, big or small.

123. The persimmon is not a local fruit, and is now usually known in Malaya by its Japanese name *kaki* (often preceded by the word *pisang* "banana, plantain").

124. The transcription seems to give the Chinese name preceded by the Chinese word for "tree". If it is to be read *muka*, we know of no such name for the egg-plant (brinjal, aubergine), which in Malay is called *těrong*.

125. = "rice in the husk".

126. The first character of the Chinese transcription must be meant for *pu* not *shih*. The Malay means, literally, "hard fruit," and is really the name of the "candle-nut", *Aleurites moluccanus* L. (*Euphorbiaceæ*).

127. The identification is not quite certain. The Malay word means "a drug for fumigation", or the smoke of it, and "to fumigate". There is also a word *rabok* "tinder".

128. *damar* is "tree resin" (not necessarily incense).

129. Literally, "sinking gaharu," the Chinese name also embodies this characteristic of its sinking in water. Cf. Chau, p. 205, *JSBRAS.*, 18, p. 361, Groen., p. 260.

133 and 137. These entries are puzzling. By a slight alteration of the last character in the transcription it could be made into 半 *pan*, so that 137 and the second half of 133 would represent the Arabic *lubān* "incense". In that case the first half of 133 might conceivably (though very doubtfully) stand for the Arabic *kundur*, which has a similar meaning, or even the Sanskrit *gandha* "perfume". Cf. Chau, pp. 195 seq., 199. There are, however, other possibilities. There is recorded in Wilkinson's dictionary (s.v. *kēmēnyan*) a "sweet smelling gum" named *k. sērani*, literally "Christian benzoin" (i.e. of foreign origin) that has a synonym *gētah rokam*, which might be the origin of our transcription.

134. The Malay word means "caraway seed", an imported product (*Carum Carui* L. *Umbelliferae*) and other similar things, such as cumin and anise. Cf. Ridley, s.v. *Jintan*.

136. Cf. Chau, 211. According to the *Encycl. v. Ned.-Indië*, this is *Lawsonia inermis* L. (*Lythraceæ*), but Favre makes it *Myristica iners*. It does not, however, appear under either name in Ridley's list of Malay plant names, but Mr. Ridley in a personal communication writes that it is a shrubby climber, *Dalbergia parviflora* Roxb., found in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, the wood of which is valued as incense.

137. Probably this is for *lubān*. See 133.

138. Cf. Chau, pp. 200-1, where the following are distinguished, viz. (1) the storax of the ancients, apparently a product of *Styrax officinalis*, still common in Syria, (2) storax oil, a product of *Liquidambar orientalis* L., of Asia Minor, and (3) a liquid storax produced (probably) from the *Liquidambar altingiana* L., of Java, the native name of which is *rasamala*. This latter name seems to have been

applied ultimately in the Malayan region to (2) as well. Cf. Hobson-Jobson, s.v. *rose-mallows*. The *Encycl. v. N.-I.* considers the name *rasamala* to be derived from *ros melleus* "honey dew", but Hobson-Jobson and the Oxford Dictionary treat *rasamala* as the original word; and it seems very unlikely that a local tree would be named after the foreign name either of a foreign product or even of its own. Another *liquidambar* is also found in America (cf. Garcia da Orta, part i, bk. i, chap. 1, *ad fin.*, bk. 3, chap. 6).

The Chinese transcription, however, is not entirely convincing and the matter is complicated by the fact that *molō* is said to be one of the foreign (i.e. non-Chinese) names for frankincense (Chau, p. 196).

143. The Malay name also means "black medicine", and is the name of several species of *Goniiothalamus*, particularly *Giganteus* and *Ridleyi*, the latter having also the variant name *banitan*, which is possibly the origin of the form in the transcription.

145. Literally "white rattan". Cf. 445. The transcription suggests an archaic (and etymologically justifiable) pronunciation *rautan*.

146. The transcription has not been interpreted. It may be corrupt, and the order of the characters may have been changed. The proper Malay word is *pinang*, from which the Chinese name (attested by I Tsing in the seventh century) is derived.

147. Literally "water grass".

149. The Malay means "orpiment".

150. Perhaps *sirih* "the betel leaf", *sērai*, Citronella grass (*Andropogon Cymbopogon*), or the Javanese *jahi* "ginger"?

151. The Malay name applies to *Raphanus caudatus* L. (*Cruciferae*).

152. This is the camphor from *Dryobalanops*, found in Sumatra, Borneo, and the Malay Peninsula.

154. The transcription indicates the Malay form, the original Javanese being *kumukus*.

155. Possibly there has been misunderstanding here. The word in transcription looks like *sēligi* "javelin", a weapon made from the nibong palm (*Oncosperma tigillaria*).

156. *bongor* is *Lagerstroemia regina* or some allied species.

157. The Malay name also means "iron wood" and according to the *Encycl. v. Ned.-Indië* it includes a variety of hard, dark woods. Cf. 424.

PART V

鳥獸 *Birds and Beasts*

	Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.		Malay.
158 龍	dragon	那加	na chia	naga
159 虎	tiger	亞利毛	ya li mao	harimau
160 蛇	serpent, snake	烏刺兒	wu la ér	ular
161 象	elephant	加扎	chia cha	gajah
162 駝	camel	安答	an ta	onta
163 牛	ox	凌布	ling pu	lèmbu
164 羊	sheep, goat	干兵	kan ping	kambing*
165 馬	horse	谷達	ku ta	kuda
166 魚	fish	利干	li kan	ikan*
167 貓	cat	孤貞	ku chên	kuching
168 狗	dog	安貞	an chên	anjing
169 猪	pig	巴閉	pa pi	habi
170 鵝	goose	昂撒	ang sa	angsa
171 鴨	duck	易的	i ti	itek
172 鷄	chicken	亞厭	ya yen	ayam
173 驢	donkey	革刺歹	ko la tai	kaldai
174 鹿	deer	撒鹿	sa lu	rusa*
175 獐	river deer, roebuck	歹 (! 支) 章	? chih chang	kijang*
176 龜	tortoise (turtle)	奔牛	pên niu	pénnyu*
177 蝦	shrimp, prawn	烏當	wu tang	udang
178 蟹	crab	格當	ko tang	kêtam
179 鼈	turtle	刺必	la pi	labi-labi*
180 兔	hare, rabbit	不藍犢	pu lan tu	pelandok*
181 豹	leopard, panther	亞加兒	ya chia ér	harimau akar*
182 虫	insect	烏刺	wu la	ulat*
183 蟻	ant	習沒	hsi mo	sêmut
184 蜂	bee	些郎	heich lang	sialang*
185 鳳	phoenix	布通	pu t'ung	puehong ?*
186 鸚鵡	parrot	加加都哇	chia chia tu wa	kakatua*
187 麒麟	the "ch'i-lin" or "unicorn"	吉嶺	chi ling	—*
188 獅子	lion	西阿	hsi ah	singa*
189 孔雀	peacock	布龍木刺	pu lung mu la	burong mērak*
190 蝦蟆	frog, toad	丁加答	ting chia ta	katak*
191 蜘蛛	spider	刺巴	la pa	labah-labah*

	Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.	Malay.
192 麻 鵲 (= 雀)	sparrow	布 籠 必 閉	pu lung pi pi burong pipit*
193 鸞 哥	parrot	奴 力	nu li nuri
194 老 鼠	rat, mouse	的 孤 思	ti ku ssé tikus
195 水 鴨	water duck	易 的 亞 兒	i ti ya érh itek ayer*
196 海 馬	sea-horse, walrus	谷 達 勞 不 撒	ku ta lao pu sa kuda laut besar*
197 江 猪	river pig	弄 八 弄 八	lung pa lung pa lombalombal*
198 海 獺	sea-otter	卜 郎 勞 不 撒	pu lang lao pu sa bérang-bérang laut besar*
199 水 牛	buffalo	格 刺 豹	ko la pao kərbau*
200 錦 鷄	golden pheasant	亞 厭 亞 納	ya yen ya na ayam alas*
201 班 鳩	turtle-dove	布 籠 孤 兒	pu lung ku érh burong tékukur ?*
202 黃 鸝	oriole, mango-bird	布 籠 孤 寧	pu lung ku ning burong kuning*
203 鵲 叫	magpie calls	布 籠 布 宜	pu lung pu i burong bunyi*
204 鸞 鷺	<i>Egretta modesta</i> or Eastern egret	布 籠 垠 敖	pu lung pa ao burong bangao*
205 老 鴨 (= 鴉 ?)	crow, raven	布 籠 加 甲	pu lung chia chia burong gagak*
206 百 舌	a species of shrike	布 籠 閉 必	pu lung pi pi burong pipit*
207 象 牙	ivory	加 定	chia ting gading
208 鸞 鴛	mandarin ducks (m. and f.)	易 得 亞 亦 兒	i té ya i érh itek ayer*
209 火 雞	turkey, moorhen and Pallas' eared pheasant	亞 厭 亞 閉	ya yen ya pi ayam api*
210 鶴 頂	knob on a crane's head	八 都 布 籠	pa tu pu lung batok burong*
211 石 燕	sand-martin	巴 都 布 籠	pa tu pu lung burong batu ?*
212 玳 瑁	tortoiseshell	細 昔	hsi hsi sisek*
213 犀 角	rhinoceros horn	租 刺	tsu la chula*
214 狗 吠	dog's bark	安 真 沙 刺	an chên sha la anjing salak*
215 貓 叫	cat's call	孤 真 布 宜	ku chên pu i kuching bunyi*
216 龍 鱗	dragon scales	多 (= 夕夕) 那 加	to (= hsi hsi) na chia sisek naga*
217 龍 骨	dragon bones	都 郎 那 加	tu lang na chia tulang naga
218 龍 角	dragon horn	丹 篤 那 加	tan tu na chia tandok naga
219 龍 爪	dragon claws	孤 孤 那 加	ku ku na chia kuku naga
220 虎 皮	tiger skin	孤 的 亞 利 毛	ku ti ya li mao kulit hariman

	Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.	Malay.
221 虎鬚	tiger whiskers	章骨亞利毛	chang ku ya li mao janggut harimau*
222 虎掌	tiger paw	者的亞利毛	chē ti ya li mao jari harimau
223 虎爪	tiger claws	孤孤亞利毛	ku ku ya li mao kuku harimau
224 虎毛	tiger hair	必祿亞利毛	pi lu ya li mao bulu harimau
225 騎馬	ride a horse	奈谷達	nai ku ta naik kuda
226 走馬	a riding-horse	谷達刺利	ku ta la li kuda lari*
227 殺牛	kill an ox	凌布卜奴	ling pu pu nu bunuh lembu*
228 黃蜂	wasp (lit. yellow bee)	宜牙	i ya pēnyēngat ?*

164. Primarily "goat", but also applied to sheep.

166. *li kan* for *ikan* seems to be a case of mishearing. Cf. 20.

174. = "stag". The two characters of the transcription are inverted.

175. = "the barking deer". The first character has been rectified, as the identification is practically certain.

176. = "sea turtle" (the one that produces tortoiseshell).

179. = "a river turtle". The transcription does not indicate the reduplication. It may be that the word was at that time used in its simple form.

180. = "mousedeer", a very small antelope, *Tragulus kanchil*.

181. *akar* = (1) "root", (2) "climbing rattan". The prefixing of 159 gives the meaning "leopard".

182. = "maggot", and the like.

184. The usual word for "bee" is *lēbah*; *bērsialang* = "swarming", *pokok sialang* = "a tree where bees nest".

185. = "heron". The identification is doubtful, resting merely on resemblance of sound.

186. = "cockatoo", imported from the eastern part of the Archipelago.

187. The transcription merely reproduces the Chinese name, which may possibly have been known to some Malays, though it does not seem to have gained a footing in the language.

188. The character *ah* is sometimes pronounced *ngah*.

189. Here and in 192, 201-6, and 210-1 we have the generic word *burong* "bird".

190. The first syllable of the transcription remains unexplained.

191. As in 179, the word is now reduplicated. The variant *laba-laba* is also recorded.

192. = 206. *pipit* is applied also to some finches and some weaver birds.

195. The Malay also means "water duck", and is applied to the cotton teal, *Nettopus coromandelianus*. Cf. 63, 171, and 208.

196. Literally "horse of the big sea". It is not clear what animal is intended by the Malay, which may be merely a translation of the Chinese.

197. = "porpoise".

198. Literally "otter of the big sea". Another case of omitted duplication, cf. 179, 191. As for the meaning, cf. 196.

199. The transcription suggests a pronunciation *kērēbau* (or even *karabau*).

200. = "jungle fowl", in Javanese and probably in Malay also, though not found recorded with that meaning. The two words *ayam* and *alas* are, each of them, in use; but the ordinary word for "jungle" is *hutan*.

201. The identification seems reasonably certain though only a part of the specific name is given in the transcription.

202. Literally "yellow bird". The oriole is now styled *burong kunyit-kunyit*, "the turmeric-coloured bird."

203. If a sentence, it means "a bird calls", and *bērbunyi* would be better (cf. 30, 31). If the meaning is to be "the sound of a bird", the order must be inverted.

204. A white bird, rather like a stork, the egret *Herodias alba*, and other allied species. (Cf. Winstedt, s.v. *bird*.)

205. = "Malayan crow".

206. = 192, q.v.

208. = 195, q.v.

209. Literally "fire fowl", which is a translation of the Chinese name, and does not appear to be recorded elsewhere in Malay. In mediaeval Chinese it also applied to the cassowary, a Moluccan bird (Groen., pp. 198, 262), which is probably what is meant here.

210. Doubtless this was what Groeneveldt calls a "crane crest", which, as he explains (p. 198) was really the horny crest of the hornbill (*buceros*), from which buttons, etc., are carved. *batok* = "crown of the head", often confused with *batu* "stone".

211. The Malay order is inverted in the transcription. As rectified, it means "stone (or rock) bird", unidentified, and is a literal version of the Chinese name.

212. = "scale, shell (of tortoise)". Cf. 216, 433, and 434.

213. To complete the sense, *badak* "rhinoceros", should come after this.

214, 215. As they stand these entries are sentences: "the dog barks," "the cat makes a noise" (where *běrbunyi* would be better, cf. 30, 31, 203). If they are to mean "the dog's bark" and "the cat's noise" the animal names must come last.

216. Cf. 158, 212. Here the transcription has the character *to* wrongly for *hsi hsi*.

221. Literally "tiger's beard". Cf. 365.

226. Can mean either (1) "a running horse" or (2) "the horse runs". Presumably the former is intended.

227. The Malay order is inverted. Cf. 163.

228. Though the identification is not quite certain, one Chinese dialect would read this *ngi nga*; cf. 346. For the omission of an unstressed first syllable, cf. 19, 144, 312, 313, 321, 328, 348, 415, and 441.

PART VI

宮室 Houses

	Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.	Malay.
229 殿	hall, temple	路麻刺扎不 弄半	lu ma la cha pu lung pan rumah raja pěcempuan*
230 屋	room (N.), house (S.)	路麻	lu ma rumah*
231 門	door, gate	兵都	píng tu pintu
232 牕	window	遮藍扎安	chē lan cha an jala-jala ?*
233 大房	large house	器麻補撒	ch'i ma pu sa rumah besar*
234 小房	small house	路麻格只	lu ma ko chíh rumah kecil
235 瓦屋	a tiled house	路麻亞答根丁	lu ma ya ta kěn ting rumah atap gěnting*

229. = "house of the female raja", presumably the chief wife of the ruling prince. Cf. 291.

230. = "house" (not "room").

232. = "lattice". The identification is doubtful.

233. The first character *ch'i* should be *lu*, as in 229, 230, 234, and 235.

235. Cf. 66.

PART VII

器用 *Implements, etc.*

	<i>Meaning.</i>	<i>Sound Equivalent.</i>		<i>Malag.</i>
236 卓	table	多	to	—*
237 椅	chair	孤路西	ku lu hsi	kērusi*
238 凳	stool, bench	孤答	ku ta	gēta*
239 碗	bowl	滿孤	man ku	maṅkok
240 盞	tea-cup, wine-cup	扎灣	cha wan	chawan*
241 碟	saucer, small plate, or dish	閉靈	pi ling	piring
242 鍋	saucepan	各哇利	ko wa li	kuali
243 弓	bow	巴拿	pa na	panah
244 箭	arrow	亞納巴拿	ya na pa na	anak panah
245 火	fire	亞閉	ya pi	api
246 灰	ashes	亞補	ya pu	abu
247 柴	fuel, brushwood	加右	chia yn	kayu*
248 筆	pen	加藍	chia lan	kalam (Ar.)
249 墨	ink	芒西	mang hsi	mangsi (Sans.)*
250 硯	ink-slab	巴都	pa tu	batu*
251 箸	chopsticks	孫必	sun pi	sompit*
252 紙	paper	各路刺答思	ko lu la ta ssā	kērtas (Ar.)
253 傘	umbrella	八雍	pa yang	payong
254 鎖	a lock	昆知	k'un chih	kunchi
255 船	boat	雍	yung	jong*
256 扇	fan	企巴思	ch'i pa ssū	kipas
257 棋	chess, etc.	竹吉	chu chi	chēki*
258 櫓	a scull, large oar	哥今	ko ling	[unidentified]
259 篙	boat-pole	加的班長	chia yu pan chang	kayu panjang*
260 桅	mast	的陽	ti yang	tiang
261 鎗	spear	蘇都	su tu (tou)	suda ?*
262 篷	sail, awning	刺壓兒	la ya erh	layar*
263 繩	cord, string	達利麻	ta li ma	tali —*
264 琴	" lute "	得哇撒	tē wa sa	[unidentified]
265 斧	axe	加八	chia pa	kapak
266 甲	armour	吉刺尾	chi la i	kērai, kēre (Jav.)*
267 床	bed	谷刺	ku la	killat (Ar.) ?*
268 斗	a peck, dipper, 10 pints	都斤	tu chin	—*

	Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.	Malay.
269 升	pint	谷 刺	ku la kulak*
270 盆	basin	打 顏	ta yen —*
271 鍾	cup	札 灣	cha wan chawan*
272 鞭 子	a whip	掛 沒 的	chên mei ti chêmêti
273 燈 臺	lamp-stand	加 及 顛	chia chi tien kaki dian*
274 刀 子	knife	必 殺 烏	pí sha wu pisau
275 算 盤	abacus	卜 記 那	pu chí na bérkira ?*
276 枕 頭	pillow	八 安 丹	pa an tan bantal
277 篦 子	comb	西 昔 兒 格 刺	hai sui êrh ko la sisir —*
278 鏡 子	mirror	遮 刺 面	chê la mien chêrmin*
279 蓆 子	mat	地 加	tí chia tikar
280 鉄 竈	iron stove	大 卜 兒	ta pu êrh dapur*
281 盒 子	small box	只 布	chih pu chëpu
282 毡 條	carpet strip	八 弄 罵 達 泥	pa lung ma ta ni përmédani
283 匣 子	case, casket	加 刺 思	chia la ssü karas*
284 頭 盔	helmet, hat-block	吉 刺	chi la kulah (P.)*
285 鞍 子	saddle	不 刺 那	pu la na pëlana
286 罐 子	? pot, jar, jug, pitcher	布 的	pu ti buli-buli*
287 盤	dish, plate, tray	兵 干	ping kan pinggan
288 秤	steel-yard	大 秤	ta ch'êng daching

236. Unidentified. The transcription seems to be corrupt.

237. From the Arabic *kursi*. The transcription suggests (but does not necessitate) a pronunciation *kurusi*, which may well have existed.

238. = "a sleeping platform, divan, broad sofa, or couch".

240. = 271. The expression means "tea-cup" and is of Chinese origin.

247. = 113.

249. "A black compound of burnt tamarind bast used at Batavia for staining the teeth." Modern Malay uses, for "ink", *dawat* (Ar.) and *tinta* (Portuguese); Minangkabau has *mansi* in the sense of "indigo" (Van der Toorn).

250. = 53, "stone."

251. Recorded by Shellabear in his article on "Baba Malay", *JSBRAS.*, No. 65, p. 62.

255. = "junk".

257. A card game, believed to be of Chinese origin.

259. = "long piece of wood". The proper word is *galah*.

261. Doubtful identification: *suda* is a "caltrop".

262. = "sail".

263. *tali* = "cord, string". The syllable *ma* is unexplained and probably corrupt.

266. Recorded for Javanese in the sense of "armour of plaited (or interwoven) copper or iron wire" and "blind of bamboo", but for Malay only in the second sense. The Javanese forms are *kěre*, *kre*, the corresponding Malay form is *kěrai* (Van Ronkel).

267. = "mosquito curtain, bed curtains". The identification is doubtful.

268. The transcription seems to represent two Chinese words.

269. = "a measure (for rice and oil)". In the early part of the fifteenth century it is described (for Java) thus: "A joint of bamboo is cut off and made into a measure which is called *kulak* and is equal to 1·8 *shêng* or pint, official measure." (Groen., p. 178, adds that this is about 1·86 litres.) Minangkabau has the same word under the form *kula'* (Van der Toorn).

270. Unidentified. If we could make it *tēpayan* it would mean "a large jar".

271. = 240, q.v.

273. = "candlestick".

275. = "to count". Cf. 343. The identification is very doubtful.

277. *sisir* = "comb", but the last two syllables of the transcription are unexplained.

278. Cf. 469. The two transcriptions suggest that the pronunciation was *chěřēmin*, as it often is to-day.

280. = "cooking place, hearth".

283. = "box" (apparently for the betel chewing outfit, see *J. Malayan BRAS.*, vol. iii, pt. i, pp. 37, and vol. vi, pt. iv, p. 37). It does not seem to be recorded in the dictionaries in this sense.

284. Also *kulāh* "helmet, tiara" = 384.

286. = a rounded bottle or flask with a long narrow neck; in modern Malay the word is reduplicated.

PART VIII

人物 *Persons*

	Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.	Malay.
289 皇帝	Emperor	蘇端	Sultan
290 太子	Heir-apparent	亞納刺札	anak raja*
291 皇后	Empress	刺札不論般	raja pérémpuan*

	<i>Meaning.</i>	<i>Sound Equivalent.</i>		<i>Malay.</i>
292 皇妃	Imperial concubine	刺札不論般 格只	la cha pu lun pan ko chih	raja pèrèmpuan kéchil*
293 大人	your Excellency (great person)	烏郎補撒	wu lang pu sa	orang bēsar*
294 老爺	"old gentleman" (a title)	烏郎加亞	wu lang chia ya	orang kaya*
295 頭目	head-man, chief	們的力	mèn ti li	mèntèri (Sansk.)*
296 男子	man, male	加吉	chia chi	laki-laki*
297 女人	woman	不論般	pu lun pan	pèrèmpuan
298 父	father	巴巴	pa pa	bapa
299 母	mother	閩的	mèn ti	mandai, mandé (Min.)*
300 兄	elder brother	加加	chia chia	kakak*
301 弟	younger brother	亞的	ya ti	adek
302 娘	woman, wife, mother	八(入)卜	pa (? ju) pu	ibn*
303 妻	wife	必帝	pi ti	bini*
304 爺	father	巴巴	pa pa	bapa*
305 子	son, child	亞納	ya na	anak
306 孫	grandson	周竹	chou chu	chuchu
307 公	duke, gentleman, sir, Mr., male	你你刺吉	ní ní la chi	nenek laki- laki*
308 婆	old woman	你你不論般	ní ní pu lun pan	nenek pèrèmpuan*
309 伯	father's elder brother	巴巴都亞	pa pa tu ya	bapa tun*
310 叔	father's younger brother	巴巴謨答	pa pa mu ta	bapa muda*
311 嫂	elder brother's wife, married woman	加加不論般	chia chia pu lun pan	kakak pèrèmpuan*

290. = "child of a raja", not necessarily heir apparent.

291. Literally "female raja". Cf. 229.

292. Literally "small female raja".

293. Literally "great person" (like the Chinese term).

294. Literally "rich man", but also used as a title.

295. = "minister (of state)".

296. The first character of the transcription should be *la* and the whole should be doubled, to mean "male"; *laki* = "husband".

299. Not recorded as Malay in the usual dictionaries, but found in Van der Toorn.

300. Usually = "elder sister", "elder brother" being *abang*.

302. Apparently the character is written in error for *ju* ("to enter"), *ngip* in Hakka, *yép* in Cantonese. The Malay word means "mother". Alternatively it might be *embok*, which has the same sense.

303. Apparently a case of mishearing.

304. = 298.

307. The last half of the transcription must be doubled. But the expression means "grandfather", and is not used nowadays as a title, though its more usual equivalent *dato'* is both "grandfather" and "chief". Cf. 296.

308. = "grandmother".

309. Literally "elder father".

310. Literally "younger father" = 304 + 482.

311. = "elder sister". Cf. 300.

PART IX

人事 Human Affairs

	Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.	Malay.
312 拜	worship, bow obeisance, honour, visit	吟 八 yín pa	měnyěmbah*
313 跪	kneel	篤 祿 兒 tu lu érh	běrtělok*
314 你	you	端 南 八 tuan nan pa	tuan bamba*
315 我	I	必 答 pì ta	beta*
316 出	(go) out	格 祿 kò lu	kěluar*
317 入	enter	麻 速 ma su	masuk
318 進	enter	麻 速 ma su	masuk
319 退	retire, withdraw	溫 冬 wēn tung	undur ?*
320 行	walk	遮 藍 chē lan	jalan
321 立	stand	的 的 tí tí	běrdiri*
322 坐	sit	都 tu	duduk*
323 看	look, see	列 lièh	lihat
324 見	perceive, see, apprehend	蘇 答 列 su ta lièh	sudah lihat*
325 聽	listen	門 能 牙 兒 mèn neng ya érh	mén(d)ěngar*

	<i>Meaning.</i>	<i>Sound Equivalent.</i>		<i>Malay.</i>
326 排班	arrange the service (of underlings) ?	札安谷店 札安路路 撒麻立立	cha an ku tien cha an lu lu sa ma li li	[unexplained]*
327 上御道	go along Imperial highway	奈亞習答那	nai ya hei ta na	naik astana*
328 朝見	have audience with emperor	牙答	ya ta	ménghadap*
329 再拜	repeatedly bow	刺及吟八	la chi yin pa	lagi ményembah*
330 起來	get up, arise	堪溫	pa wén	bangun
331 禮畢	ceremony ends	蘇答	su ta	sudah*
332 賞賜	bestow	中中奴克刺	chung chung nu k'o la	junjong anugrah*
333 鞠躬	bow	絲藍	sū lan	salam (Ar.)*
334 叩頭	"kowitz"	蘇朱	su chu	sujud (Ar.)
335 謝恩	thank for kindness	亞亦蘇端	ya i su tuan	hai Sultan*
336 平身	rise from kneeling	巴溫的的	pa wén ti ti	bangun bérdiri*
337 引賞	[meaning doubtful]	麻利布鷄安 兵奴克刺	ma li pu chi an ping nu k'o la	béribu kian pénganu- gêrah ?*
338 俯伏	fall prostrate, make obeisance	頓多	tun to	tundok*
339 萬歲	10,000 years! — Long live the Emperor!	大溫習刺沙	ta wén hui la sha	tahun sa- laksa*
340 慶賀	congratulate	習刺	hsi la	sila*
341 方物	regional products	八郎	pa lang	barang*
342 聰明	intelligent	胡郎班答	hu lang pan ta	orang pandai*
343 商量	deliberate upon, consult	鷄刺	chi la	kira*
344 筵宴	banquet	刺者查謨	la ché ch'a mu	raja jamu*
345 答應	respond, reply	謨也物	mu (mo) yeh wu	ményahut
346 子細	minutely, carefully	宜牙	i ya	ingat*
347 不許	not agree, not permit	的答格的	ti ta k'o ti	tidak —*

312. In this and 313 the unstressed prefixes seem to have been overlooked. Cf. 321, 328, 329, 336, and 441.

313. Or *bértélut*, which is the normal form.

314. Literally "master of the slave", an honorific serving as a pronoun.
315. Rather a literary word, used chiefly in correspondence.
316. For the transcription, cf. 45 and 49.
319. A somewhat doubtful identification.
321. Cf. 312, 336.
322. The transcription character ought to have been doubled.
324. Literally "has seen".
325. = "hear". The *d* is optional.
326. The transcription seems to represent two or three Malay phrases embodying instructions or orders in connection with arranging persons according to rank or precedence or the like. It seems possible that the first two characters (*cha an*) = *jangan* "do not!"
327. = "go up into (i.e. enter) the palace".
328. Cf. 312. The sense is correct, though literally the word means "to face".
329. Cf. 312.
331. = "finished".
332. = "humbly accept" (literally "put on one's head") "the princely bounty".
333. = Arabic *salām*, the usual salutation and accompanying gesture, though the transcription would fit *sēlam* "to dive". Possibly the Chinese gesture of bowing was misunderstood by the informant who gave the Malay equivalent.
335. = "O Sultan", which is not the usual courtly mode of address.
336. Cf. 321 and 330.
337. A probable interpretation, which would mean "thousands of bounties", though the form with the prefix *pěng-* does not seem to be recorded.
338. = "bow".
339. = "10,000 years". Cf. 459. The expression is a literal version of the Chinese.
340. = "please".
341. = "things".
342. = "a clever (or competent) person".
343. = "reckon". Cf. 275.
344. = "the raja entertains (at a feast)".
346. = (1) "to remember", (2) "remember!", i.e. "be careful!"
347. The second half is unidentified. Cf. 480.

PART X

身体 *Body*

	<i>Meaning.</i>	<i>Sound Equivalent.</i>	<i>Malay.</i>
348	頭	巴 刺	pa la kēpala*
349	身	也 哇 兒	yeh wa êrh awak ?*
350	面	木 甲	mu chia muka
351	胸	打 打	ta ta dada
352	眼	麻 答	ma ta mata
353	肚	卜 祿	pu lu pērut
354	口	暮 祿	mu lu mulut
355	腹	吐 惡	t'u o (wu) tuboh ?*
356	脚	加 雞	chia chi kaki
357	鼻	衣 冬	i tung hidong
358	耳	的 利 牙	ti li ya tēlinga
359	肝	亞 的	ya ti hati
360	眉	更 寧	kēng ning kēning
361	腎	咯 塔	ta ta —*
362	心	亞 帝	ya ti hati*
363	髮	藍 公	lan kung [unidentified]*
364	腰	兵 扛	pīng kang pinggang
365	鬚	張 谷	chang ku janggut
366	牙	吉 吉	chi chi gigi
367	肺	亞 帝	ya ti hati*
368	手	當 安	tang an tangan
369	喉	利 黑	li hei leher
370	毛	布 祿	pu lu bulu
371	筋	悞 刺	wu la urat
372	額	帶	tai dahi
373	骨	多 郎	to lang tulang
374	舌	卜 吉 答	pu chi ta [unidentified]*
375	腿	巴 霞	pa hsia paha*
376	唇	必 必	pi pi bibir
377	乳	疎 疎	su su susu*
378	臍	布 撒	pu sa pusat
379	汗	不 祿	pu lu pēloh
380	掌	者 的	chē ti jari*
381	皮	孤 的	ku ti kulit
382	爪	孤 孤	ku ku kuku

348. For the omission of the first syllable, cf. 14, 19, 144, 228, 312, 313, 321, 328, 415, and 441.

349. The identification is doubtful and the word *awak*, though formerly meaning "body", is now generally used as a substitute for the 2nd personal pronoun, singular. Perhaps, however, *nyawa* "soul, life" is intended. This is supported by the spelling of 345.

355. = "body".

361. Unidentified. There has probably been some misunderstanding here.

362. = 359. For "heart" *jantong* (*hati*) would be better.

363. "Hair of the head" is *rambut*.

367. A wrong translation (cf. 359). "Lungs" = *paru-paru*.

374. The Malay word should be *lidah*.

375. = "thigh".

377. Cf. 412, 413. The word is primarily "breast (female)", and then through (*ayer*) *susu*, literally "water (i.e. liquid) of the breast", "milk", the word *ayer* being omitted.

380. = "finger, toe". Cf. 222.

PART XI

衣服 Clothes

	Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.	Malay.
383 員領	official collar	巴竹列兒奔	pa chu liéh êrh baju leher
		答兒	pên ta êrh buntar*
384 紗帽	gauze hat (of officials)	孤刺	ku la kulah (Pers.)*
385 金帶	gold girdle	干麻兒麻思	kan ma êrh ma kamar (ê)mas*
		ssü	
386 小帽	"small" hat	孤非亞	ku fei ya kopiah (Ar.)*
387 段子	satin	金加	chîn chia kimkha
			(Pers.)*
388 布衫	cloth shirt	巴竹	pa chu baju (Pers.)*
389 裙子	skirt	裯	yin —*
390 袴子	trousers	蘇魯灣兒	sü lu wan êrh sêlwar (Pers.)
391 絹子	thin silk, pongee	刺哇	la wa kain rawa ?*
392 竹布	bamboo cloth	巴加兒	pa chia êrh [unidentified]
393 夾衣	lined clothes	巴竹的巴兒	pa chu ti pa êrh baju tébal*
394 撒鞋	slippers	絞思	chiao ssü kaus (Ar.)*
395 帳子	curtains	孤蘭布	ku lan pu kélambu*

	Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.	Malay.
396 褥子	mattress ?	加速	chia su [unidentified]
397 靴子	boots	磨着	mo cho mozah (Pers.)
398 梭服	"narrow fabric," nankeen	索	so [unidentified]

383. Literally "round neck-coat". Cf. 388.

384. = 284, q.v.

385. From Persian *kamar* "waist, girdle, belt" and 419.

386. The transcription seems to represent the Arabic pronunciation *kufiyah*.

387. The Persian *kimkhā* is said to mean "damask silk of different colours".

388. = "coat" (Persian *bazu*).

389. Probably meant for *kain*, a character having been omitted, which means (1) "cloth", (2) "clothes", and in particular (3) "skirt", i.e. the *sarong*.

391. = "rainbow silk", a doubtful identification.

393. Literally "thick coat", 388 + 473.

394. = Arabic *kauth* "shoes".

395. = "mosquito curtain".

PART XII

飲食 Food and Drink

	Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.	Malay.
399 米	rice	不刺思	pu la saŋ bēras*
400 酒	"wine", distilled spirits	亞刺	ya la arak*
401 飯	cooked grain	那西	na hsi nasi*
402 茶	tea	亞衣茶	ya i ch'a ayer cha(h)*
403 肉	meat	達經	ta ching daging
404 油	oil	迷娘	mi niang minyak
405 醬	sauce	將	chiang —*
406 麵粉	flour	昆冬	k'un tung gandum (Pers.)*
407 飲酒	drink spirits	迷濃亞刺	mi nung ya la minum arak*
408 吃飯	eat food	麻根那西	ma kēn na hsi makan nasi*
409 羊羔	lamb	亞納干兵	ya na kan ping anak kambing*
410 好酒	good wine, to like wine	亞利拜	ya li pai arak baik*

	Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.		Malay.
411 酥油	butter	迷娘撒必	mi niang sa pi	minyak sapi*
412 牛乳	cow's milk	踈踈凌布	su su ling pu	susu lembu*
413 羊乳	goat's milk	踈踈干兵	su su kan ping	susu kambing*
414 燒酒	samshoo (lit. ardent spirits)	亞刺亞閉	ya la ya pi	arak api*
415 粽子	dumplings	都八	tu pa	kétapat*
416 沙糖	fine sugar	麻泥山得布	ma ni shan tê pu	manisan têbu*
417 下呈	[unidentified]	那西	na hsi	nasi*
418 鹽	salt	加藍	chia lan	garam

399. = "rice with the husk removed".

400. = "distilled spirits (arrack)".

401. = "boiled rice".

402. The second word is Chinese. The first is 63 (= "liquid of a watery kind").

405. = the Chinese word. The usual Malay is *kuah*.

406. = "wheat". Favre registers an unusual pronunciation, *gundum*.

407. Cf. 400.

408. Cf. 401.

409. Also = "kid", 305 + 164.

410. = "good spirits" or "spirits are good". The character *li* should be *la*.

411. = "ghee" (clarified butter), cf. 404.

412, 413. Cf. 377, 163, and 164.

414. Literally "fire spirit". Cf. 400.

415. = "glutinous rice cooked in a wrapper of (plaited) leaves". For the omission of the first syllable, cf. 19 and 348.

416. Literally "sugarcane sweets". The usual word is *gula*. Cf. 117.

417. Apparently = 401, q.v. But the Chinese characters, as they stand, do not make sense in this context. It is thought that they represent phonetically some expression in colloquial Chinese which has not been identified.

PART XIII

珍寶 *Jewels*

	Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.	Malay.
419 金	gold	麻思	ma ssü (ê)mas
420 銀	silver	必刺	pī la perak

	Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.		Malay.
421 銅	copper	敦巴賈	tun pa chia	témbaga
422 鉛	lead	得骨希丹	tê ku hsi tan	— hitam*
423 錫	tin	地罵	tí ma	timah
424 鐵	iron	卜錫	pu hsi	bési
425 貓睛	"cat's eye"	罵答孤真	ma ta ku chên	mata kuching*
426 珊瑚	coral	八萬藍	pa wan lan	pualam (Tam.)*
427 水晶	quartz crystal	巴都布的	pa tu pu tí	batu puteh*
428 珍珠	pearl	末的亞納	wei (i.e. 末) tí ya na	mutiara*
429 界指	ring	真真	chên chên	chinchin
430 瑪瑙	cornelian	亞極	ya chí	'akek (Ar.)
431 玻璃	glass	加札	chia cha	kacha
432 寶石	precious stone, jewel	卜論罵	pu lun ma	—*
433 玳瑁	tortoiseshell	細昔	hsi hsi	sisek*
434 龜同	"tortoise wine-cup"	習西八寧	hsi hsi pa ning	sisek baning*
435 金剛鑽	diamond-pointed awl	印丹	yín tan	intan*
436 珠母帶	mother-of-pearl girdle	干麻兒利背	kan ma êr li pei	kanur — *

422. The first half is unidentified; *hitam* = "black" and the usual term for "lead" is *timah hitam*, cf. 423.

425. = "cat's eye" (like the Chinese). It may be possibly the jewel so called, or the amber-like resin known as *damar mata kuching*.

426. Though Malay dictionaries render this by "marble" (and only by "coral" when the adjective *merah* "red", is added to it), its original sense was "coral", coming as it does from the Tamil *pavalom* (Sanskrit *prabāla*, *pravāla*, *pravāḍa*) "coral". The transcription suggests an archaic Malay pronunciation, *pavalam*.

427. = "white stone". Cf. 53 and 445.

428. The first Chinese character *wei* is evidently a copyist's error for *mo*.

432. This might be *pêlumban* "crystal", but in view of 438 it seems possible that it may represent *pêrmata* "jewel", the final *ta* having been inadvertently omitted. For the transcription, cf. 282.

433. Cf. 212, 216, and 434.

434. = "shell of *testudo emys*", a species of tortoise.

435. = "diamond".

436. Cf. 385. The rest is unidentified.

PART XIV

文史 *Literature and History*

	Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.	Malay.
437 勅書	credentials	蘇刺刺者	su la la ché surat raja*
438 玉璽	State seal	卜論罵這刺 刺者	pu lun ma ché la —* la ché
439 金印	gold seal	麻思這刺刺者	ma ssü ché la la (ě)mas —* ché
440 讀書	read books	押知	ya chih aji*
441 寫字	write characters	牛刺	niu la mēnyarat*

437. = "raja's letter".

438. = 432, q.v., followed perhaps by *chara raja*, i.e. "of the princely sort". But more probably *ché la* stands for *tēra* "royal seal".

439. = "gold", followed by the same words as in 438. The same remarks apply. Cf. 419.

440. Nowadays, usually in the form *mēngaji*, applied chiefly to the reading of the Koran.

441. For the omission of the prefix, cf. 312, 313, 328, 329, and 336.

PART XV

彩色 *Colours*

	Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.	Malay.
442 青	black	希丹	hsi tan hitam
443 紅	red	迷刺	mi la merah
444 黃	yellow	孤寧	ku ning kuning
445 白	white	布的	pu ti putih
446 綠	green	希招	hsi chao hijau

PART XVI

數目 *Numerals*

447 一	1	撒都	sa tu satu
448 二	2	都哇	tu wa dua
449 三	3	地賈	ti chia tiga

	Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.	Malay.
450 四	4	恩 八	én pa émpat
451 五	5	利 罵	li ma lima
452 六	6	恩 南	én nan enam
453 七	7	都 竹	tu chu tujuh
454 八	8	都 刺 板	tu la pan delapan*
455 九	9	心 必 藍	hsin pi lan sembilan
456 十	10	習 補 盧	hai pu lu sa-puluh*
457 百	hundred	殺 刺 都 恩	sha la tu ssu sa-ratus
458 千	thousand	習 利 補	hai li pu sa-ribu*
459 萬	ten thousand	習 刺 沙	hai la sha sa-laksa*

454. The transcription may indicate an archaic pronunciation *dulapan* (from the still older *dualapan*). Modern Malay often reduces the word to *lapan*, simply.

456, 458, 459. The transcription suggests that the pronunciation of the first syllable was already *sě* (reduced from an original *sa*). The romanized spelling reproduces this older and etymologically correct form.

459. Cf. 339.

PART XVII

通 用 *Current Words*

	Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.	Malay.
460 大	large	補 撒	pu sa bēsar
461 小	small	格 只	ko chih kēchil
462 長	long	班 章	pan chang panjang
463 短	short	班 答	pan ta pendek*
464 高	high	定 机	ting chi tinggi
465 低	low	恩 答	én ta rēndah*
466 深	deep	答 藍	ta lan dalam
467 淺	shallow	多 賀	to ho tohor
468 吹	to blow	必 右 (! = 心 布)	pí yu (? hsin pu) sēmbor ?*
469 照	shine	札 利 眼	cha li mien chārmin*
470 好	good	拜	pai baik
471 遠	distant, far	招	chao jauh
472 近	near	安 並	an ping hampir*
473 厚	thick	得 班 兒	té pan érh tebal
474 分	$\frac{1}{10}$ mace	習 昆 的 利	hai k'un ti li sa-kēndéri*

	Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.		Malay.
475 兩	tael	習大因	hai ta yin	sa-tahil
476 多	many	巴娘	pa niang	banyak
477 少	few	孤浪	ku lang	kurang*
478 不 敢	How should I dare?	安奔	an pén	ampun*
479 不 准	not allowed (to be filed, as a peti- tion)	利大	li ta	—*
480 不 依	[meaning doubtful]	帝答	ti ta	tidak*
481 不 好	not good	帝答拜	ti ta pai	tidak baik*
482 小 的	small one	謨答	mu ta	muda*

嘉靖二十八年一月 日通事楊林校正

Revised by the interpreter Yang Lin on the . . . day of the first month of the 28th year of the Chia Ching period (1522-67).

463. Except in certain expressions, the variant form *pendek* is now more usual.

465. It is curious that the transcription fails to represent the initial *r*.

468. = "to eject (especially liquid) from the mouth", a doubtful identification.

469. = 278, q.v. The translation is based on a misunderstanding.

472. Or *damping* "close to"?

474. = "candareen".

477. = "less, fewer".

478. = "pardon".

479. This may be intended for the same word as 480.

480. = "no, not".

481. = 480 + 470.

482. = "young". Cf. 310.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

DICTIONARY OF THE NEPALI LANGUAGE. Compiled by RALPH LILLEY TURNER. $12\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxiv + 935. London, 1931. £4 4s.

(Abbreviations: Ps., Pers. = Persian; Ar. = Arabic; N. = Nepālī; H. = Hindī; P., Pj. = Panjābī; K., Kś. = Kaśmirī; lw. = loanword. Isolated numbers indicate pages.)

"Little streams of pure water sparkled among the grass, and trees laden with fruit grew here and there with spreading boughs."

I cannot think of better words than these to describe the remarkable work brought out this year by the Professor of Sanskrit in the University of London. No similar work, comparable in size, has been published before, though we had a forerunner on a smaller scale in the vocabulary (146 8vo pp.) of Jules Bloch's splendid monograph *La Langue Marathe*.

I do not profess to have studied every entry in the book, or read every page, but I have travelled extensively over the country to which it introduces us, wandered at will along the banks of its rivulets, and plucked luscious fruit off the overhanging branches, and this gives me a title to express the gratitude and admiration which I feel.

One does not know whether to admire most the author's industry or his learning or his intuition. It is hard to believe that one man has single-handed ransacked the dictionaries and vocabularies of forty or fifty languages in order to discover parallels to 26,000 entries, and has, in addition, sent innumerable letters and countless slips to scholars in the hope of obtaining information to make his dictionary complete. Yet this is what Professor Turner has done.

His original aim was to make a practical dictionary (a book, shall we say, of 100 pp., giving words and meanings), but he tells us with happy *meiosis* that the work has "somewhat outgrown" the first intention. It now weighs 9 lb. 3 oz., exactly the weight of the service rifle and bayonet carried by the Gurkha soldiers to whom he dedicates the result of his labour.

There is a valuable introduction of 7 pp., in which we see the principles which guided him in his etymologies, above all the principle which he, more than any other Indianist, has impressed upon us, that in tracing linguistic relationship we must take note of common innovations, not of common conservations. This truth, to the

illustration of which he has devoted so much of his time, will render necessary the rewriting of many pages on Indian languages and the re-formulation of many theories about them.

Next to the etymologies, the most useful single feature of the dictionary is the series of indexes (correctly so called; the incorrect form, indices, is not used). These indexes, which we owe to the labour of Mrs. Turner, give us, language by language, connected words from other tongues. Beginning with Indo-European and Indo-Aryan reconstructions, Mrs. Turner goes on to Sanskrit and its descendants, such as the ancient Pali and Prakrit, and the modern Romani, Ṣiṇā, Kaśmīrī, Hindī, Panjābī, Lahndī, Singhalese, etc. These occupy 271 pp. Other language-groups, such as Kāfirī, Muṇḍā, Dravidian, and European, take up five pp.

In these Professor Turner appears to have rejected mere loanwords. This limitation is useful for Sanskrit, because there is no clear boundary to possible words, but one would have been glad to see a list of loanwords from European languages, especially English and Portuguese. Such a list would serve a very useful purpose and it would be well worth while to make one even now and print it separately.

I would draw special attention to the astonishing collection on pp. 657-60 of over 400 words whose origin is in most cases unknown. Among them are a number of the commonest words in north India.

It is difficult to exaggerate the value of these indexes. Anyone possessing a knowledge of any of the better-known Indo-European languages, and desirous of ascertaining the comparative development of a word, can now look it up in the list containing the words of the language he knows. He is there referred to the Nep. word under which the forms in other languages are given. Without the index he would not know where to look.

Romani is referred to in three dialects. No such full use of Romani in connection with other Indian languages can be found anywhere except in Miklosich's *Mundarten*, which is over fifty years old. Professor Turner's monograph establishing Romani as a Central Indian language is in the mind of all scholars.

A work like this which aims at completeness and correctness must fall short in at least some details. This is inevitable in all human effort. There must be occasional words forgotten, meanings inaccurately given, analogies missed, etymologies mistaken or untraced, and errors of printing unnoticed. The marvel to my mind is that there are so few.

Feeling sure that Professor Turner is already at work on a supplement, with a list of errata, I venture to mention a few points which he may be good enough to consider.

Meanings.

The compiler usefully gives the fem. of occupational and caste terms; but what is the meaning of these fems.? Sometimes, as for *damini*, *guruṇi*, the meaning given is "woman of *damāi*, *guruṇ*, caste". This seems to me correct ("female" would be better still, so as to include little girls); but for other words, such as *khardārni*, *ojhi*, *dhobini*, *paṇḍitini*, *ghartini*, *kamini*, the words are said to mean "wife" of *khardār*, etc., and again for others, as *panerni*, *mālini*, "female water-carrier", etc. I think it would be better in all of them to give the meaning "female" of the caste. If, e.g., a *khardārni* were to be educated, and enter the House of Commons, she would remain a *khardārni*, whoever her husband might be.

One or two further points: "*thor bahut*, something, no matter how little"; does it not mean "a smallish amount of"?

kāpi, copy: add "notebook, copybook".

kānūn, military law: add "ordinary law, cf. *kānagoi*".

kārnu: six meanings given, but have not the essential meanings "take out, eject" been overlooked?

203 *chori mari thulā ghar pari*: the meaning given strikes me as a mild libel on the cheery Gorkhālī. It is not difficult to get another.

Etymologies.

Dr. Turner is at his best in etymologies; examples of his research and remarkable power of seizing on the relevant facts may be seen on almost every page. I mention in particular *gachnu*, *jokhnu*, *khelnu*, *nibhāunu*, *celo*, *līṣ*, *hotro*, *choro*, *sarṇu*, *calnu*, *bhutte*, *dhasnu*, *ṣiṛi*, *kero*.

In a spirit of deep appreciation I make a few suggestions aiming at further perfection.

European words. These at present are given in different ways: (a) lw. H.; (b) lw. Eng.; (c) lw. H. fr. Eng. or Port.; (d) lw. H. fr. Pers. I think that the Eur. origin should always be referred to. Some said to be Eng. seem to me Port. The following changes suggest themselves.

"*mec*, lw. H. fr. Pers.": omit "fr. Pers.", add "cf. Pj. *mec*, Sh. *mec*; fr. Port. *mesa*."

"*tamākhu* lw. H. fr. Pers.": omit "fr. Pers.", add "fr. Port. *tabaco*".

These two words are more likely to have gone to Persia from India, than come to India from Persia. In any case they are Port.

"*tauliyā*, lw. H.": add "fr. Port."

pistaul, *botal*, said to be Eng., are probably Port. *pistola*, *botelha*; so perhaps *kārtus*, said to be Fr. (Port. *kartucho*).

Further, there are many entered simply as "lw. Eng." The question arises whether they should not be "lw. H. fr. Eng." In only a few cases does it appear likely that they came directly into N. from Eng.

For words at present left underived a few etyms. occur to me.

khawās, liberated slave; lw. H. *khavāṣṣ*, servant; fr. Pers.

khāijārī, tambourine, lw. H. *khānjrī*, fr. Pers. id.

thāhā, information; P. *thauh*, recollection (the Nep. also has this meaning).

juā juā, delay; H. *jū jū*, *jū tā*.

jīsta, *dīsta*, quire of paper; H. *dasta*, m. id. fr. Pers.

Corrections.

ḡimmā-, *-dār*, *-wār*, *-wārī*, are not fr. *zamān*, *ḡimn*, but lw. H. *ḡimma*, *-dār*, *-vār*, *-vārī*, fr. Pers. (*ḡimma* ult. fr. Ar.).

422 *barāmda*, verandah, is twice said to be Pers. It is not a Ps. word at all, but Urdu.

bāphre, *bāphrebāph*, not fr. *baburo*, but lw. H. *bāpre*, *bāprebāp*, id.

picche, per: omit H. and P. words given, and insert H. *pīche*, P. *picche*, id., as *bīghe picche*, *vīghe picche*, per acre (or half acre).

khatapa, fraud; not H. *khātra*, but H. *khacrā*, wicked; P. *khacrā*, deceitful.

bāre mā, concerning; not as stated, but lw. H. *bāre mē*, id.

bāhcar: *bāl*, not conn. w. *bāl*, hair, which in Pj. would yield *vālbar*, whereas Pj. is *bālbar*. The *l* is mere change of *r*; cf. N. *leṭar*, writer; Pj. *bālīṣtar*, barrister; *pippalminṭ*, peppermint; *fail*, fire; *lāl*, rule; *pālṭī*, party.

halkāro, messenger, is said to be a form of *ahalkār*. There is no connection between the two words, beyond similarity of meaning. *ahalkār* is correctly derived, p. 29, lw. H. *ahlkār* (Ps. *ahl* and *kār*) *halkāro* is lw. H. *halkārā*, *harkārā* fr. Ps. *harkāra*, man who does all or any work (*har-kār*).

kulī, not fr. Ar. but from Turkish.

Minor Corrections.

113 H. *khaff*, not whiskers, beard, but incipient hair on face.

300 P. *thok*, not "heap", but "thing".

311 "P. *deh*, f. sun", read "*dēh*, m."

491 P. *maṇ*, mf.; omit f.

494 P. *marcā*, read *marc*; *marcā* is pl. of *marc*.

513 P. *mūṇḍ*, m. not f.; for L. *mūṇḍh*, f., head of canal, read *mūḍh*, m.

520 P. *murnā*, not "twist", trans., but "turn", intr.

554 H.P. *lām*, not "line, brigade", but "war, expedition".

582 P. *sarṇā*, not "rot", but "be burnt".

309 *dābi*, H. *da'wī*. *da'wī*, a form given by Platts, has no existence.

It should be *da'vā*.

Suggested additions to etymologies.

"*khasnu*, fall; Shina *gur khaṣonū*": add "é only in infin.; Inv. sing. has *s* (*khas*), otherwise *z*, (except past -*t*-)."

ṭako, money; add P. *ṭagā*, half anna.

jirāha, *jirāha*, H. *jarḥ*, fr. Ar. *jarḥ* is translated once "objection", and once "denial". The word is *jirah* in H., and means "cross-examination" or "surgical incision." In P. it is *jarhā*. The conn. of N. *jirāha* seems doubtful.

ṣyāsti, *ṣesti*, excessive; add lw. H. *jāstī* (fr. *ziyādātī*, Ps.).

thurnu, stumble; add P. *ṭhuddā* (not *th*-), stumbling-block.

dāgnu, aim at; add H.P. *dagnā*, be fired (of *top*, cannon).

nāghnu, jump over; add P. *nanghṇā*, pass by.

baṛiyā, very good; add P. *vadhīā*, with the note that *baṛhiyā*, *vadhīā*, and doubtless N. *baṛiyā*, have no fem. form.

phālṭū, superfluous; add L. *phālṭū*, coolie who waits for odd jobs.

phitte, separate; add H. *phaṭke*, separate; H.P. *phitte mūh*! your face be cursed! P. *phitt*, l., *phitak*, f., curse.

mutnu; add P. *mūtarnā*.

raṇḍī; add P. *raṇḍī*, widow.

karāi, cauldron; add P. *kaṛāhī*.

lāṛo; add P. *laurā*.

cilimci, basin, lw. H. fr. Ps.; add *cilam* fr. Ps., -*cī* fr. Turk.

chamchamnu, *c-garnu*; add P. *chan chan*, jingling, tinkling.

Professor Turner derives *kāphar*, coward, fr. *kāfir*, but hesitates about *kābu*, cowed, fr. *qābū*, on account of "difference of meaning". The difference seems less in the latter case than in the former, and the derivation may surely be accepted.

katā-ho-katā, adv. expressing emphasis; add Cf. H. *kahī*, anywhere, much (more than); thus, to put the N. sentences into H.; *Silāguṛī se Dārjiling kahī acchā hai* (much better than); *sārā shahr ghūmā, us ghar kā kahī patā nā lagā*. Professor Turner asks if this is derived from

katā. No doubt it is. Might we not say that *katā* here means "anywhere", like *kañi*, and that *katā-ho-katā* is the emphatic form?

The following P. words are mere lws. fr. H. The forms which I add in parenthesis are the real ones: *khelnā* (*khednā*) *hillnā* (*hallnā*) shake, *phārnā* (*pārnā*) split, *jonā* (*jonā*) yoke.

The accuracy of the proof-reading is extraordinary, and reflects the utmost credit on the compiler and his wife. Very little has escaped them. I have noticed the following errors. Some of them are probably quite correctly copied from the source consulted, and the proof-readers have no responsibility.

111 *kāghārnā* and *-ūrnā*, read *kh-* and *-nā*.

111 *khāgālñā*; better *hāgālñā*.

125 *kullñā*, read *khullñā*.

137 *garmī*, read *garmī*.

209 *jam'āt*, read *jamā'at*.

246 P. *ṭekaṇ*, read *ṭekkaṇ*.

360 P. *paṭṭñā*, better *putṭñā*.

494 H. *marhaṭṭe*, read *marahṭe*, *marhate*.

513 P. *munñā*, read *munṇā*.

555 *Lāhor*, read *Lāhaur*.

558 P. *lukñā*, read *lukkñā*.

645 T. W. Bailey, read H. W. Bailey.

Read *ṣ* for *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*, in the following H. words: 116 *khālāṣī*, 117 *khāṣm*, *khāṣī*, 272 *taṣṭīl*, 539 *rukṣat*, 609 *ṣirf*, 640 *hiṣṣa*, *hiṣṣadār*; and *ṣ* for *ṣ* in 635 *hāṣirī*, 642 *haṣa*; and *ḷ* for *l* in the Lahndī words 402 *phal*, 405 *phālā*, 436 *bālaṇ* (the verb; the noun would be *bālāṇ*), 632 *hal*, pair of oxen.

We are told on p. xxiii that the Pj. words are taken from Mayā Singh's Dict. That useful, if somewhat loosely arranged, volume ignores the sound *ḷ*, and confuses *n* with *ṇ*. Consequently, many P. words containing *ḷ* appear in it with the south P. form in *l*, and infins. which have roots ending in *r* or *ṛ* are printed now with *n* and now with *ṇ*. This is a pity, for the distinction between *ḷ* and *l*, and between *ṇ* and *n* is well worth preserving. In the *Nep. Dict.* there was no choice but to print as the original source did. The best rule is to make all P. infins. end in *-nā*, except those with roots in *-r*, *-ṛh*, *-ṛ*, *-ṛh*, which should end in *-nā*. The difference between *ṛñā* and *ṛnā* in rapid speech is negligible, but *ṛñā* differs widely from *rnā*.

A few P. words taken at random which should have *ḷ* are *ubaḷñā*, boil; *phaḷ*, fruit; *phaḷ*, blade; *paḷñā*, be nourished; *miḷñā*, meet.

A little point, illustrating the care which the compiler has everywhere exercised, is the use of *v* instead of the customary *w* in Pj. words. The amount of avoidable mispronunciation among Europeans which has been caused by the use of *w* for *v* in other books (including some of mine) is distressing to contemplate. *w* occurs in Pj. only as an alternative to *ū* in such words as *adw'āṇā*, water-melon; *dveṇā*, cause to be given.

The *r* dialect of Kś. This interesting village dialect is referred to twice (see *ghāro*, 157; *saṇnu*, 582). Under *moro*, 520, a village word *moṛ*ⁿ is given for the town dialect along with the real town word *mor*ⁿ. Under *larṇu*, fight, K. *laḍun* is said to be "prob. lw. H.P."; I prefer to say "lw. vill. K. *laṛun*". In many other places I should recommend reference to the vill. dialect. Thus, to mention a few: *caro*, bird, K. *tsūṛ*ⁿ; *caṛnu*, ascend, K. *tsaṛun*; *bhīṛ*, crowd, K. *bīṛ*; *bīṛālo*, cat, K. *brōṛ*ⁿ, *byōṛ*ⁿ; *chaṛ*, basket, K. *tshaṛ*; *chaṛ*, bar, K. *chīṛ*ⁿ; *chaṛnu*, sprinkle, K. *chīṛkāwun*; *choṛnu*, leave, K. *choṛun*; *jaṛnu*, set, K. *jaṛun*; *jor*, pair, K. *joṛā*; *jorī*, pair, K. *jūr*^t; *guliyo*, sugar, K. *goṛ*; *laṛāi*, strife, add K. *laḍōy*^t, lw. vill. K. *laṛōy*^t; *paṛnu*, read, add K. *paḍun*, lw. vill. K. *paṛun*; *kāṛnu*, eject, add vill. K. *kaṛun*, lw. H. (for here the vill. form should be *kaḍun*). Such references would elucidate a matter of importance.

There is a large class of onomatopoetic words, and Dr. Turner often mentions that a word belongs to it. It might be too much to ask that he should always do this, yet sometimes it is not clear that a word is onomatopoetic (e.g. *khaḍākhaḍ*, without interruption; *kharkhar*, without stopping; *khushkhus*, whispering). One might not realize that these are merely imitative words or derived from such words, and it would be well to say it in each case.

-*bāj*, 431. Through an oversight it is stated simply that -*bāj* is a suffix in *naṣebāj*, nothing being said about other words, such as *botal-bāj*, *daḡābāj*, etc. In the case of -*dār* many examples are given.

Great praise must be given for the careful differentiation of causal verbs, which breaks new ground in dictionaries, for this is the first in which the distinction has been consistently made. I made it for Urdu and Pj. (*Bull. S.O.S.*, V, iii, 519, 1929). Here it is made for Nepali. It applies doubtless to other Indo-Aryan languages. The rule is briefly this: causals of intr. verbs mean to cause to do; of trans. verbs to cause to be done. Thus *jokhāunu*, cause to be weighed, have weighed; but *dugurāunu*, cause to run.

Another feature of the dictionary is the occasional comparison of

meanings (as distinct from forms). Thus for *lekḥ*, mountain-chain, we are referred to Eng. "line of mountains"; and for Pk. *thuṇṇa-*, proud, lit. stopped, to Eng. "stuck up", 298. There are only a few of these comparisons; it would be difficult to increase their number, for a systematic attempt to discuss comparative semantics would entail the compilation of a second dictionary.

And so we come to the end of this wonderful volume. I have mentioned above a few things for consideration in the forthcoming Supplement, but I feel almost as if I should be ashamed of myself for doing so. It is as if passing through undulating fields of the richest mellow corn, I had taken note of a half-ripe or over-ripe grain, here and there, among thousands of the best. Professor Turner's colleagues in the University of London, and his *alma mater*, the University of Cambridge, which has given him the degree of Litt.D. in recognition of his labours, will be proud to remember their association with one who has produced a work of such outstanding ability and learning.

I, too, bring my tribute of admiration, gratitude, and thanks.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

STUDIEN ZUR EIGENART INDISCHEN DENKENS. VON BETTY HEIMANN.
pp. vi + 328. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1930.
RM. 26.

In *Studien zur Eigenart indischen Denkens* Dr. Betty Heimann has collected a number of papers contributed to various publications since 1922 together with other essays, all devoted to the attempt to bring out the salient features which mark out Indian thought as a system *sui generis*, whose similarities with other systems rests on accidental convergence. The topic is an interesting one, and has received able and intelligent handling, even if much of what Miss Heimann has to say is widely current doctrine. She rightly insists on the fundamental fact of the continuity and syncretism of Indian thought, and the tendency to preserve the oldest and most primitive ideas side by side with the new. The Upaniṣads richly illustrate this thesis, and, of course, it reaches the most complete expression in the system of Čaṅkara in which room is found for the illogicalities of the Indian popular religion and the caste system with all its defects. The same principle is easily illustrated from Indian society and Indian law, its most enduring product (pp. 258-74). A refined jurisprudence has been based on primitive social customs, largely permeated by magic, nor

has Western influence availed wholly to extirpate infanticide and the immolation of widows. In literature the spirit of *Bande Mātaram* can be traced to the religious lyric of the *Rigveda*. Again Indian thought essentially rejects individuality; man is not something superior to the rest of the world, animate or inanimate; he recognizes himself to be only one part of a complex whole, whence we find that Indian literature excels in feeling for nature and in the beast fable. But on the other hand we are denied the possibility of tragedy (pp. 282-4), for that rests essentially on the struggle of the individual against opposing forces, and there is no place in the scheme of Indian thought for such a conflict; the world system is a harmonious complex which assigns to each person his due place. Such a system leaves no room (pp. 105-9) for the conception of a God of the type familiar to Western thought, who is omnipotent, who determines the laws of righteousness, who never deceives, who loves his creatures, bestows his grace upon them, and leads them to salvation, sacrificing himself for them. There can be no mediator between God and mankind, and no true prayer to God. As the *Nyāya* and the *Vaiṣeṣika* show, it is impossible logically to introduce the deity into the operations of a system of *Karman* which works with automatic certainty.

While there is much truth in these contentions, there is some risk of failing to admit the extent of Indian progress in thought. It is perfectly obvious that it was a slow process by which India arrived at the conception of a soul, but one must not exaggerate the material character of early speculation. Rather the primitive standpoint is *hylozoist*; matter is not regarded as lifeless, but combines what later are regarded as spirit and matter. The advance, therefore, lies not in passing from the material to the spiritual but in differentiating the two, a process which is carried to the furthest in the *Sāṃkhya*, which Miss Heimann quite rightly (p. 49) recognizes to be a logical development from the conceptions of the *Upaniṣads*. How far the thinkers of the *Upaniṣads* had advanced in appreciation of the spiritual is doubtless a matter of difficulty to determine, but perhaps Miss Heimann is inclined with Professor Jacobi to underestimate the depth of their insight; reaction from Deussen has tended too far in the opposite sense. But it is well to have it made clear how impregnated Indian thought is with the material as well as with the spiritual side of existence.

Brahman in Miss Heimann's view (pp. 42, 43) denotes initially the prayer which strengthens the gods, who therefore come willingly to the

sacrifice, and then the prayer of power which controls even the gods, and thus comes to mean the power which pervades the world ; later it becomes devoid of concrete implication and can denote the absolute without implication of its character. Ātman, on the other hand, starts (p. 56) from the idea of *das Wesentliche*, which in man is first conceived as the body, and gradually is refined to a psychological conception. Both views are possible, but neither can be proved from our texts. Varuna again is regarded (p. 27) as the guardian of the Rta, and doubtless this he comes to be, but for his origin we must rather look to the Aryan religion brought into India, in which he figured as the sky god, who was also concerned with the moral order and to whom real prayers might be addressed. The *Rigveda* doubtless already knows the principle of *do ut des*, but the gradual decline in importance of Varuna is significant that his personality represents a phase of religious belief which the new society created in India by the contact of Aryans and non-Aryans (whether Dravidians, as Miss Heimann assumes, or pre-Dravidians, or both) did not develop. Similarly Miss Heimann suspects (p. 106) external influence in the *Rigveda* (ii, 13, 12) when Indra is described as making the blind to see, the lame to walk, but here again we have a remnant of the worship of the Aryans. Their faith doubtless did not wholly pass away ; we have in later religion more evidence that Miss Heimann is inclined to admit of a real belief in a personal deity who is a veritable saviour. Mahāyāna Buddhism no doubt is suspect of being under foreign influences, but we may well admit that the logical implications of the Karman doctrine were far from generally accepted outside the philosophical schools. The theistic affiliations of the Nyāya and Vaiṣeṣika most probably attest an effort to accommodate these systems to the popular mind.

On minor points also it is possible to differ from Miss Heimann's views, but such divergences of opinion do not diminish appreciation of a stimulating and suggestive study.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE BHĀRATEEYA SANGIT VIDNYANA SERIES. By D. D. BHATE.
Bombay : Modavritta Press, Wai Satara. Rs. 1 each.

1. "The Shruti Theory of Indian Music (more from the point of view of European music)." Two pamphlets so far have been published, one with the title "Shruti Theory", while the other is a chart. The

author, while engaged in studying the Swarādhyāya of the Sangit Ratnākara, came to the conclusion that Indian music contains three tones, the major-tone, the minor-tone, and the semi-tone. His conclusion was confirmed by a study of the problem from a different point of view based upon harmonic theory and arithmetical calculations and these are fully expounded in the above-mentioned pamphlet. He points out that the tonic note, the Shadja, as it is called, is but an extension of the major-chord (G.E.D.) and the minor chord (F.E.D.¹), the major-chord being the harmonic mean, while the minor-chord is the arithmetical mean. The minor-chord contains some intervals of those of the major-chord. The intervals of the minor-chord inverted will form the major-chord; and this process explains the four diminutions mentioned in the Ratnākara. By Shadja-Panchamabhāv (the string of fifths) twenty-six shrutis are obtained in an octave (two tetrachords); but the shrutis, from 22 to 26, are the same as from 0 to 4, only an octave higher, and that is why it is called a science of twenty-two shrutis instead of twenty-six. The twenty-six shrutis require two shadja-panchamabhāvas.

Mr. Bhate points out the reason which occasioned the grāma-theory. In the Shuddha (just) scale we have the three shruti ri, the two shruti ga, and four shruti ma. To obtain different shruti intervals the grāma-theory was devised.

The three grāmas put together are :—

Shadja grāma	{	sa	ri	ga	ma
		0	3	2	9
	{	pa	dha	ni	sa
		13	16	18	22
Madhyama grāma	{	ma	pa	dha	ni
		9	12	14	18
	{	sa	ri	ga	ma
		$\frac{9}{2}$	3	5	9
Gandhāra grāma	{	ga	ma	pa	dha
		6	9	11	15
	{	ni	sa	ri	ga
		19	$\frac{9}{2}$	2	6

Here we get a two-shruti ri (a semi-tone), etc., etc.

¹ The E, D in the minor-chord should be understood E♯, D♯. The symbols $\frac{9}{2}$, $\frac{22}{2}$ represent a difference of $\frac{9}{2}$ and $\frac{22}{2}$ or cents 70 and 22 respectively.

In the arrangement of different grāmas we have the tonic (sa) at different points, that is, on shruti zero in the shadja grāma, on shruti four in the madhyama grāma, and on shruti seven in the gandhāra grāma.

The exposition is based on the twenty-fifth verse of the twenty-eighth chapter of the *Bharata Nāṭya Shāstra*.

The constituent elements are :—

	Cents	Ratio	Wire
Pramāṇa shruti	22	81/80	80/81
Comma of Didymus			
Small semi-tone	70	25/24	24/25
Lima (Pythagorian)	90	256/243	243/256

The three shuddha (just) tones are :—

	Cents	Ratio	Wire
Major	204	9/8	8/9
Minor	182	10/9	9/10
Semi	112	16/15	15/16

In the Appendix I to the pamphlet of the shruti-theory, it is made clear why the tonic note (the shadja) should be fixed at 480 single vibrations or 240 double vibrations, and adopted as a standard note for the reeds of the Indian harmonium.

If the author's view should be adopted, it will obviously be of considerable importance to the manufacturers of musical keyed instruments for the Indian market, besides opening up a new field of research for students of musical theory.

2. The second pamphlet contains a chart of the Shadja and Madhyama grāma scales according to Bharata Nāṭya Shāstra. The three tones are indicated by different colours; the major tone by red, the minor tone by blue, and the semi-tone by yellow; and the chart indicates the method by which the one scale can be changed to the other. The last paragraph of the chart is devoted to explaining the four diminutions mentioned in the Ratnākara. The pamphlet ends with the two basic principles, called by the author "mottos" of the shruti nidarshana.

The author has been at considerable pains to deal with and explain the theory formulated in the *Bharata-Nāṭya Shāstra*, a work dating from the fifth century A.D. Throughout the pamphlet he has developed his argument in a manner which is strictly logical and mathematically

accurate. The series forms a noteworthy addition to the literature of Indian music, and is fully entitled to the serious consideration of European scientists who are interested in the subject.

S. G. K.

GACHCHIVARIL GAPPA. By NARAYAN GOVIND CHAMPEKAR.
Poona : Aryasanskriti Press. Price 1 Rupee.

This book has gone into a second edition, which fact proves its great popularity. It is a kind of tea-table-talk, but gradually it leads to a serious discussion on several social subjects. No fewer than twenty-three social problems are subjected to a critical analysis; several conventions which pass under the name of so-called rites and ritual are severely attacked; several ideas imported from the Western world have been taking root in the minds of so-called English-educated Indian youths which in the end would be disastrous, as they are not congenial to the tradition and climatic conditions of the Indian continent. The author's slashing criticism and his views on *na stri svatantryam arhati* (the natural subordination of woman), *Hakka kin kartavya* (right or duty), *Grihiṇi Griham Uchchate* (wife is the queen of the home) are quite original and of absorbing interest. The chapters on "Woman in 1945", "The Pleasures of Married Life", "Physical Degeneration", "Economic Competition", will open the eyes of deluded young men and women whose present views, if unmodified, will lead to serious disaster. The talk ends with essays on *saṅkā samāj* (degenerated society) and *shivāshie* (don't touchism) which are informative and provocative. The author points out that the cult of "don't touchism" is unauthorized by Manu and other law-givers, and is merely based upon misguided views and superstitions, the foundation of which is rather unsound.

The author has administered a strong dose of a very powerful medicine to these young people of both sexes who have been influenced by the modern tendencies which he attacks, but deep-rooted diseases require drastic treatment.

The style is excellent, and is a model of polished and up-to-date Marāṭhi.

S. G. KANHERE.

DIE ZEIT ALS SCHICKSALSGOTTHEIT IN DER INDISCHEN UND IRANISCHEN RELIGION. Beiträge zur indischen Sprachwissenschaft und Religionsgeschichte. Von J. SCHEFFTELOWITZ. Heft IV. pp. 1-58. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer.

The first part of this book is devoted to a sketch of the history of *kāla* "Time" as revealed in Sanskrit literature. Of astrology it is claimed that it reached India from Babylon at the latest with Alexander the Great. (We should, however, not forget the *nakṣatra-darśa* of the Yajurveda.) From the Buddhist books onwards, in Gṛhya and Dharma Sūtras astrology was largely developed. Planets became recipients of sacrifice. From astrology the author derives the conception of an unescapable fate, which appears abundantly in the Epics, under a great number of synonymous names. It was soon necessary to define the position of Fate in relation to Karma, of which fate was said to be the fruit.

A philosophy of Time is to be traced from the Rigveda onwards. Time and Timelessness were identified with Brahma. It was inevitable that Time (*kāla*) should be brought into connection with Fate (*daiva*) and Death. Time appears accordingly either as superior to or as identical with Fate. Then Time could be identified with Karma. Only Brahma remained above Time. In the syncretic Śiva doctrine, Time is one of Śiva's forms. In the later ritual books Time is identified with Yama.

The abundant Sanskrit literature enables the author to give a mass of confirmatory quotations. But in the second part, which treats of "Time" in Iran there is far less certainty attainable.

The author disputes the hypothesis that Zruvan was the supreme god in the pre-Zoroastrian Iranian religion. Accordingly the texts from the Avesta to Firdausi are examined. The word *zruvan* is absent from the Gathas, an *argumentum ex silentio* which naturally has little weight. In the later Avesta, Zruvan is associated with the stars and the celestial sphere, which suggest astrological influence. The Greater Bundahišn makes Zruvan a creation of Ohormazd. The author stresses the point that, in taking over the Babylonian planet names, Ohormazd not Zruvan took the place of Bel. Here, however, it has evidently been overlooked that Zrouan is found as a name of the planet Saturn, that is *Kρόνος*, to which Zrouan rightly corresponds, as is further indicated by the use in Armenian of Zrouanean to translate Greek *Κρονίων*. The connection of Zruvan and Fate is attested in Armenian and in Pahlavi, and is again associated with the stars. Many passages

from Firdausi are quoted to show the importance of Time as the bringer of destiny to man. It is claimed that Zarvanism grew up under the influence of astrology, when Zruvan as Fate and Time encroached upon Ohormazd's power.

Early texts are very few from which to gain certain results. The passage of Eudemos is found only in late authors, and the Avestan passages show no trace of a supreme Zruvan. It is clear that Zruvan is associated with the planets, and the whole mythos of Zruvan and his sons Ohormazd and Ahriman suggests learned speculation and may well be late. But for the age of Zarvanism we lack sufficient data.

H. W. B.

ARCHAEOLOGISCHE MITTHEILUNGEN AUS IRAN. Herausgegeben von ERNST HERZFELD. Bd. I-II, 1929-30. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.

In these *Mitteilungen* Professor Herzfeld has begun the publication of the results of his most important researches in the archaeology of Iran in its widest sense. We find here valuable information on Pasargadae, contributions to the exegesis of the Avesta, and to the elucidation of Pahlavi texts, a critique of Herodotus' list of satrapies, an elaborate treatment of Avestan topography, a new discussion of the ever-recurring problem of the date of Zoroaster, and the publication of new Old Persian inscriptions. In view of the difficulty of this whole field of investigation, arising largely from defective texts and too scanty sources, it is natural that all the statements should not command universal acceptance. In particular one finds a tendency to somewhat dogmatic statement, which testifies to the firm convictions of the author, but is liable to awaken some distrust.

In vol. i, part i, is published the translation (but not the original text) of a new inscription of Cyrus, in which not only does the title "Great King" occur, but Cyrus is called "Achaemenian", thus finally setting at rest the disputes both as to his being a descendant of Achaemenes and as to the use of cuneiform before Darius. A notice is also given of the discovery of a new trilingual inscription of Cyrus at Pasargadae, in a fragmentary condition. These notices occur in a report of excavations at Pasargadae in 1928. In regard to the art of Pasargadae the author points to its importance as a genuine product of Iranian artists, from which the art of Persepolis developed naturally. There are three plates and a map of Pasargadae. The remainder of

part i is occupied by a report on the present ruins of Persepolis, in French and Persian, written at the request of the Persian Government, with thirty plates of splendid photographs of Persepolis and a map.

Part ii, 65-75, with six plates, contains a report on archaeological observations in south Kurdistan and Luristan, including the inscription of the Pul i Kalhur.

On p. 76 begins the discussion of the date of Zoroaster, which is full of acute and valuable criticism. Professor Herzfeld approaches the problem from the geographical point of view. The study is divided into four parts: the historical Vištāspa, father of Darius; the Heroogony; the Avestan Vištāspa; Zaratustra and the Community (vol. i, parts ii, iii; vol. ii, part i). Vištāspa, father of Darius, is known not only from Greek authors, but especially from Darius's own inscriptions. From the inscription it is certain that he was a *xšāyaθiya* (and that, too, during his father's, Aršāma's, lifetime, since both Aršāma and Vištāspa were alive when Darius ascended the throne, as we know from the Susa Palace inscription), and a careful examination of the historical information contained in the inscriptions proves that Vištāspa was a *xšāyaθiya* in Parθava and Zranka. From p. 79-105 we find a criticism of the satrapy lists in the inscriptions and in Herodotus, which makes possible an understanding of the disposition of satrapies before and after Darius's accession. In this section the immense geographical knowledge of the author leads to certain results, much of the information being conveyed in the many important footnotes. Parθava being thus defined, its towns are discussed, and particularly Tōs, the capital. It is next possible to discuss the Achæmenid genealogy in its two branches, elder and younger. Anšan is identified with the later Pārsa, which is confirmed by the extension of Elamite remains. The Achæmenid royal titles are shown to be of Median origin, and the throne-names are interpreted as religious names in contrast to the earlier type, such as Vištāspa. For the date of the death of Vištāspa we get c. 500 B.C.

A critical study of the age of the Yašts is offered on pp. 125 f., in which an attempt is made to separate early and later parts of the older Yašts. The system to be observed in the mythical chronology permits the conclusion that a fixed Heroogony existed before the composition of these Yašts. Ardvīšūr Yašt (v) is put in the time of Artaxerxes II. Yašt, xiii, contains the catalogue of names, and is distinguished by its mythologic system which gives the form of the legends in the period before the fourth century B.C., with Yama

(Yima) at the head of the list. These results may be considered reasonably certain.

With the Heroogony we enter upon more debatable ground. The chief results to which the author attains are, for the legends, the persistence of motifs of Indo-European tales, the Median tales, and the legends of Cyrus, and the legend of Zarivariš. The whole subject is thoroughly explored, but the very nature of the subject makes it impossible to regard all the conclusions as certain. The sources are not abundant: the tales in Greek authors and the legends of the Avesta. By excluding all the mythical traits in the Kavi legends, it is claimed that the residue represents Median history. Cyrus is identified with the figure which appears in the legends as Kavi Haosravah. All this is very possible.

On pp. 162 f. the existence of Old Persian records, both official archives and chronicles more or less legendary, is discussed. Mention by Greek and Hebrew writers attests the reality of both these types of records. Professor Herzfeld feels able to claim a written source for the Heroogony which appears in fixed form, both in Greek authors and in the Avesta.

With part iii we reach the Vištāspa of the Avesta. Here, too, certain mythic features of the Zarivariš legend are first excluded as due to a Druvāspa legend. In this way an explanation is found for the Avestan statement that Vištāspa was son of Aurvaṭ-āspa, which is usually an epithet of the sun.

According to the non-mythical information given about Vištāspa in the Avesta, he appears as a *kavi*, that is "king", and his place is Zranka, while his residence is the capital of Parṭava, the Avestan *viś naotaranqm*. In the legendary chronology he follows Kavi Haosravah. All this makes an identification of the father of Darius and the patron of Zoroaster very likely, and seems best to fit what scanty information we possess of that period in eastern Persian history.

Vol. ii, part i, deals with the Prophet and his community on the basis of the names scattered through the Avesta, and especially of the "Catalogue of Names" in Yašt xiii, and defines the place of the prophet's activity as Zranka, on the evidence of the verses of Yašt xix. From p. 30 onwards we have a valuable discussion of the cultural position of the Avesta and the Old Persian inscriptions, treating of the words *nmāna*, *viś*, *zantu*, *dahyu*, *gāṇu*, *kāra*, and including a new translation of Beh. 14. An examination of the traditional date of

Zoroaster leads to the conclusion that we have a dating which was preserved from a period when the Seleucid era was still in use. An oversight seems to have led to the statement, p. 42: "Bei 12,000 Jahren Leben der Welt konnte man zu Beginn des 4. Jahrtausends keine Ängste haben." It is clear from Alberuni's own summation that these 3,000 years were counted from the time of Gayōmart's earthly life, not from the beginning of the 12,000 year period.

Vol. ii, part ii, treats of Avestan topography, with a wealth of geographical detail. Some identifications can naturally be disputed, as, for example, on p. 69, *Sirāk* is more probable than *Sirāf*, and "Andarkangistān" is wrongly read into several passages. On p. 76 a new reading is offered of a part of the Old Persian inscription NRb. This section must be the basis for all further study of Avestan geography.

In vol. ii, part iii, is published the important inscription beginning with the name *Āriyāramna*. Internal evidence seems to be against dating it in *Āriyāramna*'s own life-time. If this is so, the historical conclusions which Professor Herzfeld draws, cannot be sustained. A second short bowl inscription, probably of Xerxes, is also here published for the first time. Pp. 128-31 deal with a Sasanian representation of the chariot of the moon, which supplements the author's work *Thron des Khosrō*. The rest of vol. ii is devoted to the problems of Hittite art.

These *Archaeologische Mitteilungen* are therefore to be looked upon as invaluable for the study of Ancient Persia, and the Avesta.

H. W. B.

INDO-IRANIAN FRONTIER LANGUAGES. Vol. I: Parachi andOrmuri.
By G. MORGENSTIERNE. pp. 1-419, with 3 plates. Oslo:
Institut for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, 1929, £1 1s.

Professor Morgenstierne has here presented us with a further valuable contribution to Iranian Studies, consisting of his materials on the hitherto unknown language of the Parachis and an addition to our information about Ormuri. Pages 1-304 are devoted to Parachi, followed by 110 pages on Ormuri. An elaborate phonology and morphology is given for each language. For Parachi we are offered forty-two pieces of prose and verse, accompanied by a translation. It is shown in the introduction that Parachi occupies a central position between the western and the eastern Iranian dialects, and probably represents one of the original languages of Afghanistan. The material

here published was obtained from five Parachis of whom one, Tabakkāl Shāh, was the poet laureate of his people. Differences of dialect were noticeable in the case of each speaker, and accordingly the sources of the texts are noted. The number of loan-words is very large, both Persian and Indian, and from its geographical position it is natural that Persian should exert an overwhelming influence. The vocabulary gives not only the meanings but full etymological notes, in which it was inevitable that a good deal should remain obscure but on the basis of an exact phonology the most probable forms from which the Parachi words could be derived are indicated in all cases. One point of interest is the different treatment in Parachi of original Iranian *xš* and *š*: *xawān* "night" from *xšapan-*, *γax* "word" probably from **vaχša*, but *thām* "I shave" from *tāš-*. The texts themselves are of very considerable cultural interest.

For the Ormuri, dealt with in the second and shorter part, material had already been collected and discussed, especially by Sir G. Grierson. Here all the available material has been utilized for a careful sketch of the phonology and morphology. Six pieces of prose texts are given. The vocabulary, as for Parachi, contains valuable etymologies. It is natural that here, too, some points of morphology should be still not clear.

Both parts of the book are of great value both for the material so laboriously gathered and for the philological treatment of it. Two more important Iranian dialects can now be used for philological purposes with full confidence. To the scholar interested in the earlier periods of Iranian studies, it must be allowed to express a regret that these dialects are known only in the form they have reached in the twentieth century. Even so, they afford considerable material for the development of meanings. Parachi *dhōy* "seen" from **d̥yšta-* beside Ormuri *dēk* "seen" from **d̥itaka-* is a most interesting survival, compared with Sogdian *wyn- : wyt-* and Saka *day- : d̥ita-* and Persian *bīn- : dīd*. With Parachi *dhamān* "wind" one could compare Saka *padama-* "winds". The meaning of *γān* "oak" is interesting in comparison with Pašto *wana*, Avestan *vanā* "tree". The old *vis-*, in Old Persian *viθ-* "the palace", appears as *γus* with the meaning "house".

H. W. B.

CAUCASICA. Herausgegeben von A. DIRR. Fasc. 6, I. Teil. pp. 78. 1930.

This fasciculus contains three monographs. The first is by N. Jakovlev: "Kurze Übersicht über die Tscherkessischen (Adygheischen) Dialekte und Sprachen," translated from the Russian by A. Dirr. It is the result of over ten years' study of the Čerkes languages, and sets out the relationship of these dialects. Two main divisions are recognized, Kabard and Kyax, with a transition dialect Besleney, on the basis of consonant changes (one sub-dialect, Šapsug, has sixty-seven consonants but only three vowels!) Kabard and Kyax are then subdivided into a number of dialects, Kabard into Terek-Kabard and Kuban-Kabard, and Kyax into (eastern) Abadzeχ and Temirgoi, (western) Bžeduχ, Šapsug, and Xakuč. The places where these are spoken and the number of speakers are then given, pp. 11-14, with the result: Kabard-speakers about 152,079, Kyax-speakers about 45,250, for the Caucasus a very large group. It is next shown that the linguistic conditions (Kabard more a unity than Kyax) is due to the economic history of the region. The Kabards appear to have developed a feudal system before the Kyaxs, among whom there are still to be found the remains of a tribal system. Five tables are added which give the Čerkes consonants with physiological definition and five other tables give the correspondences of consonants in the Čerkes dialects.

Fr. Baumhauer has contributed a short paper on an anonymous writing, containing a brief life of Irakli II of Georgia, and has shown reasons for concluding that this is the work of Jacob Reineggs.

The third monograph is by the late Professor Markwart: "Woher stammt der Name Kaucasus?" It is usual to find an immense amount of learning in the work of Markwart, resulting often in somewhat incoherent treatment. In dealing with the name Caucasus the author starts from the often-discussed passage of Pliny *Croucasim hoc est nive candidum*, attempting, as Vasmer (*Die Iranier in Südrussland*, p. 14) and Kretschmer (*Zeits. f. vgl. Sprachforschung*, lv, p. 100, 1929) had done, to trace a meaning *snow* or *ice* in the first part, and in the second component the verb *kas-* with the meaning of *shining*. But whereas Kretschmer finds this meaning of shining only in Indian, Markwart confidently claims it for Iranian, without, however, adducing any proof. Kaspion and the *Κάσπιοι* (a *Kaspische Urrusse* is denied, p. 29, note 6) are treated of, pp. 27-9, in connection with Eratosthenes' assertion that the natives called the Caucasus Kaspion. From p. 36

on, the etymology of Chorsari is investigated, involving a full and valuable discussion of گسار and گرسار, which embraces also some Pahl. and Pāzand texts dealing with human monsters. Chorsari is explained as **Xvarsār* "resembling the sun". Etymologies are also attempted of *Saka*, p. 36, of *Κεύθης*, p. 56 f. (= "scalp-hunters"), *Κόλοτοι*, p. 59 f. (= "hunters"), and *Ćίρακοι*, p. 61 f. (= "head-(hunters)"). On p. 63 f., Gr. Bd. 80, 15 f., is interpreted of the *Ćίρακηνή* in Hyrcania of Ptolemy, and is more probably correct than Herzfeld's connection of this passage with *Sīrāf* (*Archaeol. Mitteil. aus Iran*, ii, 69). On p. 66 Afg. *šwāl* and Orm. *syōk* are needlessly declared to be loan-words from Persian, the same is the case with **dasta-*, (on p. 66, l. 4, *cuc* is misprinted for *cue*). There is an abundance of side remarks which contain much of value. The origin of *Kaukasos* itself does not seem satisfactorily explained by taking *Croucasim* as a variant.

The remainder of the fasciculus, pp. 70-7, contains reviews of Russian works on the Caucasus by the late Adolf Dirr.

CAUCASICA. Fasc. 6, 2. Teil. pp. 77.

The fasciculus begins with an "In Memoriam" for the regretted editor of *Caucasica*, Adolf Dirr, to which the new editor, G. Deeters, has added a bibliography of Dirr's published works. Dirr's death is a serious blow for Caucasian studies, to whose encouragement he has very largely contributed.

Pages 10-77 are taken up with a work of the late Professor Markwart, in which his intimate familiarity with the Armenian, Byzantine, and Arabic historians and geographers is abundantly attested. The article is entitled "Die Genealogie der Bagratiden und das Zeitalter des Mar Abas und Ps. Moses Xorenaci", in which Professor Markwart has attacked the problem of the genealogy of the Bagratouni ascribed to Mar Abas. The oldest references to the Bagratouni are first assembled, then, beginning on pp. 14-16 with a translation of the genealogy, the names Zareh, Bagam, and Šavaš are reasonably shown to be taken from the place-names Zarehavan, Bagavan, and Šavaršan. In the course of this exposition, a number of Iranian names are discussed, as Pharasmanes, p. 22, note 3; Šāma, p. 27, note 3; Šyavaršan, p. 27; Xerxes, p. 29, and others on p. 28. Next the relation of Angel toun to the Bagratouni (p. 31 f.) is investigated. It is shown that the Prince of Angel toun was distinct from the Hair Mardpet

(p. 33). The district of Mardpetakan, p. 35 f., is discussed with the references in Armenian and Greek authors. The result is summed up by the statement (p. 56) that the early history of Armenia according to Mar Abas was composed at the court of Bagarat of Taraun, Prince of Princes.

On pp. 56-68 the manner in which Moses Xorenaci used Mar Abas is illustrated and Šmbat Bagarat in Moses's history is recognized as a prototype of Šmbat Abu 'l 'Abbās, father of Ašot, at whose court, therefore, Moses composed his work (p. 67).

As a result of these inferences, the author is inclined to believe that the first to attempt a sketch of old Armenian history was probably Anania Širakaci, on whom later writers based their work (p. 77).

The article is full of important reconstructions and boldly argued theories, as is usual in Professor Markwart's work.

CAUCASICA. Fasc. 7, 1931. pp. 167.

G. Deeters, pp. 1-9, has contributed a paper on the names of the days of the week: "Die Namen der Wochentage im Südkaukasischen." He shows that, of the two systems of naming the days, the Georgians employed that of numbers (using also *kwirake* and *paraskevi*), whereas the Mingrelians had adopted the planet-names, of which, however, all have not been explained. This difference is due to the fact that Mingrelia received Christianity from Byzantium, not from Georgia and Armenia. A table of the names is given, for Georgian, Mingrelian, Western, and Eastern Lazian, Swanetian, together with the list from Orbeliani.

Two articles are from the pen of the late Professor Markwart. The first is "Historische Data zur Chronologie der Vokalgesetze im Armenischen". The following data for the phonology of Armenian are proposed: (1) vowel of final syllable lost after 400 B.C., as proved by *Táoχοι* and *Φᾶσις* in Xenophon; (2) the first Arm. consonant-shift before the settlement east of the Euphrates is proved by the names *Gamirk'* and *Kordouk'*; (3) a further shift appears in *Xaltik'* and *Tayk'* only; (4) the first stage of the West Arm. consonant-shift is found in *Μακραβανδόν* (*k < g*), vi saec. A.D.; (5) final vowels preserved in loan-words of the Achæmenid period, as in *axti-*, *gahu-*; (6) final *-n* from the same period in *paštaun*, *barsmunk'*; (7) *-d-* became either *-r-* (as in many Iranian words), or *-y-* (as in *Xaltogarič* beside *-δαραζα*); (8) Chorasmian influence in the name *Φαρασμάνης*, and the

month-name Hrotic; (9) unstressed Indo-Eur. *o* > *a*, in *Ἀραπιάκη* "dream-oracle", hence an Arm. **anərjak*. This last example indicates with what uncertain material Markwart was prepared to operate. A number of doubtful statements are thrown out by the way. Thus, on p. 20, we find the assumption that *xe* > *f* is an Old Pers. development, and p. 13, Ezra iv, 7, is marked as a forgery by the use of *nšten* in the sense of "letter".

We have, on p. 19, the remark that Zaza represents the old Ādāri dialect, but unfortunately no proofs are offered. A large number of geographical problems are elucidated, such as those of the Udini and *Πράσιοι*, with various suggested textual emendations. Included is also a discussion of the name *Ἀραξίτας* (p. 14 f.), here derived from **Arta-zsiyant*.

The second article of Professor Markwart treats of the conversion of Iberia: "Die Bekehrung Iberiens und die beiden ältesten Dokumente der iberischen Kirche," pp. 111-67. As the editor indicates in a preliminary note, this subject has been discussed by various Georgian scholars with whose work Markwart was unacquainted. Of the sources Rufinus is first criticized (without, however, any mention of the work of A. Glas on the problem of the relationship of Gelasios of Caesarea to the work of Rufinus), in which it is proved that the conversion took place under Constantius II, and not under Constantine as stated by Rufinus. Moses Xorenaci has the same account with additions, especially the king's name Mihran, and that of the *Arakelouhi Nounē* (possibly a Cappadocian name). Later there was invented a long romance of Nouni (Nino), which appears in the *Kart'lis C'xovreba*. Rufinus quotes Bacurius (*gentis ipsius rex*) as the authority for his account, and accordingly Markwart, p. 123 f., examines the historical relations of that period. The Coptic legend, agreeing in essentials with Rufinus, is noticed on p. 136 f. A second Coptic legend connects the story with Eustathios of Antioch (p. 138 f.), implying Antiochene claims over the Iberian church. The list of Iberian bishops at the Synod of Babgēn in 505 is examined and their sees identified. The article is concluded with a table of the dates proposed, whereby the conversion of Iberia is placed between 350 and 360. We have here a most important critical treatment of Iberian church history from about 350 to 505 based upon the Byzantine, Latin, Syriac, Armenian, and to some extent (in translation) Georgian texts.

H. Jensen has devoted fourteen pages to the Armenian conjunction *e'te* (*t'e*), in which, with examples from the Arm. Bible and Eznik,

he supplements Meillet's short account of the syntax of this word. The various combinations in which *et'e* and *t'e* appear are illustrated, such as *t'e oç*, *bayç et'e*, *orpēs t'e*, *ibreu t'e*, *k'an t'e*, *manauand t'e*, *miayn t'e*. It forms a useful addition to the knowledge of Arm. syntax.

The article of N. Martirosian, "Ein Erklärungsversuch der hethitischen Kasusendung -az," attempts to prove a connection of Hittite abl. sing. -az with Arm. -ç (Old Arm. gen. dat. abl. plur., East. New Arm. abl. sing.). It would have been natural to find an examination of the original value of Arm. ç (*g*), as, for instance, in *harcanem*, before any comparison were made between two symbols separated by some 1500 years. The article cannot be considered illuminating.

In "Beiträge zu Grammatik und Lexicon des Chaldischen", J. Friedrich has discussed the morphology of object and subject cases, recognizing a different treatment with the preterite of transitive and intransitive verbs. The nominal sentence is noticed on p. 59. For preterite endings the author keeps to trans. 1st sing. -bi, 3rd sing. -ni, 3rd plur. -(i)tu; intrans. 1st sing. -di, 3rd sing. -bi, 3rd plur. -(a)li, against Tseretheli's suggestion that -bi and -ni are object suffixes. P. 71 -me is briefly treated and p. 72 the form of the plur. accusative object. On p. 74 f. *a-li-e* is emphatically claimed as meaning "he says" against the theory that *a-li-e* is the same as *a-li* the relative pronoun. The meanings of *šeri*, p. 82 ("apart") and of *manu*, p. 83 ("be to hand") with obscure form, are established. In the still so uncertain sphere of Chaldian all contributions are very welcome.

R. Bleichsteiner's "Beiträge zur Sprach- und Volkskunde des georgischen Stammes der Gurier" (I. Hälfte) contain Gurian texts of peasant folklore taken down from the dictation of Dat'ik'o Lomadze. This first part gives the texts themselves and the translation of the first tale, forming a contribution of considerable interest.

H. W. B.

IRANISCHE BEITRÄGE. VON H. H. SCHAEDEK. pp. ix + 98. Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, 1930.

These contributions to Iranian studies form an important and distinguished addition to our knowledge of the Achæmenid period, both in the main thesis and in the many important notes. Of the five theses the first provides the long-wanted *sachlich* explanation of the use of the word *uzvârišn* "explanation, interpretation", in reference

to the system of writing which is known to us in Sogdian, the Sasanian inscriptions, the Zoroastrian Pahlavi books, and the Pahlavi Psalter : a system derived from the time when the Aramaic language, hitherto exclusively written, was gradually replaced by Iranian words in the writing, as it had always been in reading, leaving large traces in the "ideograms". It is here proved that the origin lay in the custom of Persian governmental secretaries, who wrote and received documents in Aramaic, but read them before the king, or his officials, in Persian. The Aram., Heb., *mprš*, and Pahl. *uzwārišn*, supply the proofs. Aram. *mprš* in Ezra, iv, 18, by its technical meaning, soon misunderstood among the Jews, suggested a defence of the document in Ezra, 4-6, which the second contribution discusses in detail. The analysis justifies the genuineness of these chapters by a skilful criticism of the document of Tab'el, from which the chronicler has preserved large excerpts.

Imperial Aramaic (Reichsaramäisch) is next treated in reference to the three phonological and orthographical peculiarities, A. **ס** and **ף** for final -ā, and also the absence of these letters; B. **י** **ש** **ק** as makeshifts borrowed from Canaanite, but **ש** = **ס** proving preservation of *š* in Aramaic; C. caus. *ha-* and *a-*; refl. *hit-* and *it-*; jussive; pronouns. Aramaic in the Sasanian inscriptions is largely called into use, and at the same time is itself interpreted, as in the case of the inscriptional **יִתְּ**. (For **קִדְּשִׁתָּהּ**, p. 42, note 2, *prv'n* is probably the north-western equivalent.) Sogd. *RNY* = *pr'm'y* is proved to be *P'Y*, p. 37, 95; and Sogd. *KZNH* instead of the incorrect *KFH*, p. 45, note 1. All these observations are of great value.

Turning to the Iranian element in Aramaic, the author is able to establish that, as should hardly have been doubted, the loan-words in Aramaic do not allow any conclusion as to the final vowels of Old Persian. Lists of Iranian words in Eg. Aram. Papyri are given, p. 66 f., with etymological notes. Some points remain uncertain, as, for example, **אִשְׁדָּת**, which does not prove *š < rt* (cf. Markwart, *Gatha Ustavati*, p. 30 f.).

In the discussion of Zandik-Zindiq, Professor Schaeder proves its origin to be from *zand* in the sense of "allegorical interpretation" (Mas'ūdi هو الزند الذي هو التأويل), and from its occurrence in Eznik and Elišē infers that it could have been used in Mānī's time of Mānī himself. Pahl. *zandik* in Mx., 36, 16; Šnš, 6, 7; Guj. Ab., and Av. *zanda-* have a more general meaning (Av. *zanda-* being considered a Mid. Iran. *Rückbildung* from *zandik*).

On p. 90 f., DkM 828 f., a commentary on Yasna 30, is translated

whence the conclusion is drawn that the Zurvanists began their *μυθοποιία* with Yasna 30, 3.

On pp. 12 and 94 an attempt is made to explain Bh. § 70 (only Elamite preserved): Dareios expressed himself "In Aryan", but his commands were written down in Aramaic.

It may, however, be noted that Sogd. *prβ'r*, p. 97, does not prove original *b* for Hebr. פָּרַר beside פָּרַר (cf. Av. *pairi.vāra-*), since Sogd. *-β-* can represent *-v-*, as in Man. Sogd. *ptβylyy* "command" (*apud* Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu . . .*, p. 42) = **pati-vaida-*, Arm. loan-word *patouēr*.

It would be interesting, if it were not incredible, to have an Avestan word in Aramaic, but *hmnyl*, p. 57, will doubtless find a better explanation. We have probably to think of **hamavan-* (cf. for the suffix Pahl. *hāmōn*, Paz. *hamāvan*), and a connection with Pahl. *hamist* "together", where *-ist* appears to be the same as the *-ist* of *naxvist*, *harvist*, and in double superlatives *-tomist*.

It will be clear from these remarks that the book is full of valuable observations.

ARISCHE FORSCHUNGEN. Yaghnōbī-Studien I. Die sprach-geographische Gliederung des Yaghnōb-Tales. Von HEINRICH F. J. JUNKER. Mit vier Karten. Des XLI. Bandes der Abh. d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. sächs. Akad. d. Wiss. Nr. II. pp. 131. 1930.

This *Abhandlung* is the result of studies in connection with the Yaghnābī language and people, which were made possible by a journey of the author and Robert Gauthiot to the valley of Yaghnāb in 1913. A report was published by Professor Junker in *Indog. Jahrb.*, ii. and an important contribution to the knowledge of Yaghnābī was made in the publication of three tales in Yaghnābī (Junker, *Drei Erzählungen auf Yaghnōbī*, Sb. d. Heid. Akad. d. Wiss., 1914), translated from the Persian.

The present book is devoted to the geography of the Yaghnābī valley in relation to the dialectology of the language. The name in the form Iaghaube was mentioned by de Ujfalvy in 1877, the Russians used Ягнаубъ and Ягнау, Junker recorded Yaḡnōḡb. The valley lies to the east of Samarkand in the Kōhistān, between the Zarafshān and Hisār ranges. The importance of the Yaghnābī language lies in its close relationship to the Sogdian dialects.

Professor Junker has carefully worked over the linguistic material

of de Ujfalvy (published before W. Geiger's work in the *Grundr. d. iran. Phil.*, which was based mainly on the unpublished Yaghnābī studies of Salemann), and also the contribution of Mallitskii which appeared after Junker's *Drei Erzählungen*.

The situation of the Yaghnābī valley is described, pp. 29 ff., with two sketch-maps of importance. Pages 33-107 are devoted to earlier reports concerning the valley, those of G. von Meyendorff, 1820, A. Lehmann, 1841-2, L. N. Sobolev, 1874, E. de Ujfalvy, 1878, A. L. Kuhn, 1881, Sh. Akimbetev, 1881, Capus and Bonvalot, 1883, W. I. Lipskii, 1896, N. G. Mallitskii, 1906 (publ. 1924), and official literature. All these reports are carefully analysed and annotated with many corrections, the result of Professor Junker's own observations. We thus have a clear view of the whole geographical area, including the names of all the Yaghnābī settlements, however small. The information of these travellers is further enlarged and confirmed by a text recorded by Kuhn, here given in phonetic transcription and translation, containing the Yaghnābīs' views of the extent of their district. On pp. 120 f. we have a list of the settlements whose mother speech is Yaghnābī. The remainder of the book sets out the dialects within Yaghnābī itself with a valuable dialect map, p. 127.

The whole is of great importance and rouses a keen desire for the further contributions which are promised. It is unfortunate that the hard conditions of life among the Yaghnābīs choked any interest in literary effort, but what we have of the language is invaluable for Iranian philology.

H. W. B.

DER URSPRUNG DER MAGIER UND DIE ZARATHUSTRISCHE RELIGION.
VON GIUSEPPE MESSINA, S.J. pp. 102. Pontificio Istituto Biblico,
Roma, 1930.

The difficult problem of the relationship of the Magians to Zarathushtra and his community is here once more made the subject of an elaborate study by Professor Messina, a pupil of the late Professor Markwart. It must reluctantly be confessed that the question cannot be considered settled. From a careful study of the passage of Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 30, 1 f., compared with other Greek authors, Professor Messina has shown that the Greeks of the fourth cent. B.C. knew of Magians in the strict sense whose *μαγεία* was a philosophy and a theology, beside the Magians wrongly so-called, whose correct

designation was Chaldeans, the practisers of *artes mathematicas*. From the Greek and Latin accounts, the author passes to the Avesta to define the meaning of the Gathic words *maga-* and *magavan-*. For *maga-* he claims the meaning "gift" in the sense of the "doctrine of Zoroaster", and for *magavan-* the "possessor of the gift", that is, a follower of Zoroaster. The later Avestan *mōyu-*, Old Persian *magu-*, are explained as later formations for *magavan-*. Thus the Magoi of the Greeks would be Zoroastrians in the strictest sense.

It is clear that these results meet with serious obstacles. That to the Greeks Zoroaster was founder of Magianism could only prove that he was so claimed by the Magians. The record of Herodotos (i, 101), which has to many seemed the basis of our knowledge of the Magoi is unconvincingly interpreted, p. 76 f. The well-known Xanthos passage (discussed, p. 41) is in its present context not of great value whatever be the original number.¹ It is not sufficient to set aside the date 258 before the Seleucid era, which is recorded by Alberuni for the date of Zoroaster, without a sufficient justification. The "6,000 years" of the Greek writers demands explanation. It seems, too, most reasonable to place the activity of Zoroaster at most two generations before the commentator, Ostanes, as is suggested by the succession in the Greek lists. *Ma-aš-da-ku* (p. 79) is not so surely explained that it can be used as proof of Mazda-worship. The common assumption that Zoroaster is genetically connected with the name Ahura Mazda has never been proved.

There are several passages on which another opinion is permissible. On p. 34, the inference of Professor Marquart as to *Δαθουσα* and *daθušō* has no cogency in the present state of our knowledge of the Avestan alphabet. It is surprising to find *ΩΜΑΝΟΥ*, p. 97 (only the gen. sing. is found), and *ΟΜΩΜΙ*, p. 98, both identified with Haoma. The Dēnkart tradition of Alexander, p. 34 f., must be otherwise estimated. Alexander the Byzantine (Hrōmāyik) is derived from the Alexander Romance. Ignoring of the Achæmenids (p. 91) can as easily be due to lack of historical interest. On p. 89 f. the episode of Gaumāta is interpreted on the assumption that he is a strict Zoroastrian. It is noteworthy that in the Achæmenian inscriptions *Maguš* is used only of this Median. The whole episode is confused by the divergent accounts preserved by the Greeks and in the inscription of Dareios. The sketch of the development of the Magian religion, p. 92 f., is not

¹ I understand that Professor Messina proposes to treat the problem of this context shortly.

the only possible one, and runs, for instance, directly opposed to the theory that a thorough dualism of good and bad is the foundation of Zoroastrian *Weltanschauung*.

Professor Messina's book is a skilful reconstruction which makes large use of available Greek and Latin sources. The Iranian traditions are less critically used, and it is disconcerting to find speculations treated as proved facts. The identification of *magu-* with *magavan-* in meaning remains an etymological speculation.

H. W. B.



DAS ERSTE KAPITEL DER GATHA UŠTAVATI. (Yasna 43.) Von Jos. MARKWART. Nach dem Tode des Verfassers herausgegeben von Jos. Messina, S.J. *Orientalia* No. 50. pp. 7 + vi + 80. (Commentarii . . . editi a Pontificio Instituto Biblico, Rome, 1930.)

One is accustomed to learn much from any work of the late Professor Markwart. It is therefore a fortunate event that in the book before us one more of his writings has been posthumously published, while others have appeared in *Caucasica*. We have here the same immense learning and brilliant combination, the same bold use of etymologies of proper names of peoples and places with the inseparable elements of uncertainty, which we find in all his works. The present book falls into two parts, an essay on Avestan transcription, pp. 1-51, and a translation with commentary of Yasna 43. The absence of reference to Junker's work on the Avestan alphabet (*Caucasica* ii and iii) seems to imply that the work was mainly written before this investigation of Junker's was known, certainly we find on p. 2 the explanation of 𐬨 in *hyat* as *y y é(ǵ)*. The "etymological glosses" of pp. 1-2 are not likely: beside *daēnā* we have *šayana*, and *-nh-* may easily indicate nasal and *h*. Neither 𐬨 nor 𐬩 is satisfactorily explained (pp. 8, 11) by *a + n*.

There are other points which seem to be too confidently stated. Pp. 4-5 *σαγγανδαι* is derived from **θq̄hant-* in the sense of "verkündigend"; it may perhaps be from *sang-* "to measure, weigh". Pp. 6-7, *Capαγγης* suggests a **zranga* rather than **ranhā*. p. 9, *Mapακανδα*: Sogd. *knδ-* and Saka *kanthā-* indicate something other than *-nt-*. P. 13 *Ὀρθοκορυβαῖτιοι* as "die Angehörigen der rechtschaffenen Kuru" is incredible. P. 15, the proposal that the Avesta was written in cuneiform does not help to explain final { = YAv. 𐬨, and Professor Markwart realized that Aramaic was the

official language of the Imperial government (p. 32). P. 16, the treatment of Old Persian *-a* and *-ā* in Aramaic appears not to be clearly realized; the words, whether proper names or not, are treated like Aramaic words without inflexion, and therefore do not show how Old Persian was written in the Aramaic alphabet.

The proposed explanations of the names Zaratuštra and Zoroaster as *Zarat-uštra- "having yellow camels", and *Zrvat-vāstra "having green pastures" respectively, throw light upon this problem and are very probable.

P. 38 Saka *baštarrda* is probably from **abi-starn-ta-* with *rr* (= *rn*) from the present stem. The discussion of Av.  is important. That we have here  seems very likely. It must then be supposed that in *kāša* beside *kərata-*, *aməša-*, *məša-* beside *mərata-*, and others similarly, *š* is a middle Iranian development beside the old Iranian *rt*. When the sound *š* began first to be used for *hr* is not yet established. In the problem of $\Lambda\rho\omicron\omicron\Lambda\varsigma\pi\omicron$ the divinity *Druvaspā* has probably some rôle.

In the translation of Yasna 43 some new suggestions are made. In v. 1 *manarpha* is "Wohnstatt", a meaning Bartholomae had adopted in one passage without securing a following. In v. 2 *āstīš* "Hausgenossen" is an illustration of the greater latitude secured by the recognition of *matres lecticnis* in the Avestan alphabet. In v. 3 *huzəntuš* "wohlwollend" instead of "knowing well" is not an improvement. *Ārmaitīš* appears as four syllables *Aramatiš*, a treatment which has yet to be justified, since Armenian *S(p)andaramet* cannot be used as proof (probably it was looked upon as *sandar* + *met*), if we remember Arm. *xorašet* with *-a-* between the components. In v. 12 *rānōibyo* is given as **rnəibjō* "für die Verdienste", after the Sanskr. *ṛṇa-*, but Sogd. *ʿrn* and Saka *ārra-* mean "wrong" and so are opposed to this Indian meaning. The composition of the Gatha has been carefully analysed and the notes contain much of value.

The indexes will prove of great use as a guide to the many names quoted throughout an important book.

H. W. B.

OUR PERFECTING WORLD. Zarathushtra's Way of Life. By MANECKJI NUSSERVANJI DHALLA, Ph., Litt.D. pp. xviii + 366. New York. Oxford University Press, 1930.

It has been a great pleasure to read this balanced and courageous survey of civilization. The optimism of the author appears at every

point where he sums up the achievements of man. His standpoint is universal, which enables him to see the defects and merits of the various stages of man's growth. Chapter xxiii, on East and West, is particularly interesting. The early pre-history of mankind is sketched with great imagination, though it could not be supposed that all details would approve themselves, as, for example, the sketch of religious evolution could be disputed. The book is full of a broad humanitarian spirit, which seeks to make use of all progress to further progress; and the abundant optimism is based upon the essentially optimistic Zoroastrian attitude to life. The subject-matter is naturally familiar and is not perhaps treated profoundly, but the massing of details has a great effect. Progress is traced to the present time and becomes the basis of further expectation, though the grim chapter on war is perhaps slightly sensational. There is a discussion of the difficult question of the colour bias with the firm belief that colour should be no bar to equality. Dr. Dhalla's works are well known, and this book forms a most interesting continuation. It is of value to have this impartial survey from an Eastern scholar.

H. W. B.

J. MARKWART: A CATALOGUE OF THE PROVINCIAL CAPITALS OF ERĀNSHAHR. Ed. by G. MESSINA. pp. 120. *Analecta Orientalia*, commentationes scientificae de rebus orientis antiqui cura Pontificii Instituti Biblici editae. No. 3. Rome, 1931.

It is a matter for congratulation that this important work from the papers of the late Professor Markwart should have been published. The subject was peculiarly Markwart's own. It has been fortunate, too, in its editor, Professor Messina, who has here followed the precedent of his edition of Markwart's *Gatha Ustavatī* in publishing this work also in hand-written form. The language chosen was English, which necessarily involved the author in difficulties, though the meaning is not often obscured by linguistic uncertainty.

The importance of this short Pahlavi text has long been recognized, and earlier editions and translations were given by Blochet and Jamasp-Asana. Markwart's wonderful familiarity with the geographical works of Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Syrians, Armenians, Arabs, and Persians, enabled him to explain many obscurities in a text which has suffered in an especial degree from scribal errors, inevitable in a list of foreign names.

The book is excellently arranged. We are offered first the text in the Pahlavi character, with an elaborate transcription facing it in a second column. Below is given the translation. The larger part, however, is occupied by the commentary, p. 24 ff. Here Markwart has heaped up information on all the places in the catalogue, supplying the many and various forms of the names and also reproducing abundantly the old local traditions recorded in early books, Syriac, Arabic, and Persian. It could not be expected that the translation should be perfect in every respect. Thus, for example, in § 39, *pērōzān* is almost certainly a patronymic before which a name has dropped out. Nor are the translations from Pahlavi Texts given in the commentary always right, in particular, on p. 69, the translation of Bahman Yašt 2, 49, is seriously wrong, with the almost grotesque *Gayōpetik*. 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮 is *Suβδōik*, that is "Sogdian", as rightly given in the Pāzand *sūdī*. Etymologies of proper names in which Markwart always indulged freely are not wanting here, too, some being of the most doubtful kind.

There is much very disputable matter in this book, but the wealth of important information is too great to allow these less sound judgments to affect the value of the work. It should receive a very hearty welcome among Iranian scholars.

H. W. B.

DIE GATHAS VON ZARATHUSTRA, aus dem Persischen übersetzt und erläutert. Von H. KAZEMZADEH-IRANSCHÄHR. pp. 109. Orientalischer Zeitschriftenverlag "Iranschähr" G.m.b.H., Berlin-Steglitz, 1930.

Mr. Kazemzadeh-Iranschähr has selected and re-arranged a large number of verses from the Gathas of Zarathushtra with the purpose of making these "sermons in verse" comprehensible to a larger class than philologists and specialists in religion. His plan has been to set these verses in the order which seems to him to be demanded by the sequence of thought. It is obviously a proceeding of some delicacy, and has been exemplified in the study of all old texts. The re-arranger rarely satisfies anyone but himself. The verses are set out in ten chapters, of which Chapter I, for example, is entitled "The Lament of the World-soul and its prayer for a judge and deliverer". This is based on Yasna 29. It is at once evident that we have before us an attempt to interpret Zarathushtra in such a way as to suit modern ways of thinking. This is, of course, a common way of treating ancient

documents which seems always to provide great satisfaction to the interpreter. It requires great caution to discover what an ancient author actually meant and it is obviously easier to suppose he meant what the interpreter wishes. If we add a conviction that the ancient author must have meant certain things, it is rarely hard to find them.

Yasna 29 is here interpreted in terms of a World-soul, a meaning which may be said to be certainly not intended by Zarathushtra, nor is it the view held by the earlier (Sasanian) Zoroastrians.

The author has had before him Pouré Daoud's translation into Persian, from the German of Bartholomæ. But the translation offered is not to be taken as a close rendering. Yasna 29, 1a (p. 11) is given as: "O Ahura Mazda, die Weltseele klagt vor Deinem Thron und fragt . . .," which corresponds to *xšmaibyā gəuš urvā gərəždā*. Yasna 50, 1a (not 51, 1), p. 77, is "Kann meine Seele nach dem Tode auf Schutz hoffen?" in the original: *kaṭ mōi urvā isē čahyā avarhō*.

Each chapter is preceded by an introduction in which the author has interpreted the verses according to his view of Zarathushtra's teaching.

It is interesting to note this interest in things Zoroastrian, which appears, too, in the poems of Pouré Daoud. There is much in the Gathas to attract attention and the task of interpreting them is far from finished.

H. W. BAILEY.

THE RUBAIYAT OF HEART'S DELIGHT, AND OTHER POEMS OF HAFIZ-UD-DEEN MAHOMED ISFAHANI. Translated from the Persian by MAURICE P. HANLEY. London: Luzac & Co., n.d. 3s. 6d.

The translation of Persian into English verse, reproducing the sense and preserving the spirit of the original, is no easy task, and this small volume appears to be a first attempt. The verse is at times pleasing, and reproduces the spirit of Persian erotic verse; at times it descends nearly to the level of doggerel, and the verses, though not pretending to be *vers libres*, do not always scan. For instance, the last verse of the third stanza on page 26 will not scan unless "firefly" be converted into a trisyllable, which is hardly permissible, the first verse of the last stanza on page 19 will not scan unless the name Muhammad be wrongly accented, the first verse of the second stanza on page 32 will not scan without an awkward elision, the third verse of the third stanza on page 35 will not scan unless the word "gazelle"

Dr. Siassi, though a Persian, has been long employed in the French Legation at Tehran, and his views on the relations of his country with foreign powers should not have been tinged with the bias that they display. The allegation that Britain was proved to have been by treaty bound to aid Persia in arms in her war with Russia in 1825, the suggestion that the British Legation at Tehran sold its favours, and the statement that Britain, in whom the constitutionalists found a warm sympathizer, systematically opposed every attempt of Persia to gain greater political or economic freedom, do not commend themselves as just comments on British policy in Persia, and British readers, at least, will not readily believe that their officials deliberately imperilled their trade in Persia by arming and encouraging predatory tribes. The author of such a slander should study the history of the control of the arms traffic in the Persian Gulf.

The account of the reactions of the Persians, as Aryans, to a Semitic religion which was forced upon them, and of the effects, political as well as economic, of European civilization on Persia, are interesting and informative, but the author is unduly optimistic regarding the progress of railway construction in Persia.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

JEAN-BAPTISTE TAVERNIER: VOYAGES EN PERSE ET DESCRIPTION DE CE ROYAUME, publiés par Pascal Pia. pp. 351. Collection Voyages et Découvertes. Aux éditions du Carrefour. Paris, 1930.

There is no need to insist on the importance of a traveller like J.-B. Tavernier who between 1632 and 1668 visited Persia six times and frequented the court of the Šafavid shāhs Šafi, 'Abbās II and Sulaimān. Tavernier had not the education of his great contemporary Chardin, but being like the latter a sober Huguenot and a keen jeweller, he was an excellent observer well acquainted with what was passing behind the scenes.

The Šafavid epoch is still very little known. Even the *Ālam-ārā*, the great chronicle of Shāh 'Abbās I, which is a real mine of information, has never been duly exploited by the historians. But a final synthesis will be only possible when the Persian sources have been studied alongside with the works of the whole pleiad of great European travellers who visited Persia in the seventeenth century.

If Tavernier has been less quoted than Chardin, the reason is in a great measure attributable to the absence of a modern edition of his

Voyages, comparable to the one Langlès gave of Chardin (10 volumes, Paris, 1811).

The present handsome volume is an attempt at repairing this omission. It is very well printed and adorned with thirty-eight contemporary illustrations. It is a matter for regret, however, that the book does not give a complete text of Tavernier, containing as it does only Books iv (less five chapters on the Armenians) and v.

As is known, Book i contains the description of the roads from Paris to Isfāhān, through the northern provinces of Turkey ; Book ii, ditto, through the southern provinces of Turkey ; Book iii, ditto, through the northern provinces of Europe, with a description of the Caspian provinces.

Voltaire was very unjust to Tavernier when he wrote about him : "qu'il n'apprend guère qu'à connaître les grandes routes et les diamants." Our standards have considerably changed and we now think that perhaps the omitted part of Tavernier's travels is particularly interesting. Precisely as an explorer he had more merits than even Chardin, who gives uncomparably fewer march-routes. To quote an example, Tavernier was the first European who visited Persian Kurdistan and its capital Senna (*Sneire*, as he calls it in his usual phonetically imperfect way).

The editor has well done to add in footnotes some of the passages of the omitted part to which Tavernier alludes in Books iv and v, but it would be highly desirable to possess a full text of those books in another additional volume ; in the complete edition of 1692, the text edited now forms 265 pages, and the part omitted 424 pages.

It is regrettable that such important texts on an Oriental country are edited without the help of an Orientalist. One cannot respect such mistakes as *Neozonze* (p. 279, instead of *Naurūz* "New Year"), *chaté* (p. 280, instead of *ichāchta*), *Degdar* (p. 292, instead of *daddjāl* "Antichrist"), etc., etc., so as to leave them without corrections, be it only in footnotes.

V. MINORSKY.

LA PROSE ARABE AU IV^e SIÈCLE DE L'HÉGIRE. Par ZAKI MUBĀRAK.
pp. 288. Paris : Maisonneuve, 1931. 50 fcs.

The name and work of Dr. Muḥammad Zakī Mubārak is by no means unfamiliar to those who have interested themselves in the recent output of Arabic literary criticism. A pupil of Dr. Ṭāhā Ḥusain,

he has inherited the latter's independence of judgment and audacity in face of conservative opinion, but has struck out along new lines of his own and does not hesitate to criticize upon occasion the methods and conclusions of his teacher. His earlier studies were mainly directed to specific problems, extending from his doctoral dissertation on the ethics of al-Ghazzālī (*Al-Akhlāq 'inda'l-Ghazālī*, published in 1924) to the love-poetry of 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a (*Hubb ibn abī Rabī'a wa-shi'ruhu*, Aṣ-Ṣabāḥ Press, n.d.), but in the most ambitious of his Arabic writings hitherto, *al-Muwāzana baina' sh-Shu'arā* (Muqataṭaf and Muqatṭam Press, Cairo, n.d. [1926]), his exposition of the principles of poetic criticism ranges over the entire field of Arabic poetry. Meanwhile, he had undertaken an edition of the *Zahr al-Ādāb* of al-Ḥuṣrī of Qairawan, which inspired him to take up the literature of the fourth/tenth century as the subject of his researches for the doctorate of the University of Paris, of which the present volume is the outcome.

This collaboration of Egyptian and other Arabic-speaking scholars with Western orientalisks in the investigation of the many problems of classical and medieval Arabic literature is a development which cannot be too much encouraged. They bring to the task a fineness of aesthetic feeling and an immediacy of linguistic sense which are beyond all but the exceptionally gifted of European scholars, and thereby they greatly enrich our understanding of the artistic qualities of the Arabic writers. These qualifications Dr. Zakī Mubārak possesses in full measure, and the outstanding feature of his work is the brilliant psychological characterization which he gives of the principal literary figures of the century. It is true that not all of them are of equal value—in some instances (e.g. his accounts of Ibn Fāris and Ibn Nubāta) one feels that the writer lacks that element of historical perspective which should put him in full sympathy with them, and is looking at them with the detached interest which a superior person displays in the mentality of an inferior. Yet the sense of shock which we experience on these occasions is itself the best tribute to the insight and artistic realism of the majority of his portraits, and to that accuracy of observation, a good example of which is given in his brief study of the *Aghānī* of Abū'l-Faraj (though his argument does not invalidate the conclusions of Dr. Tāhā Ḥusain to the extent which he claims).

With these native virtues in its favour, it is perhaps too much to demand of the book an equal standard in applying a foreign technique to its subject. It lacks the discipline to which we are accustomed in

works of this kind, and halts between the methods of the text-book and the informal causerie. Were it the work of an orientalist, one would be entitled to criticize its vagueness in general statement, its looseness of texture, its imprecision in points of detail, and transcription, and the presence of such rapid and superficial summaries as that devoted to the development of the *maqāmāt* literature on pp. 93-4. But there is one criticism which must be more seriously pressed. One of the main features of the book is a strong theorizing tendency—not in itself a matter for blame, providing that the theorizing is based upon a thorough survey of the facts. It is this which to the reviewer sometimes appears open to doubt, more especially in a matter to the discussion of which Dr. Zakī Mubārak attaches, perhaps, undue importance, namely the existence of a pre-Islamic Arabic prose literature. His arguments in favour of this are weakened by the failure to discriminate between prose literature and rhetoric, and for that matter between rhetoric itself and the learned study of rhetoric. Even the mainstay of his argument—the Qur'ān—by its style and the history of its redaction disproves rather than supports his contention, while, as another Egyptian critic, al-'Aqqād, has pointed out, Arabic literary style never lost the marks of its rhetorical origin. Dr. Zakī Mubārak carries this theoretical tendency even into details, as when he remarks (p. 64) that the greater part of the poetry of Ibn al-Mu'tazz must have perished, since the remaining "fragments" do not bear out his great reputation.

On the other hand, his analysis of the character and general motives of fourth century prose as a whole, and of special aspects of it in detail, is excellent. Of special interest are the sections which he devotes to investigating the origin of the *maqāma*. The generative influence of Ibn Duraid's *Aḥādīth* is well brought out, but it is open to question whether Ibn Duraid is for that reason to be credited with the invention of the *maqāma*. After all, the characteristic feature of the *maqāmāt* is their uniform setting; here, as elsewhere, a new genre has been created, not by invention *ex novo*, but by the artistic concentration of earlier literary motives in a fixed framework, and this seems undoubtedly to have been due to Badī' as-Zamān. But why, when space is so generously allotted to others, have the Ikhwān as-Ṣafā been dismissed with a bare half-dozen lines?

Finally, Dr. Zakī Mubārak has taken some liberties in his translations, doubtless with the excellent intention of preserving their vivid quality. But on occasion the looseness goes too far and mutilates the

sense. To take one or two examples : on p. 173, "preserve our self-respect" (*ṣun wujūhanā*) is rendered by "éclaire notre visage", and, on p. 177, the omission of an "only" in the passage quoted from the *Muqābasāt* of at-Tauḥīdī weakens very considerably the force of the writer's observation. Similarly, on p. 139, at-Tauḥīdī is represented as declaring that Ibn 'Abbād and Ibn al-'Amīd have no equals "parmi les écrivains de cette époque"; in the original text, however, the remark is in the much less sweeping form : "amongst all those who have served the Jilis and Dailamites as secretaries (*fi jam'i man kataba liljili waḍ-dailamī*) down to this time".

H. A. R. G.

LA VIE DE HAROUN-AL-RASCHID. Par GABRIEL AUDISIO. pp. 238. Paris : Librairie Gallimard. 1930. 15 francs.

HARUNU'L-RASHID AND CHARLES THE GREAT. By F. W. BUCKLER, M.A. pp. viii + 64. Cambridge, Mass., 1931. \$2.25.

M. Audisio has gone to good original sources for his study of Harun, which appears in the series of "Vies des hommes illustres". The historical basis is therefore sound on the whole, and his argumentation and presentment of the historical events of Harun's reign have a real value. It is the more necessary to make this clear since it might otherwise be overlooked owing to the author's preoccupation with the picturesque. The romantic colouring of the background, obtained by exaggerating more especially the economic and artistic culture of the period, has had the result that the historical figure of Harun is enveloped in an Arabian-Nights-like glamour and his personality generalized into the type of the later Oriental monarchs. Needless to say, this idealization has more than once carried the author off his feet, as when he asserts that the Arabs "could, if they had wished, have anticipated 1453 twenty times", and no small number of his statements and his portraits of other characters in the story are equally open to question.

Professor Buckler's monograph, on the other hand, is a copiously documented and closely-reasoned argument on the character of the relations between the Carolingians and the Abbasid Caliphs. He not only rebuts—and that with complete success—the scepticism of Barthold in regard to the embassies which passed between them, but also seeks to elucidate the exact objects and nature of their negotiations, and comes to the following conclusions: (1) That the initiative

was due to the Carolingians and the Popes with the object of forming a Franco-Papal-Muslim alliance against the Byzantine Emperors and the Umayyads of Spain; (2) that for the furtherance of their operations in Spain, Pippin and Charles sought and obtained formal authorization from the Caliphs to act as their deputies in the West; (3) that Charles, on the pretext of eliminating Byzantine influence from the Holy Places, was invested with the governorship of Jerusalem, which was, however, exercised on his behalf by the Caliph; (4) that in consequence of these appointments the status of Charles became that of a feudal vassal of Harun.

Direct evidence in support of each or any of these four theses is scarcely to be found, but Professor Buckler has been able to put together a very ingenious chain of arguments as a result of his thorough scrutiny of the western sources. Since these, unfortunately, are the only sources, it must be left to the medievalists to decide whether the indirect evidence on which he relies is sufficient to bear the weight of his conclusions; the first of them, at least, seems to be well established. When, however, he appeals to Arabic sources to supply confirmatory material for the remaining three, he is on exceedingly dangerous ground. To cite as "evidence" for the second a romantic novel published in 1888 can only be called a singular lapse of judgment. Nor is the case much better in regard to the third. The argument that Charles was recognized as *wālī* (the book always has *wālī*—a rather different thing!) of Jerusalem rests upon the meaning and value to be attached to the gift from the Patriarch of the "*claves civitatis et montis cum vexillo*", while the other sources explicitly refer to jurisdiction over the Sanctuary only.

However that may be, the suggestion that Charles was actually invested with the amirate of Spain and the *wilāyat* of Jerusalem—already at that time a Muslim Holy Place—seems to verge on the fantastic. The attempt to justify it by dragging in Māwardī and his "*imārat* of conquest" is totally irrelevant. There is no question of "conquest" in the case, and that this office "may devolve on a non-Muslim" is an addition of Professor Buckler's own, to which the exposition of Māwardī lends no countenance. The claim that Māwardī represents "contemporary legal opinion" on the ground that he belonged to the school of Shāfi'ī is one which no student of Islam would admit.

As regards the fourth thesis, it is indeed possible that the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs should have regarded Charles as a vassal, but whether his

acceptance of their "friendship" and gifts of robes "implied the acknowledgment of that suzerainty" is another matter. Throughout the book, indeed, Professor Buckler is a little too preoccupied with theoretical questions of vassalage and suzerainty. The constant insistence on the claim of the Abbasids to overlordship of the Byzantine Emperors (pp. 10, 14, 32) rests upon a forcing of the meaning of "obedience" in a fourteenth century compilation and the mistaken view that the exaction of a tribute for a specified term of years "was apparently regarded as a mark of vassalage by the Abbasids", whereas the Muslim jurists clearly regard it as a price paid for an armistice by the weaker side for the time being, whether Muslim or Byzantine.

No; on the whole it appears to me that M. Audisio's rendering of the negotiations, "romanced" and jesting though it be, gets much closer to the spirit of Baghdad. "En somme, se dit Haroun, ce Karlé ne m'intéresse pas autrement, mais on peut lui donner quelques témoignages de sympathie. On lui fera quelques petits cadeaux . . . Et il fit quelques petits cadeaux. Qu'est-ce pour lui qui a l'habitude des splendeurs orientales? Une bête à trompe, quelques chiffons, une pendule. Misères! Et l'on comprendrait fort bien que l'évènement ne se soit transmit aux chroniqueurs arabes qui écrivaient un siècle plus tard. Mais dans une Europe peu fastueuse, voilà qui vaut les plus fabuleux trésors de Golconde et qui fait travailler les cervelles."

H. A. R. G.

EIGHTY MOSQUES AND OTHER ISLAMIC MONUMENTS IN CAIRO. By MRS. R. L. DEVONSHIRE. pp. 64. Paris: Maisonneuve Frères, 1930. 12 francs.

An excellent pocket-guide to the mosques of Cairo, and especially valuable on account of the chronological arrangement adopted. The facts and dates, features of artistic importance, and particulars of restorations supply precisely and concisely just that information which the average visitor requires and which he can only with difficulty find elsewhere.

H. A. R. G.

A HISTORY OF SPANISH CIVILIZATION. By RAFAEL ALTAMIRA. Edited by J. B. TREND. pp. xx + 280. London: Constable, 1930. 21s.

Facts, masses of facts, piled relentlessly one upon another, facts political, ethnographical, social, artistic, economic, literary, technical—an *Encyclopædia Hispanica* in little, from the Stone Age to 1914. In

this place, however, it falls to deal only with portions of the fifth and sixth chapters, which relate to the place of the Spanish Muslims and of Muslim culture in the development of Spain. If for the historian of Spain the thrusting of a Muslim political system into a Latin Christian ambience raises difficulties enough, how much more must the intervention of Arabic culture trouble the historian of Spanish civilization! Former writers have viewed the Islamic element as an intrusion to be minimized or ignored, and it is a conspicuous merit of Professor Altamira's book in these chapters that he rejects this attitude. The cultural achievements of the Spanish Muslims and Jews are given full recognition and their contribution to the growth of a national Spanish culture in the later Middle Ages is duly noted. Yet one misses something—something that may be summed up by saying that the author speaks always of Spanish Muslims, never of Muslim Spaniards. In neglecting the interaction between Muslim Spain and the Eastern Muslim world, Professor Altamira also overlooks the distinctively "national" characteristics of the Muslim community in Spain. This in turn brings out the defects of the method which constitutes the special strength of his book, namely the insistence on material cultural facts. Just as in dealing with the Romans and with Christianity he passes over in silence their effects upon the character of the Spanish people, so here he lays a like emphasis on the purely external elements of culture transmitted by the Spanish Muslims, to the exclusion of any deeper and more enduring impress. This aspect of Spanish civilization is simply left on one side, and even in the admirable bibliographical appendix is entirely omitted.

The paragraphs devoted to the culture of the Spanish Muslims are, for the rest, models of lucid compression. There are, however, one or two errors in Arabic terms which might be put right. The council of state was not termed *mashwāra* but *shūrā*; the word *mashwar*, properly the location of the council, was sometimes employed by metathesis for *shūrā*, hence the Spanish *mexuar*. The term given for police officer, *mustaşāf*, is an impossible formation in Arabic and perhaps stands for *muḥ'asib*. The *Muncatta'* (which means "The Levelled Path") is not the most copious work on Mālikite Sunna, but the first authoritative statement of it. To render Almoravids by "The Marabouts" is misleading, in view of the modern associations of the term, which should rather have been brought into relation with the meaning of *ribāṭ* as explained on p. 49. It need only be added that the translation and editing alike are in keeping with the outstanding quality of the book.

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H. A. R. G.

ARABIA. By H. ST. J. B. PHILBY. pp. xx + 364. London: Ernest Benn, 1930. 15s.

Mr. Philby's volume on Arabia in the "Modern World" series gives for the first time a connected and detailed account of Arabian history from the rise of the Wahhābī movement. The sources which he has utilized are of unequal value, though perhaps the best that were available without access to the archives of the various states concerned. For the early decades he has summarized the contemporary chronicle of Ibn Ghannām (of which there is an excellent MS. in the British Museum, Add. 23345), with its continuation by Ibn Bishr. The history of the latter half of the nineteenth century has been compiled from various materials, including the narratives of Doughty and other travellers. From the opening of the career of the present King, Mr. Philby invokes his authority, sometimes at first hand, sometimes through the medium of the Arabic history of Najd recently published by Mr. Amin Riḥānī (*Ta'riḫ Najd al-ḥadūth*, Bairut, 1928), down to the point where he is able to draw upon his own first-hand knowledge.

The predominance of Wahhābī sources would naturally give the book a Wahhābī tinge, even were it not accentuated by the author's own leanings in that direction. But the importance of the Wahhābī movement for the modern history of Arabia is so great that this scarcely detracts from its value, except for a tendency to depreciate those whom he regards as the enemies of the house of Sa'ūd. A more serious criticism is that the mere chronicling of events has occupied his attention at the expense of the more general aspects of the recent and contemporary history of Arabia—social organization, administration, economic movements, and the like—the absence of which gives a certain unreality to the monotonous record of wars and raids. Among the points thus overlooked are, for example, the economic factors which contributed to the weakening and downfall of the first Wahhābī empire, and the part played by the opening of the Suez Canal in the recovery of Ottoman sovereignty in Western Arabia and consequent ambitions of Ottoman statesmen to extend it over the entire peninsula.

For absolute accuracy of fact and inference it is impossible to hold Mr. Philby responsible; since any research on Arabian problems is as good as non-existent, he has had to take the statements of his sources much as he found them. The difficulties of his task may be illustrated from the fact that even in dealing with the events of 1927-9 his exposition is frequently at variance with the semi-official

narrative subsequently published in the Meccan journal *Umm al-Qurā*. But although his survey may not answer all the questions we should like to put on the modern history of Arabia, it is exceedingly welcome, both as a first step towards filling a conspicuous gap, and as a foretaste of that *magnum opus* which he hopefully foreshadows in the Preface.

H. A. R. G.

DER DĪWĀN DES AS-SAMAU'AL IBN 'ĀDIJĀ'. Translated and annotated by JOACHIM W. HIRSCHBERG. *Mémoires de la Commission orientale*, Nr. 13. pp. x + 85. Cracow: Polish Academy. 10z.

The primary object of Dr. Hirschberg's publication appears to be exegetical rather than literary, i.e. to serve as a contribution to the problem of the background and sources of the Qur'ān. The view which he puts forward is that Muḥammad's knowledge of biblical history, eschatology, and so forth was derived from the religious poetry of Arabian Jews ("da es ja wahrscheinlich ist, dass M. alle seine Bibel- und Agadakenntnisse aus solchen Gedichten geschöpft hat," p. 15), and, accepting the poems attributed to as-Samau'al, the Jewish shaiḫ of Taimā in the middle of the sixth century, as genuine remains of this pre-Islamic religious poetry, he illustrates and expands the religious allusions which they contain with a wealth of citation from Haggadic sources. The value of this collection of materials is very great, and they undoubtedly support the view "that the Jews of Arabia were well at home in the Bible and Rabbinic literature" (p. 20). On the other hand, it cannot be said that they are strong enough to carry the weight of his conclusions, especially as his arguments as to the authorship and date of the religious poems, and their independence of the Qur'ān, are unconvincing. For the full discussion of these issues it may be permitted to call attention here to the illuminating investigation published by Professor Levi della Vida, in the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (xiii, 53-72), in which he confirms the accepted view that they are post-Islamic, though preserving indications of their Jewish origin. The somewhat numerous inaccuracies in Dr. Hirschberg's translations have been corrected in an appendix by Professor Kowalski.

H. A. R. G.

THE TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO. Translated from the text of L. F. Benedetto by ALDO RICCI. pp. xviii + 440. London: Routledge (The Broadway Travellers), 1931.

Editions of Marco Polo follow on one another's heels in such variety of get-up and range of price, that it may cause some surprise to find

so hackneyed a classic in the fastidious company of Broadway Travellers. But to all who have ever dipped into the "irksome detail" of Yule's classification of Polian texts and have followed up, however cursorily, more recent investigations into the MSS., this edition is something a great deal more than a mere reprint, more even than a new edition of "Yule". To have brought "Benedetto" at last within the range and comprehension of everyone is an achievement worthy of the series. Professor Benedetto's great edition, based upon the famous Paris "Geographic Text" and carefully collated with all other early versions (including some hitherto unknown), is probably the nearest approach to Marco Polo's own narrative which we are ever likely to get, unless some MS. of the lost prototype itself should be discovered. Nor is this a matter for congratulation to bibliophiles only, for this text itself reads better in every way than those of Marco's later editors and revisers, including even Yule: it is fuller, more direct, and much more natural. Moreover, it prints the whole of Marco Polo, without the abridgments and suppressions (particularly of the later chapters), which nearly all his editors have been tempted—and have succumbed to the temptation—to make; and, as Sir Denison Ross has pointed out in his Introduction, it contains a number of important additional chapters derived from the recently recovered version represented by MS. "Z".

It is abundantly clear that henceforth those who wish to consult Marco Polo in connection with their Oriental studies *must* use "Benedetto", either in the original or in this version. Considerations of space, time, and cost have, on the other hand, prevented the inclusion of a full apparatus of notes and maps, leaving us in the unsatisfactory position of requiring to use Yule's edition for notes, Mr. Penzer's reprint of Frampton's Elizabethan version for maps, and this for text. Sir Denison Ross's annotated index, however, is an invaluable supplement to Yule's notes, and the attractive reproductions of medieval maps have an interest of their own. Most curious of all is the section of the Catalan Map containing a miniature of the Polo brothers setting out with their caravan. The painting cannot be dissociated from the style of contemporary Islamic art, and might well have come straight out of an illuminated oriental manuscript.

H. A. R. GIBB.

MANUEL DE GÉNÉALOGIE ET DE CHRONOLOGIE POUR L'HISTOIRE DE L'ISLAM. Par E. DE ZAMBAUR. Fol., pp. 388, 20 tableaux généalogiques, 5 cartes. Hanovre, 1927.

Mr. S. Lane Poole's famous work *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, the only one¹ to come into range with the present book, was published first in 1894 and for over thirty years enjoyed an uncontested and well-merited authority, but when a few years ago it was photographically reproduced² everybody felt that further progress of historical researches was greatly hampered by the absence of an abstract, completing Mr. Lane Poole's information by data ascertained since 1894. This has now been done by the eminent Viennese numismatist Dr. Zambaur.

His book represents a tremendous amount of work. Its index contains 6,000 names, to say nothing of as many more mentioned only in the charts of the second part. *The Mohammadan Dynasties* enumerates 118 houses of Moslem rulers. *The Manuel* counts 283 of them and, under each heading, introduces numerous new details. Even under the 'Abbâsîd caliphs, their exact titles and dates of accession (month and day) greatly enhance the value of the table. Most useful are the lists of the vazîrs to the caliphs (pp. 6-9) and to the Ottoman Sultâns (pp. 161-6), as well as the lists of the governors of such cities as Mekka, Damascus, Baghdad, Rayy, Nishâpûr, etc. Useful, too, will be Dr. Zambaur's short bibliographical notes, often reminding of the existence of some numismatic articles apt to be overlooked even by specialists. Equally welcome are the particular signs showing that there are coins or inscriptions extant of the given prince.

The author says that at the basis of the *Manuel* lies a translation of Ibn al-Athîr's History which he made for his own use while pursuing his numismatic studies. He could not evidently enter into the discussion of discrepancies of dates given by different authors. In the present state of our sources, Dr. Zambaur's book had to be or not to be. It could not replace monographic studies of a host of specialists; it had to depend on their results, when available, and to reserve final judgment, when such researches are non-existent. However a

¹ Though it would be unjust not to mention the numerous and very detailed charts in Justi's *Iranische Namenbuch*, 1895, pp. 390-479, which were worked out independently.

² Unfortunately even without the additions and corrections made by Barthold in his Russian translation of it (St. Petersburg, 1899).

visible difference exists between the parts of the book based on Lane Poole, or the direct study of the sources, and those simply reproducing the data of sources of different descriptions.

The following are some occasional corrections and suggestions with regard to some Turkish and Persian ruling houses.

"The Seljuks of Asia Minor" (p. 144). Tughril shāh b. Qilyj-arslan's name is unaccompanied by the sign indicating inscriptions, but an inscription of his exists on the walls of Baiburt, see van Berchem in Lehmann-Haupt's *Materialien z. älter. Gesch. Armeniens*, p. 159. This Tughril shāh is the ruler who allowed his son to become a Christian in order to marry the Georgian queen Rusudan, see Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 270: *ḥadīthatun gharībatun lam yūjad mithluhā*. This event ought to be mentioned in Dr. Zambaur's table. According to Huart, *J.A.*, 1901, xvii, p. 343-6, Rukn al-dīn Mas'ūd I was still reigning in 560; his grandson Aḥmad b. Suleimān built a mosque in Divrizi in 626/1229.

"The princes of Aidyn" (p. 151). See now numerous corrections in Mükrimin Halil's excellent essay on the *Düsturnamei Enveri*, Istanbul, 1930, chart.

"Qādī Burhaneddīn of Sivas" (p. 156). See now his complete history in *Bazm-u-razm* (written in Persian 800-1398), ed. Istanbul, 1928.

Very confused still are the dynasties of "Māzandarān" and "Dailam", owing, chiefly, to the similarity of the names recurring in different branches of the same family. The best lists are still those of Justi utilized by Dr. Zambaur with certain misunderstandings. Such is a very regrettable confusion (p. 189, note 1) of the last fighter against the Arabs Māzyār with the little known Bāwandid Māzyār. The famous Māzyār b. Qārīn b. Vandāhurmuz belonged to the cadet branch of the Qārīn family, who claimed as their ancestor the legendary smith Kāwa, while the Bāwandids were said to descend from the Sāsānian prince Kayūs.

As regards the Dailamits (the Jastanides, p. 192, the Sallarids, p. 180), see now the detailed studies of Sayid Ahmad Kasravi, *Pādshāhān-i gum-nām*, i-iii, Tehran, 1307-9. Dr. Zambaur confuses the Dailamits with the Rawwādī Kurds who ruled in Tabriz and were most likely related to the old rulers of Tabriz of the Arab tribe Azd. On the other hand he says almost nothing of the atābeks of Marāgha, descendants of the Rawwādites. The founder of their branch was Aḥmadīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Wahsūdān. Dr. Zambaur confused him with

his son Aq-Sunqur (p. 180, note 6). See *Enc. of Islam*: Tabriz and Marāgha.

"The khans of Shakkī" (p. 184). Previously to the four khans named, there was a long series of local rulers, see *Enc. of Islam*. The four khans named were the last offspring of the Dumbuli dynasty (Khoi, Persia), about which see the *Sharaf-nāma*. Before the final triumph of the Qājārs the Dumbulis played an important part in Tabriz.

"The kings of 'Qarabāgh'" (p. 194) must now completely disappear from the lists of Moslem dynasties after M. Pakhomov, *Izvestiya Azerbaidzhanskago . . . Instituta*, i, 2, 1930, pp. 1-12, has ingeniously proved that the coins of Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad b. Khalifa, Bekbars b. Muẓaffar, and 'Abd al-Malik b. Bekbars belong to a special dynasty of Darband. Abū Ḥamid al-Gharnatī, who was in Darband towards 524-45, mentions precisely the local ruler Saif al-dīn Muḥammad b. Khalifa al-Sulamī.

"The princes of Ahar" (p. 191). The name Pishtekīn b. Muḥammad must be read Pishkīn (* Bēshgēn). Already Dorn, *Caspi*, 1875, p. 104, had discovered in Yāqūt that the name of the prince of Ahar was Ibn Bishkīn. Cf. also the *Nuzhat al-ḥulūb*, p. 85, where Ahar is mentioned among the districts of the tuman Pishkīn (now Meshkīn) surnamed after "Pishkīn the Georgian". Beshken was a descendant of the Orbelian family, see Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie*, i, Add. p. 530, and Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 445.

"The Ziyārids" (p. 210) were of Dailamite, and more exactly of Gil, origin, Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 182, and had nothing in common with the Āl-i Qārin, native of Tabaristān.

"The Atābeks of Yazd" (p. 231). The table borrowed from Barthold's additions to Lane Poole (p. 298) does not reproduce his remark that the atābeks were connected with the Kākōyids. Instead of Saltyq read, with Barthold, Salghur.

"The Ildegizides" (p. 271): omitted Mir-mīrān (already mentioned by Justi), the fourth son of Muḥammad Pahlavān, born of the same mother as Qutlugh-Inanj. It is not exact to say that the capital of the Ildegizides was at Ardabil. Most of their constructions are at Nakhichevan. Özbeg lived in Tabriz.

"The rulers of Bitlis" (p. 231 and 264). The second dynasty never pretended to the title "shāh". It existed a long time after 1009. Evliyā Chelebi, iv, 81-128, gives in 1065-1655 a detailed account of Abdāl khan. The last hereditary ruler of Bitlis Sharaf-beg (probably

of the same dynasty, where this name is frequent) was deposed by the Ottomans in 1849, *vide* Lynch, *Armenia*, ii, 149.

"The Qutlugh-khans" (p. 237) Qutb al-dīn shown as Burāq Hājib's grandson, was the son of Burāq Hājib's brother Tayāngū, which latter name also means "chamberlain" (*hājib*), see al-Kāshgharī, *Dir̄cūn lughat al-turk*, iii, 281. See *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

"The atābeks of the Lur-i kūchik" (p. 235) have nothing to do with the Hazāraspids of the Lur-i buzurg. See *Enc. of Islam*. Nothing is said on the Vālis of Pusht-i kūh who claim descent from Shāh-verdī, see now Edmonds, *J. Central As. Soc.*, 1929, xvi, part iii, pp. 350-8.

"The Shaibanids" (p. 252). No mention is made of Shaibani's brother and immediate successor in Tashkand Suyunij-khoja (d. between 930-2), and of the latter's son Abul-ghāzī Sultān Muḥammad, see Barthold, *Zap. Vost. Otd.*, xv, 903, p. 188-205.

"The Tughatimurids" (p. 256). It is inexact to say that Luqmān succeeded to Tugha-Timur in 754 and not to mention the usurper Amīr Walī who ruled in Astarābād till 786.

"The Qara-qoyunlu" (p. 257). A mistaken reference makes Aspan the murderer of his father Qara-Yūsuf. The parricide was Qubād who killed Iskandar. See Thomas of Metsoph in Nève, *Exposé des guerres etc.*, Bruxelles, 1860, p. 137.

"The Aq-qoyunlu" (p. 259). The mention of Diyārbakr under Ya'qūb concerns only the beginning of his reign.

"The princes of Lār" (p. 260). Lār is not an island ("île de Lār") but an inland region north-west of Bandar-'Abbāsī. Instead of Karkīn-shāh read Gurgīn-shāh, the name Gurgīn having been hereditary in the dynasty which claimed descent from the hero Gurgīn, son of Milād. Dates borrowed from Munejjim bashi are certainly doubtful. Ibn Baṭṭūta in 748-1347 mentions a Turcoman (!) sultan of Lār called Jalāl al-dīn, while according to *Jihānārā Bākālīnjār II* (731-53) was the ruler. In 818 an Amīr Gurgīn of Lār came to Shāhrukh's court (father of the ruling Mubārīz al-dīn?), see *Matla' al-sa'dain*, tr. Quatremère, p. 280. The dynasty existed some time after 975; the last representative of it disappeared only in 1010-1601 under Shāh 'Abbās.

"The Qutb-shāhī" (p. 298). Nothing is said of their interesting connexion with the Qara-qoyunlu (p. 257).

"The Safavids" (p. 262). In the lateral line under Mirzā Muḥammad, is omitted his second name Dā'ūd, after which the whole of the line was called Āl-i Dā'ūd. Nothing is said about the pretender,

Sām (son of Ḥusain I), who was crowned in Ardabil and struck coins. Cf. Reginald S. Poole, *The Coins of the Shahs of Persia*, p. xxxviii (an admirable résumé of the Safavid dates). Under the references add now, *Silsilat al-nasab-i Safaviya*, Berlin, 1343, and the abridgment of it by E. G. Browne, *JRAS.*, 1921, July, pp. 395-418, where many useful dates are given.

"Rulers of Ardalān" (p. 265). The table stops with the Sharaf-nama in 1005 but the historical list of the Wālīs of Kurdistan goes till 1284-1867, see *Revue du Monde Musulman*, 1922, xlix, pp. 70-104.

Wrong spellings: p. 155, Banū Eretnā probably *Aratna* (from Skr. *ratna* "treasure"); p. 184, Kendje, read *Ganja* [Dr. Z. writes also *Jahān-kushā* instead of *gushā*]; p. 191, Shāh Rākīm, read *Shahrākīm*; p. 216, Shukūr, read *Ashkavar*, cf. Rabino, *Māzandarān*, p. 140; p. 209, Jalāl al-din Mangbarti, read according to very reliable sources *Mangburni*; p. 231, Ildeghiz, read *Ildegiz* or *Eldiguz*; pp. 232, 260, Salghar, read *Salghur*; pp. 234, 260, Naşrat, read *Nuşrat*; *ibid.*, Nūr al-ward, read *Nawar* ("scion"); p. 257, Alandjaq, read *Alinjāq*; p. 258, Bayandir, read *Bayāndur*; p. 262, Al-qāşş, read *Algās* (probably a Turkish name, cf. Nilqas); p. 263, 'Abduľfath, read *Abul Fath Sālār al-daula*; p. 269, Timur Gurkhan, read *Kūrākān* "son-in-law", or "à la persane" *Gūrākān*; p. 282, Balkā-tegin, read *Bilgā-tāgin*; p. 330, Bābar, read certainly *Bābur* as testified in rhymes. Table S, Tiumen, read *Tümān*. Table T, Turaghai, read *Taraghai*. [p. 227, note 1. The author greatly exaggerates Zangi's attributions when calling him "la nourrice (!!) de Malikshāh." *Atabek* in French is "père nourricier."

It is the privilege of the books of such a large scope as the *Manuel* to excite the interests of the specialists on different branches of Moslem history. The result can be only beneficial for a further edition of the book or the publication of a supplement to it. But no living authority would be equally at home in all the branches of Dr. Zambaur's book. Each critic of the chapters under his jurisdiction,¹ for the dynasties next door, will have to depend on the *Manuel*.

The late Professor Barthold—and he was no complacent judge—in his review of the *Manuel* (*Zap. Kollegii vostok.*, III, 2, pp. 583-6) calls it "a precious handbook which will long be used by all the interested in the history of the Moslem world". Mr. Lane Poole's

¹ See Professor Süssheim's illuminating remarks on the history of Aleppo, *OLZ.*, 1928, No. 5, pp. 388-94, and M. Pakhomov's criticism with regard to Transcaucasian dynasties, *Izv. Obshch. Izucheniya Azerbaidzhan*, 1928, No. 5, pp. 299-301.

Dynasties remains a more congruous book, made of one block, but the *Manuel* covers a much larger field and in many ways represents more adequately the state of our knowledge with regard to the world of Islam.

V. M.

THE LANDS OF THE EASTERN CALIPHATE. By G. LE STRANGE.
Cambridge University Press. 1930. (Reprint.)

Mr. Le Strange's excellent work published in 1905 had long become extremely scarce and its editors must be thanked for having reprinted it at a normal price and, thereby, for having put again into the hands of the students an indispensable manual.

The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate was the first attempt¹ to resume all the mass of information contained in Arabic and Persian geographical works, and to fill the gap "between Strabo and Marco Polo".

Mr. Le Strange's book represented a formidable advance on his predecessor, Barbier de Meynard (*Dictionnaire de la Perse . . . extrait de Yaqout*, Paris, 1861), not only by the incomparably greater number of sources utilized, but also by a vaster area described (Turkestan, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor, in addition to Persia).

It would be vain to deny that in 1931 we stand a long way further in advance than in 1905. With regard to Turkestan, Barthold's great work lies now before us in English translation; for Anatolia, Taeschner's *Der Anatolische Wegenetz* is a very thorough study. Finally, for the knowledge of Persia, Schwarz's *Iran im Mittelalter* is a capital contribution; its Part I, recently completed (1896-1929), comprises a most detailed survey of the South and West of Persia. The *Encyclopedia of Islam* also contains epitomes of historical and geographical data on a good many localities.

In a revised edition of Mr. Le Strange's book, occasional corrections would be necessary here and there, especially in portions dealing with the North-Western provinces:—

p. 166. Tasūj on the Northern bank of the Urmiya Lake is still known by that name.

¹ Barthold's *Historico-geographical survey of Persia*, St. Petersburg, 1903, short but based on a still unsurpassed number of sources, was written in Russian and has not been properly appreciated outside Russia.

p. 167. Marānd (Yāqūt) was ruined by the Georgians not by Kurds; its rivers are Zunūz and Zilbīr.

p. 168. Town Kaleibar, not Kalantar.

p. 179. The Kur river rises in the country of the جرز Georgians (not of the خرز Khazars).

p. 188. Şahna is on the highway Kirmānshāh-Hamadān; the capital of Kirdistan, north of it, is called Sinna, or Sinandij.

p. 192. Sulaimānshāh Iba (Iwa) was a Turcoman chief and not Sultān Sanjar's nephew.

p. 205. Shāh 'Abbās transferred his capital to Isfahān not from Ardabīl but from Qazvīn.

p. 220. Kurdān-rūd (not Kardān) as opposed to Turkān-rūd.

p. 226. The Tārum river is a left-bank tributary of the Safīd-rūd.

p. 371. The pre-islamic ruler of Ustūnavand was not *Ispahbad* but Mas-mughān.

p. 373. Barthold's surmise on the identity of the ancient Rūbanj with later Rūyān must be true. On the other hand Rūyān is practically identical with Rustamdār, as shown by Vasmer.

p. 383. The old name of Nishāpūr Abar-shahr means "Upper-city", not "Cloud-city" (Abrashahr?).

Such remarks cannot in the least affect the value of Mr. Le Strange's work. It does not pretend to be exhaustive, but as a general presentation of the Near-Eastern and Middle-Eastern geography it will long keep all its utility, for its author is no dry compiler of bookish evidence. His skill in discriminating between the essential and unessential cannot be too highly praised, and above all he possesses a clear vision of geographical realities. The book is a masterpiece of measure and proportion; therefore it will ever be appreciated as a most convenient guide, even in the presence of more detailed works.

V. MINORSKY.

SIEGEL UND CHARAKTERE IN DER MUHAMMEDANISCHEN ZAUBEREI.
Von H. A. WINKLER. pp. x, 187. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter
de Gruyter & Co. 1930. M. 16.

This book based on a thesis written for the author's doctorate, is an interesting addition to the literature already in existence, which deals with Islamic Magic.

That magic should have a well-established position in both the practice and the literature of the Islamic world is not surprising when

we consider that to the Muslim, the supernatural is as real as the natural, and that he is constantly aware of the spiritual world behind this phenomenal world, a spiritual world with which he is brought into lawful contact by his religion, and unlawful contact by means of magic. From the animism of the pagan peoples whom they conquered, as from the Qabbalah of the Jews and the superstitions of the Copts, the Muslims found material to their hand, on which to build up a belief in the need for the exercise of magic, and in the means by which the magical powers could be acquired and brought to bear. This belief is as widely held to-day as in mediaeval times, and among Muslims almost everywhere is found the conviction that the powers of evil, represented by the jinn, the Evil Eye, and the *Qarīna* or double possessed by every human being—which is possibly a survival of the ancient Egyptian *Kā*—threaten existence and happiness on every hand, and must be placated or hoodwinked by every possible means. Such means include the wearing of amulets or charms: e.g. in Hebron to-day, bracelets and necklaces, consisting of eyes made of coloured glass, are sold to wear against the Evil Eye, or a blue bead is tied to a child's forelock (for the Evil Eye is generally blue, because the Greeks, the invaders of the Near East, were blue-eyed, and the evil is averted by its like), or a bit of alum, in a bag, is suspended round a camel's neck, to keep sickness away, while to cure a sick person, a verse of the *Qur'ān* is written on paper and soaked in water, which is drunk by the patient.

Dr. Winkler's book deals in its introduction with the powers of the magician and the means by which he exercises his influence over those who are bewitched, or on behalf of those who wish to work evil to their enemies. The author proceeds to investigate the history of two kinds of magic, the use of the Seven Seals, and the *Brillenbuchstaben*, so-called because of their resemblance to a pair of spectacles. The former he finds to be the sequel of the syncretism of Christianity and Judaism with Islām, the latter he traces back to its origin in antiquity and finds that it is to be recognized as distorted cuneiform writing. Dr. Winkler has made good use of the very considerable store of Muslim literature on the subject, and he proves that Babylonian, Egyptian, and Judaistic elements are to be found in it.

Here and there the practice and beliefs of Muslim magic are seen to be in close relation to those of Islamic mysticism. Such is the belief in the mystic power of the Greatest Name of God (cf. pp. 10, 11, 68, etc.). One of the earliest of the *Şūfis*, Ibrāhīm b. Adham

(ob. A.D. 777), tells how he met the prophet Khidr in the desert, and by him was taught the Most Exalted Name of God, by which he could find help and strength at all times,¹ and Dr. Winkler mentions the Ṣūfī Dhu al-Nūn (who knew something of magic and alchemy) in this connection. The prayer for light given here (p. 17) quoted as from al-Būnī, is to be found in a much earlier writer, the Ṣūfī Abū Ṭalib al-Makkī (ob. A.D. 996), and is almost certainly of Ṣūfī origin.² The identification of light with the mystic gnosis (*ma'rifa*) is constantly found among the Ṣūfīs. Islamic writers on magic have followed in the steps of the mystics also in the derivation of their symbols and the significance of these symbols, from religions other than Islām, and chiefly from Christianity and Judaism, in which they found much material available.

In dealing with the Seven Seals, the author upholds the view that they really represent the Greatest Name of God. He devotes a chapter to *Hā* (هـ) and *waw* (و), the last two of the seven symbols, and develops the interesting theory that these were not really the Arabic letters which they appear to be, but that the peculiar manner in which they are written denotes some other significance, and with great ingenuity he proceeds to show that they might well be the Greek letters Alpha (*α*) and Omega (*ω*), known to Muslims as the Christian designation of the Godhead. Yet, in view of the fact that these two signs are most frequently found together, it would seem at least as probable that they do actually represent *huwa* (هو), the name by which the Ṣūfī mystics indicated the inner consciousness of God (*sirr Allah*). "All mysteries," says the Ṣūfī writer al-Sarrāj, "are contained in *Hā*, for its meaning is *Huwa*," and the modern Dervish mystic says "هو is written with a circle, for thus does Allah compass the soul about".

The magician, in common with the mystic, must prepare by ascetic purification for the work which he has in hand. Dr. Winkler points out that he must be ceremonially pure, and preparatory to entering upon the exercise of his powers he must undergo a forty days' fast, practised in seclusion, during which he sleeps on a mat spread on the ground, sleeps as little as possible, and speaks little. This is almost identical with the discipline imposed up to the present day on the Ṣūfī novice, who must also go into retreat for forty days,

¹ *al-Sulamī Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, fol. 4b.

² Cf. *Qūt al-Qulūb*, i, 6.

fast, sleep little, and keep silence. Then the magician, after meditation upon the Names of God, rises through the spheres of Light (نورانی), of Divinity (ربانی), of Intelligence (ملکوتی), of Eternity (صمدانی), of Supreme Power (جبروتی), and finally of Unicity (وحدانی), until he passes into the abode of the all-Glorious Majesty of God. So, too, the mystic passes onward and upward through the stages of spiritual development, the Path, until at last he reaches Reality (حقیقة) and becomes one with the Divine.

The book is well illustrated and fully annotated, though a full bibliography might have been added with advantage. It may be recommended as of very considerable interest and value to all students of Islamic Magic.

MARGARET SMITH.

BIBLE CHARACTERS IN THE KORAN. By JOHN WALKER. pp. 136.
Paisley : Gardner, 1931. 6s. 6d. net.

This book is meant for an apologetic purpose, to give missionaries a clear and up-to-date account of the connection between the Bible and the Koran. The characters are arranged in alphabetical order. All the passages in the Koran referring to a man are translated or a sample is given if there is much repetition. The translations are linked together by brief but sufficient explanations. Variations from the Bible story are noted. Abraham is a good example of the treatment. In the earlier part of the Koran he is a typical prophet who turned from the idolatry of his people, broke their idols, and exhorted them to worship the one God. Nimrod tried to burn him but God saved him from the fire. The visit of the angels on their way to Lot is recorded more than once in a form that owes something to the Talmud. In later sections he has become the first Muslim and is set up in opposition to Moses and Jesus. He is associated with Mecca and has to break completely with his past as he is not allowed to intercede for his pagan father. All this is a reflex of what was passing in Muhammad's mind when he found that he could count on no help from the Jews and Christians. In this part there is less story and more preaching. The connection of Agabus and Ebedmelech with the Koran is rather far-fetched.

Mr. Walker has read the Koran and his subject carefully and has stated his results clearly. The translation is his own but it is hardly

satisfactory. Granted that it is very hard to translate Arabic into good English that shall at all resemble the original. Words like "cabal" and "figment" are out of place in the Koran. In detail there are mistakes though they do not seriously affect the sense. To take some examples from the story of Joseph. "We are in the majority"; literally "we are a band". "Majority" is too suggestive of a political meeting. On one side Joseph and Benjamin are only two, on the other is a whole crowd; the antithesis is between the individual and the tribe. "Why don't you entrust Joseph to us?"; literally "Why are you not easy in your mind about us in regard to Joseph?" This is impossible as English, but a good translation should be more like it than Mr. Walker's paraphrase. The translation "patience is becoming" violates a rule of syntax. "Play himself" is out of place in standard English. These phrases all come within a few verses; but the fault-finding critic was happy in his choice of a passage. On the whole the version reads well and the minor inaccuracies will not lead a reader ignorant astray.

There are indices to quotations from the Koran and the Bible.

A. S. T.

STUDIES IN EARLY MYSTICISM IN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST. By
Dr. MARGARET SMITH. pp. 276. Sheldon Press. 12s. 6d. net.

Books on mysticism ought not to be reviewed, but kept for devotional use. This is a counsel of perfection and a reviewer has to justify his existence. In this book Dr. Smith describes the ascetic practices and ideals of the Eastern church, particularly in Egypt, then the mystical teaching of the Greek fathers, and of the Syrians. The second part of the book begins with an account of the social relations between Muslims and Christians during the first two centuries of the Hijra, to show that exchange of ideas took place and that the Muslims were the recipients. The ascetic teaching of the Koran and traditions follows, with sayings that have a mystic import. As in Christianity, ascetics preceded mystics, practice came before theory. Short accounts of individual teachers follow with a summary of early doctrine. In this connection one must say that it is doubtful if Hasan of Basra said all that is ascribed to him. If he did, his loquacity was most unascetic. He is also reported to have said: "To spend one night in Alexandria is dearer to me than seventy spent in worship, each equal to the night of destiny in value." The author has made out

a strong case for her belief that Muslim mysticism is largely a development of Christian. In the concluding chapter she mentions Neoplatonism and dismisses it briefly as having exerted its influence only through a Christian form. The substitution of the animal soul for the Pauline flesh as the seat of evil desire is surely a sign of Neoplatonism. Also there is some ground common to the *Theology of Aristotle* and Muslim theologians, so it is reasonable to suppose that Neoplatonism had some effect on the mystics; probably because it was part of the common stock of an educated man's outfit, and not because of any special book. While the likeness between Christians and Muslims is remarkable, including doctrine, practice, history, and forms of expression, one feels that not enough weight has been allowed to the nature of the mystic consciousness. David Brainerd, who was far enough from the east, might be quoted on "light".

The book is carefully documented, though one would like to know the source of the statement that Ma'mun founded a girls' school with teachers from Byzantium. There has been so much loose talk about that age that chapter and verse are wanted for everything said of it. (In the immediate context Dr. Smith was not interested in girls' schools.) The transliteration of proper names, especially Arabic, is careless: 'Amrū and 'Amr do not look like the same name. The one pious Umayyad caliph is disguised as 'Amr b. 'Abd ul 'Azīz. Misprints are very few; there seems to be only one of consequence, Bisāmi for Bisāmī (p. 242). Commas are too common; many might have been avoided by a slight rearrangement of the text. Amid the intense feeling which is the subject of the book, the words "a prayer which he states was taught by Gabriel to the prophet, but which is more probably of Sufi origin" come as a welcome relief.

A. S. TRITTON.

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MUHAMMADAN LAW: AN ABRIDGMENT ACCORDING TO ITS VARIOUS
SCHOOLS. By SEYMOUR VESEY-FITZGERALD. pp. xv + 252.
Oxford University Press, 1931. 15s.

Books in English on Muhammadan Law have naturally tended to deal principally with the Hanafi school of the Sunni division of the followers of Islam, as that school is adhered to by the very great majority of Muslims in India. Sir William Markby's article on

Muhammadan Law in former editions of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, for instance, said scarcely anything about the other Sunni schools, and very little about the law of the Shias, the other principal division of Islam, as against the Sunnis. And that, although Shias count for a good deal in some parts of India. Other authors of works on Muhammadan Law, as administered in India, have dealt adequately with Shia law. But the Málíki, Sháfíi, and Hanbalí schools of Sunni law have at best received some passing notice, while writers on Muhammadan Law, as administered in India, have scarcely so much as mentioned the Ibádi Sunnis or the Zaidis. These latter are politically Shias, yet they mainly follow Sunni law. Sháfíi law is prevalent in Malaya, as in the Dutch East Indies, and Van den Bergh's translation of the principal Arabic work of that school into French, has been translated into English by Mr. Howard, who was a judge in Malaya, and similarly Colonel Ruxton, lately a lieutenant-governor in Nigeria, published under the title of *Málíki Law*, a translation into English of a French work on that subject. Málíki law is followed by most of the Muslims in North and West Africa, and Sháfíi law is the law of most of the Muslims in East Africa, there also being a good many Ibádis, and a good many Shias in Kenya, Zanzibar, and Tanganyika. In Egypt, while the official code follows the Hanafí school, which was that of the Turkish conquerors, the people are mostly Sháfíites. With the rapid growth in the present century of British interests in Malaya, West Africa, and East Africa, there was ample need for such a work as this present one of Mr. FitzGerald's, which does not unduly exalt the school of Abu Hanífa over the other Sunni schools, and further supplies interesting information on what may be called the minor Shia schools.

In British India the ordinary courts administer what may be classed as "family law" to Muslims, with some special branches of Muhammadan Law which have been left in force, such as gifts, Wakfs (trusts or charities which do not quite conform to our ideas of either of those things), and pre-emption, while such things as sales, contracts in general, ownership, and possession no longer are administered according to the law of the defendant, but have been enacted in codes of general application to all and sundry. French administrations have been apt to take quite a different line, and to administer the Muhammadan law of sales and so on through the ordinary courts, in cases to which Muslims are parties, and to leave purely family matters, such as marriage, to be dealt with by special Muslim tribunals. In

Nigeria, so, at least, the present reviewer understands, Muslim Law in its entirety is administered to Muslims, in the courts of the Sultanates or other Nigerian States, but these courts in their turn are subject to the superintendence of the British courts.

Mr. FitzGerald in his Preface states that the book is primarily for the use of probationers entering the Civil Service of the tropical African dependencies. The book, therefore, contains chapters on all the topics of Islamic Law administered by the courts in those dependencies, including among them subjects usually omitted in books intended for use in India, where the Islamic Law on those subjects has been superseded by general codified statute law. But this does not imply that the book will not be useful in India. It should be most useful there, for the vexed and complex subject of inheritance is treated both fully and clearly, and as Hanafi law is followed by many immigrants from India and elsewhere in East Africa, the law of that school is set out in as full detail as are the laws of the other schools. One who carefully studies this book will go some way towards escaping the censure which, on p. 129, the author quotes as having been pronounced by the Caliphs Omar and Ali, who remarked that the man who thought he understood *mugasama* (the division of an estate in cases where among the heirs there are a paternal grandfather and agnate brethren of the deceased) was in danger of hell-fire for his arrogance. In fact, the subject of inheritance is treated so systematically and with such clarity that the book should become a standard authority on the subject. The comparisons and contrasts of the Sunni schools *inter se* and of the Sunni and Shia schools are set out in a way which enables the student to grasp the reasons for them without being in any danger of confusing the various systems.

The opening chapters on Muslim Jurisprudence, the Schools of Law, and Jurisprudence—General Questions, are an excellent introduction to the subject. A possible criticism is that had Mr. Fitzgerald been able to give us more of his knowledge and his views on those topics it would undoubtedly have been to our advantage. The differences between the general theories of Muslim Jurisprudence and those of European Jurisprudence are well set out, and some of us may even be inclined to think that on one or two points Muslim Jurisprudence takes the sounder position.

Where legislation in the African dependencies has affected Muhammadan law, or has, for instance, rendered registration or something of the sort necessary to secure full recognition of a marriage,

the relevant enactments are referred to in the text of the book. There is also a complete list of all cases and enactments referred to in the text, and an admirable glossary. Should the authors of a certain class of "best sellers" in present-day fiction happen to look at that glossary, they may be shocked to find that the primary meaning of "shaikh", i.e. "sheikh", is "an old man, a venerable person".

To all who desire to get a general knowledge of the principal topics of Muhammadan Law in civil, as apart from religious, life, whether because it is their duty to study that law, or because they are attracted by it in the study of Comparative Law, this book can be confidently recommended.

A. SABONADIÈRE.

THE MODEL ENGLISH-CHINESE DICTIONARY. pp. xviii, 1431, with illustrative examples. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1929. 6s.

An acquaintance of some months' duration with the *Model English-Chinese Dictionary* suggests that the writer of the foreword, Monlin Chiang, of the Ministry of Education, Nanking, might have ventured to express a conviction, and not merely a pious hope that "with the publication of this dictionary a stride will be made toward better understanding of the manifold and subtle problems of lexicography". Intended in the first instance for the use of Chinese students of English, it cannot fail to be of value also to the English student of Chinese. The necessity for the explanation of a large number of English idiomatic phrases will readily be appreciated; Chinese teems with idioms which cannot be understood by knowing the meaning of each word. A Chinese may well feel confidence in using the phrases he gleans, while the English student of modern Chinese will learn from every page how differently must similar and even identical English idiomatic expressions be translated into Chinese in different contexts.

Archaic and obsolete words and phrases have been excluded as far as possible, and the 35,000 entries include a large number of post-war new words and new meanings of old words. Its size adds materially to its usefulness, and although the Chinese type is rather indistinct, students will be ready to overlook this defect in return for an efficient and reliable pocket English-Chinese Dictionary.

E. E.

LEHRGANG DER CHINESISCHEN SCHRIFTSPRACHE. Von E. HAENISCH.
2 vols. Leipzig, 1929 and 1931. RM. 17.

The scarcity of textbooks which may claim to be introductions to the Chinese written language may be due, in part, to the difficulty of making suitable selections from the extensive field of Chinese literature. Professor H. A. Giles' *Gems of Chinese Literature* is not intended to be introductory and the selections are progressive only in that they are arranged in chronological order. Bullock's *Written Language* comprises short sentences and few notes; Summers' handbook, though extremely useful, is difficult to obtain; Julien, Brandt, and others have their excellences. But in order to acquire a satisfactory series of progressive lessons in the literary language many teachers and students of Chinese turn, at some time or other, to the text-books in use in Chinese schools. This is what Professor Haenisch has done in his *Lehrgang der chinesischen Schriftsprache*, the text of which, in 150 lessons, appeared in 1929. The second volume, now published, contains the vocabularies and the German translations of these lessons with notes which are a model of precise and efficient instruction.

E. E.

HAN WÉN TS'UI CHÉN. Edited by Sir JAMES H. STEWART-LOCKHART.
Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1931.

Professor Giles' *Gems of Chinese Literature*, the first edition of which appeared in 1883, and the second in 1922, is probably the most comprehensive selection of translations from the Chinese that has appeared in any European language. Its aim was to give English readers an acquaintanceship with the general literature of China, and this Professor Giles may justly claim to have done.

Thanks are now due to Sir James Stewart-Lockhart for the compilation of the text of the two hundred extracts from famous Chinese writers which comprise the prose *Gems*. Covering a period extending from 550 B.C. to the Revolution, these extracts have now been made easily accessible to the student, and with the English version they form a most useful key to a diversity of literary styles and themes.

E. E.

CHINESE CIVILIZATION. By MARCEL GRANET. Translated from the French. pp. xxiii + 444. London: Kegan Paul, 1930. £1 5s.

The practice, originated by M. Marcel Granet, of interpreting the phenomena of primitive Chinese society in terms of Western anthropology and folklore, must have come as a shock to many. The method has been severely criticized, and it may be long before it finds favour either with the upholders of the traditional interpretation of the Classics or with those to whom the unique character of Chinese civilization and social origins is a fetish. It is not in the least surprising, therefore, that criticisms of the present work, as unfavourable as forcible, have appeared in both Chinese and European journals. M. Granet is the scientist, displaying the hitherto unsuspected uniformity of two apparently dissimilar organisms. Astonishment and protest must presently give place to honest attempts on the part of the critics of his method to "borrow his light" and investigate further before finally condemning a system which has, at least, the merit of making living beings out of the puppets of traditional interpretation.

As recently as 1927, referring to the constitution and growth of social classes in China,¹ Professor Schneider wrote: "The Chinese rationalists that followed Lao Tzū . . . and those that followed Confucius . . . destroyed or utterly distorted all genuine information concerning the constitution and classes of primitive times, together with historical tradition . . . It is very difficult to discover the true conditions from the medley of some few memories, many surviving relics, and claims, and the dominant idealism of the *Shu Ching*, the *Shih Ching*, and Ssū-ma Ch'ien. One thing only is certain: the ancient times were not as they are represented in the Canon. It is necessary to eliminate all that Lao Tzū and Confucius contributed in the way of ideals and suggested in the way of idealist theories and what remains even then is open to the suspicion of being invention . . . or of having undergone transformation; and so there is hardly anything that can be used with confidence." In the face of these and other obstacles M. Granet's *Civilization* is certainly an "astonishing reconstruction" of Chinese society.

The book has suffered somewhat in translation. A work entirely dependent upon the niceties of Chinese texts demands in its translator some acquaintance with the Chinese language, as well as with the subject-matter. A number of inaccuracies might thus have been

¹ *The History of World Civilization*, p. 795.

avoided, e.g. p. 154, l. 5 ff., where a less confusing translation would be: "Immediately after marriage, one of the partners must say farewell to *her* family, and go and live in a strange village"; p. 164, l. 19: the wild goose was sent by the man to his betrothed.

In a work for the general reader almost any system of transliterating Chinese names may be accepted, provided it be consistent, but it is the general reader, rather than the specialist, who is confused by the appearance of *Chêng* and *Cheng* on the same page (182), and *Yu kong* and *Tribute of Yü* on the same line (p. 71); neither can he be expected to know that Ngan-huai is the province commonly spelt Anhui in English, nor that Lū (p. 42) and Liu (p. 419) represent the same sound.

M. Granet purposes to follow this history of political and social facts by a history of Chinese thought—a complementary volume awaited with interest.

E. EDWARDS.

LES CIVILISATIONS DE L'ORIENT. Tome IV. Le Japon. Par RENÉ GROSSET. 9½ × 6½, pp. viii + 319. Paris: Les Éditions G. Crès et Cie, 1930.

In his preface M. Grousset plainly states "Comme les précédents volumes, celui-ci ne veut être qu'une introduction à l'esthétique de l'Orient". With this aim in view he has set forth the development of sculpture and pictorial art in Japan during the nine epochs into which Japanese history is usually divided.

It is clear that a treatise of this nature would not be complete without some mention of the political and social conditions as well as the ethos of the masses which form the background of aesthetics. Stimulated by this necessity, it would seem, M. Grousset has made an attempt to outline in the present volume the whole history of Japan, which he was compelled to set aside in his earlier work, *Histoire de l'Extrême-Orient*. This the author has achieved only by omitting any historical study of music and ceramic art in Japan. How much more interesting and instructive it would be, to the student of Japanese arts, if the gap between the crude prehistoric pottery and the delicate porcelain of the seventeenth century, as cited in pp. 8-9 and 241 respectively, had been bridged over by a short account of the proto-historic Iwaibe-doki and the Setoyaki of the twelfth century together

with their subsequent developments. Are the sentimental traits common to the Greeks and the Japanese, as frequently noted in this volume, elsewhere more strongly marked than in the world of music, which, however, the author has made no attempt to discuss ?

A brief survey of these two omitted subjects does not seem impossible even in a book of humble size as the one under review, provided the historical treatment of political events is restricted to enable the reader to appreciate their influence upon the social conditions and contemporary thought which control the flow of the æsthetic tide. The unnecessarily long description, for example of the vicissitudes of various military families during the Kamakura epoch, to which approximately ten pages are devoted, could easily have been reduced to half.

On the other hand, the relation between Korea and Japan prior to the introduction of Buddhism into the latter country is, to our regret, dismissed in three lines (p. 8). The significance of what took place between these lands during the fourth to the sixth centuries is so grave that without a general knowledge of it the Asuka-Nara civilization cannot be fully understood. The curtain of mist, behind which the protohistory of Japan has long been hidden, is being gradually lifted, so that we are no longer constrained to believe the doubtful dates dictated by the traditional history, although M. Grousset has accepted them readily.

Apart from this, one mistake is to be noted here. The author has apparently confused Katsugawa Shunchō with his master Katsugawa Shunshō (pp. 222-3). The two colour-prints, of which Figs. 124 and 125 are the reproductions, are those of Shunchō as his signature clearly shows. This artist seems to have flourished during the Kwansei period (1789-1800) when the prime of Shunshō's career was already past. While appropriating the name Katsugawa, Shunchō followed the great Kiyonaga rather than Shunshō. This he did so successfully that his unsigned prints are frequently passed as the works of the celebrated artist.

Whatever the shortcomings, we are greatly indebted to M. Grousset for his effort in providing us with this useful book written in lucid language and accompanied by copious illustrations not easily accessible. Not only does it serve as an excellent introduction to the history of the pictorial art and sculpture in Japan, but it also traces the development of Japanese Buddhism, and in almost every page the author's profound knowledge of the subject-matter manifests itself.

The reader will also find a fascinating chapter on the arts in Bengal, Nepal, and Tibet, to which forty-three pages are devoted. At the end of the book is provided a general index to the set of volumes of which this is the fourth and last.

S. YOSHITAKE.

GUEBRÉ SELASSIÉ : CHRONIQUE DU RÈGNE DE MÉNÉLIK II. Traduite de l'ambarique par TÈSFA SELASSIÉ, publiée et annotée par MAURICE DE COPPET. Two vols., with portfolio of maps and plans. Paris : Maisonneuve Frères. 500 francs.

The author of this *Chronicle* was of comparatively humble origin, but rose by his learning first to be secretary to Menelik's first wife, then historiographer royal, and finally "Ministre de la Plume". He died full of honours in 1912, about sixty years of age. M. de Coppet has been French Minister at Addis Ababa, and is therefore well qualified for his editorial task.

At present only the first of the two volumes has appeared. The work is a little more than its title implies, for the first seventy-five pages contain a résumé of Ethiopian history (mostly taken from the Kebra Nagast) from the earliest times until the rise of Menelik to power. The first volume takes us to the beginning of the war with Italy; and the account of the battle of Adowa, with which the next volume will open, should be of great interest as a presentation of the Abyssinian point of view.

The author knows or cares little of external affairs and writes in a manner consistent with national pride, which means that anything unfavourable to his country is modified out of all existence, or perhaps not mentioned at all. Who, for instance, could believe that the reign of the Emperor Theodore could be thus chronicled?—"L'année suivante, 1860, le 6 de *miazia*, Atié Théodoros mourut à Magdala." Not a word about Napier and his successful campaign! It is rather in domestic matters that the author excels, affording material for close study of the way in which Menelik, first ruler of Shoa alone, gathered with his own hands wider and deeper powers until he could proclaim himself *Negus Nagast*, "King of Kings" of Ethiopia.

The illustrations, plentiful and well executed, add much pleasure to the reading of the book.

S. GASELEE.

NOTES AND QUERIES

DE LAHNDĀ, BROKPA, ET QUIBUSDAM ALIIS

On pages 273-4 above, Dr. Grahame Bailey has done me the honour of criticizing some arguments of mine that have appeared in previous pages of the *Bulletin*. I must ask him to excuse me from carrying on the controversy regarding Lahndā and Lahndī; for I fear that neither he nor I can succeed in convincing the other. In this respect I would, in no controversial spirit whatever, nevertheless make one request. He says that when he first began to write about the language he found already existing a number of names to choose from, some Indian, and some obviously English. Out of these he selected one, viz. "Lahndī". For the sake of fellow-students, will he kindly give us the name or names of one or more books dealing seriously with Indian languages, and published say, before 1919, in which he found the language spoken in the Lahndā called by this name. Such a reference will, I at once admit, greatly weaken my own preference for "Lahndā", and will also fill a gap in the bibliography of Indian languages of which I, and perhaps others, were previously unaware.

As regards Dr. Bailey's second note on p. 274, I much regret that my use of the expression "protagonists in a discussion" has been found misleading. There certainly was a discussion, and in that I also took a humble part; but, in the passage he finds misleading, all that I intended to convey was that he and Colonel Lorimer were (to quote the *OED*.) "the chief personages in the plot of the story". It was their contributions that were important. No one has derived greater pleasure or profit from the writings of these two scholars than I, nor does the mention of a discussion necessarily imply any vital difference of opinion.

As for "Brokpā" being the name of a language, so far as I can remember, I have never used the word, by itself, to mean any language or dialect. I have used the phrases "Brokpā of Drās", and "Brokpā of Ḍāh Hanū" after carefully explaining that Brokpā means a Dard Highlander who lives in contact with Baltīs or Tibetans, so that "Brokpā of Drās" means "the dialect used by the Dard Highlanders of Drās", and "Brokpā of Ḍāh Hanū" means "the dialect used by the Dard Highlanders of Ḍāh and Hanū". The Dard (or Ṣiṇā) dialects of Gurēs and of Astōr are, I agree, linguistically close relations

of Drāsī, but they are not Brokpā dialects, for the speakers are not in contact with Baltis or Tibetans, and are not Highlanders in the sense explained by Shaw and Drew. I hope therefore that Dr. Bailey will in future pardon me if, as occasion requires it, I continue to employ such expressions to indicate the various forms of Ṣiṣā used by the Highlanders of Little Tibet.

G. A. GRIERSON.

THE RULERS OF HARAR

Harar became the seat of government of the Arab state of Zaila in 1521, but it had been previously ruled by descendants of Arab immigrants from the Yemen in the seventh century.

It continued in Arab possession until 1875, when it was occupied by an Egyptian force: this was withdrawn ten years later, a son of the ruler deposed by the Egyptians being reinstated as Emir. In 1887 the country and capital were conquered by Menelik, and the Abyssinians have remained in possession ever since.

The following list of rulers of Harar, compiled from Egyptian and Harari sources, was recently drawn up by the British Consul, Mr. Plowman, and may be of use to historians of this part of Africa, though it is possibly not completely accurate. For instance, Muhammad Grayn or Grañ ("the left-handed") was certainly killed in 1541 at the end of his invasion and occupation of Abyssinia; was he succeeded at once by the Amir Nur, the date of whose accession is given in this list as 1559? We know from Abyssinian sources that in that year Nur was engaged in a battle with King Claudius, in which the latter was killed.

The last Arab Emir, Abdillahi, who was driven from his throne by the Abyssinians, died on 11th August, 1930, at the age of eighty.

S. GASELEE.

LIST OF THE RULERS OF HARAR

A.D. 1359.	Walsama.	A.D. 1476.	Ibrahim.
A.D. 1399.	Saad-ud-Din.	A.D. 1477.	Shams-ud-Din.
A.D. 1409.	Sabir-ud-Din.	A.D. 1479.	Ali Muhammad.
A.D. 1411.	Mansur.	A.D. 1480.	Fakhr-ud-Din.
A.D. 1417.	Jamal-el-Din.	A.D. 1481.	Abubakr.
A.D. 1451.	Bodlai.	A.D. 1491.	Muhammad ibn Asai.
A.D. 1457.	Muhammad.	A.D. 1515.	Sultan Abubakr.

A.D. 1533.	Muhammad Grayn.	A.D. 1778.	Amir Abdul Shakur.
A.D. 1559.	Amir Nur.	A.D. 1817.	Amir Ahmad.
A.D. 1561.	Amir Othman-el-Habashi.	A.D. 1817.	Amir Abdul Rehman.
A.D. 1562.	Amir Tulhah.	A.D. 1821.	Amir Abdul Karim.
A.D. 1564.	Amir Nasr ibn Othman.	A.D. 1831.	Amir Abubakr.
A.D. 1567.	Sultan Muhammad ibn Bodlai.	A.D. 1850.	Amir Ahmad.
		A.D. 1855.	Amir Muhammad.
		A.D. 1873.	Raoof Pasha (Egyptian).
A.D. 1568.	Mansur ibn Muhammad Ayub.	A.D. 1876.	Redwan Pasha (Egyptian).
A.D. 1575.	Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Gasa.	A.D. 1878.	Nadi Pasha (Egyptian).
A.D. 1594.	Sultan Habib.	A.D. 1883.	Amir Abdillahi.
A.D. 1619.	Hamalmal (Ethiopian).	A.D. 1888.	Ras Makonnen (Ethiopian Governor).
A.D. 1634.	Fanel (Ethiopian).		
A.D. 1638.	Amir Ali ibn Daud.	A.D. 1906.	Dejasmach Ylma.
A.D. 1654.	Amir Hashim.	A.D. 1908.	Dejasmach Balcha.
A.D. 1662.	Amir Abdalla.	A.D. 1909.	Dejasmach Gabre.
A.D. 1692.	Amir Tulhah.	A.D. 1910.	Dejasmach Taffari.
A.D. 1715.	Amir Abubakr.	A.D. 1918.	Dejasmach Imaru (Deputy Governor).
A.D. 1725.	Amir Qalaf.		
A.D. 1727.	Amir Hamed.	A.D. 1930.	Dejasmach Gabra Mariam (Deputy Governor).
A.D. 1741.	Amir Yusuf.		
A.D. 1750.	Amir Ahmad.		
A.D. 1778.	Amir Muhammad.		

NANDI—A NOTE

I have on a previous occasion mentioned that the particular mode of opening the dramas, as found in the so-called Bhāsa-nāṭakacakra of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, does not constitute a peculiar dramatic technique which could be used as an argument in favour of the Bhāsa-theory. In making this statement, I have so far been guided only by the manuscript traditions of the land. Recently, however, I have been able to secure two unpublished commentaries,

one on *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the other on *Vikramorvaśīya*, and the opening passages in both alike very clearly bear out the local manuscript tradition.

(a) *Mālavikāgnimitra*

*praṇamya ramyam parameśvarasya
prasādalabhyam caraṇāravindam |
yathāmatī vyākriyate mayedam
sunāmakaṃ mālavikāgnimitram ||
atha nāndyante sūtradhāro raṅgam praviśyāha "ekaiśvare" iti ||*

(b) *Vikramorvaśīya*

*praṇamya varadam devaṃ vallavījanavallavam |
śrīvikramorvaśīyākhyam nāṭyam vyākriyate mayā ||
atha raṅgapūjānandikasyāvasāne sūtradhāraḥ praviśyāha
"vedāṅgeti" |*

These quotations very clearly bear out that the reading "*nāndyante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ*" is the dramatic technique accepted in Kerala, and is naturally found in all dramas that can be included in the Kerala-nāṭaka-cakra. This appears to be an alternate dramatic form, sanctioned by Bharata and preserved only in Kerala. It is, therefore, wrong to characterise this as a *Bhāsa Tradition*, as Professor Keith has done, and to adduce it as an argument in favour of the *Bhāsa*-theory.

It will be clear from the second quotation that the *Nāndī* does not consist merely of a benedictory verse or verses, as is assumed by Professor Keith. As I have repeatedly emphasised, it is a long process of religious ceremony to be conducted in the green-room and on the stage behind the curtain. After all the items of the *Nāndī* are over, the *Sūtradhāra* comes on the stage and utters the so-called *Nāndī*-verse, which is not so much benedictory in character as designed to introduce the audience to the story to be staged. From this point of view, such an opening is much more rational than the other. This correct tradition was preserved only in Kerala, because the stage was living there.

In conclusion, I wish to also point out that the *Nāndī* verses, as found in these dramas, need not necessarily be the introductory verses to the drama; they may as well be introductory verses to the first act only. I have already pointed out in my notes to my translation of *Dūtaghaṭotkaca* that the *Nāndī* verse introducing the *Śephālikāṅka*,

or Act V of *Svapna-nāṭakam*, was quite different from the printed Nāndī verse. Similarly, the introductory verse announcing the Mantrakāṅka, or Act III of *Pratijñāyugandharāyaṇa*, is quite different from the printed Nāndī verse ; it runs as follows :—

*avyāt kapardakalitojjvalavatsarājaṃ
veṣaṃ vasantakamanīyataraṃ dadhānaḥ |
vyttau rumaṇvati tanūkytakāladarpa-
bāhūyugandharasuto vasataḥ śivo vaḥ ||*

This verse, like others, is technically called “Araṅgu taḷippan uḷḷa ślōkam”, that is, the verse to be recited when the stage is sprinkled with holy waters. This is a point which will throw some more light on the Bhāsa-problem.

K. R. PISHAROTI.

We have been asked to print the following letter :—

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,

COLOMBO,

15th September, 1931.

To the Editor, Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London.

SIR,—The Government of Ceylon has recently appointed a Commission for the purpose of inquiring into the existence of hitherto unknown documents relating to the history of the island, which are extant in the hands of private individuals and of institutions. Many important documents have been removed from the island, and have found their way into private collections ; there are others among the private papers of those who have had official or semi-official connection with the affairs of Ceylon, or who have at various times had occasion to visit its shores. To illustrate this point, the most important original authority for the period of the Portuguese occupation came to light in Rio de Janeiro, and of recent years much light has been thrown on the taking over of Ceylon by the British, by papers in private hands in Scotland.

The majority of such papers will be concerned with the history of the island during the last four centuries, but it is possible that there may be also some “sannases” (engraved copper plates) and “olas” (inscribed palm leaves) dating perhaps from pre-European times, preserved as curiosities in private or even public

collections. We are anxious to ascertain the whereabouts of such documents, and therefore ask you to allow this letter to appear in your valuable columns. If any of your readers are in a position to afford us any information, we shall be most grateful if they will put it at our disposal by writing to the Secretary of the Ceylon Historical Manuscripts Commission, Government Archives, Colombo, or to me.

Thanking you for your courtesy in inserting this letter, I am,
Sir, Your obedient servant,

S. A. PAKEMAN,
Chairman,

Ceylon Historical Manuscripts Commission.

BŪM-ĀNDAK

A passage of the Zāmāsp Nāmak which I tried unsuccessfully to translate in *BSOS*, vi, 1, 57, § 28, and which Markwart also failed to read (*Caucasica*, vi, 1, 48, note 3), contains two words which can now, I think, be explained. The passage reads in West's edition (*Avesta*, *Pahlavi*, and *Ancient Persian Studies*, p. 113, ll. 8-9) اورا وودا راس سواوا اورا سواوا. This I now read: *ut būm-āndak vasīkār bē bavēt ut vas avērānīh bē kunēt*.

اورا and اورا (*āndak*) permit also the reading *ēōḍak*. But the scribe here doubtless intended *āndak*, since for *ōḍ*, become *ōy*, او would be written rather than او. In Pahlavi the two verbs *ōḍ-* and *ānd-* cannot be distinguished graphically either in the present stem or in the infinitive (*ēustan*, *āndītan*). We are therefore forced to interpret according to the Pāzand and New Persian. Pāzand recognizes *ōḍ-* in the compound *vičustan*; and *ničustan* is also probable (see Bartholomae, *Zum Altir. Wörterb.*, 212). New Pers. has *ēust* "quick, active", Sanskrit *codayati*. For *ānd-* we have support in Balūčī *āndag* "move" and Judaeo-Pers. *āndīdān* "sich regen" (see Horn, *N.P.Et.*, 271; Hübsch, *Pers. St.*, 109). So the Pāzandists read. In the Škand Gumānik Vičār *āndīšni* is explained by Sanskrit *candā* and *candatā*.

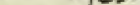
In the Bahman Yašt, 3, 4, we have an exact parallel to our passage :
ut būm-čandak¹ vas bavēt ۱۰۴۵۷۸۹۰۱ "Earthquakes
will abound". Here the Pāzand has būm-čandā.

Čand- is used of the earth in *Gr. Bd.*, 66, 6, also: *pas hač ān zamīk pat škaftīh čandēnītan nē šāyast* "thereafter the earth could not quake fiercely" (𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, *Ind. Bd.*, 18, 19, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥). In the corresponding passage, *Gr. Bd.*, 65, 13, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 is probably *vīzanbišn* "quaking" and *ibid.* 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 probably *zambūt* "shook", although the *Ind. Bd.* has 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 for *čandēnūt. For the form cf. 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 in place of 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥: *zanb-* or *zamb* occurs in *zamb i zamīk* (*Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*, p. 201, l. 6) "quaking of the earth".

In Zātspram (SBE., 47, 166) occurs the passage *pas dēn āšōpīhēt ut x^aalāyīh čandīhēt* "thereafter the Religion will be confounded and the sovereignty will be shaken".

In the *Ardāy Vīrāz Nāmak*, 53, 5, *čand-* is used of earth-quakings : *haē ān givāk garzišn ut vāng ān āyēt i-m pat ēt dāšt ku haft kišvar zamāk čandēnand* "from that place came such wailing and crying that I thought that they made the earth of the seven climes to quake". Šāyast nē Šāyast (ed. Tavadia, 2, 71) has : *ku pat dast i mart-ē nasāy bē čandēnēt* "when a corpse is moved by the hand of one man".

In *Gr. Bd.*, 152, 10, we should perhaps read *hamāk āp i zrēh i Frāx^xkart pat čandīšn ut čandū(an) bē šaspēt* "the whole water of the sea Varkart tosses in agitation and confusion". But here we might read *pat čōdīšn ut čust* (𐭥𐭣𐭮𐭠𐭥𐭡𐭥𐭢𐭩𐭥𐭬𐭥𐭲).

In Pahl. Riv. Dd., 205, § 30, we have *ān kē dārēt ut manišn i martōmān dānēt*  (*čustan or čandītan*) "he who holds it and knows how to agitate the thoughts of men".

The second word is *vasikār* واسکار. It is found in *Mēnōkē xrat*

¹ *ԵԳ* *myē* could also be read *-mē-ē-*, but is perhaps to be considered only as a ligature of *Է* and *Գ*; cf. also the ligature *ԷԳ* *mē*. A similar spelling is found in Gr.Bd. 208¹ *ԵԵԳ*, to which corresponds *ԵԵԳ* in the Pahl. Comm. to Vid. i, 16. It is *Mazūn* (Arm. *Mazoun*, Syr. Arab. *Mazūn*), representing the Old Pers. *Maδiγnā*, the people of 'Omān. *Mazūn* is identified in the Commentary with Avestan *Čayra* (not noticed by Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 43, on *Mazoun*, nor by Bartholomae, *AIW.*, s.v. *Čayra*).

44, 22 (ed. Andreas, p. 48, l. 7), *ut mār patiš vasīkār* "and snakes therein abundant describing Ērānvēž)". The Pāzand gives *vasyār* (with *var. lect. vas*), that is, the NPers. *bisyār*; see Nyberg, *Glossar*, s.v. *vasīkār*.

We have, therefore, to translate Zāmāsp Nāmak, § 28: "And earthquakes will abound and cause much desolation."

This same *vasīkār* occurs again in the Zāmāsp Nāmak, where Markwart (*Caucasica*, vi, 1, 48) read **vīskār*. It is evidently necessary to read (West, loc. cit., p. 107, l. 19) *api-šān frazand-zāyišnīh vasīkār bavēt* "and among them the bearing of children abounds".

H. W. BAILEY.

ERRATUM IN VOL. VI, PART 2

p. 465, line 15, for "M. Barth, the great writer on comparative religion" read "M. Bréal, the great writer on semantics".

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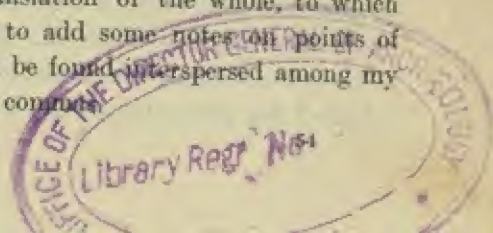
A Chinese Geographical Text of the Ninth Century

By LIONEL GILES

(PLATES IX-XII.)

THE Stein Collection of MSS. from Tun-huang at the British Museum, so rich in other respects, includes very few documents of a purely topographical nature. The two most interesting texts belonging to this class are the *Tun huang lu* (S. 5448), which was published with translation and notes in the *JRAS.* for July, 1914, and the present roll (S. 367), which is unfortunately imperfect at the beginning and lacks a title. The *Tun huang lu* deals with the district immediately surrounding Tun-huang itself, but the other treatise goes farther afield, and follows the "southern route" as far as Charchan, after which it doubles back to the oasis of Hāmi and the neighbouring territory. If Sha Chou was the starting-point, it is not likely that much has been lost at the beginning, since the first paragraphs are concerned with the Nan-hu oasis, which is only some 30 miles distant from that centre.

A few extracts from the MS. (then numbered Ch. 917) were published by Professor Pelliot in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1916 (ser. II, tom. 7, pp. 111-23), and so long ago as the summer of 1920, I myself had made a rough translation of the whole, to which Sir Aurel Stein was kind enough to add some notes on points of topographical interest. These will be found interspersed among my own notes, and placed in inverted commas.



The set of Dynastic Histories which I have used is that printed by the 金陵書局 in Nanking between 1871 and 1887.

[*Hsi liang i wu*] *chih* says: The Han Êrh-shih General . . . colt and returned. He had pity and released it.

The fourth character in the column seems to be an irregular form of 驚.

Coming to . . . taking it to be the Lung-lo Spring . . . drinking this water, spirted it out noisily, and finally turning round went back again. On this account . . . fire-signal beacon like a dragon's head, whence the name.

Though half torn away, the character before 志 *chih* is certainly 物, from which we may conclude that the work quoted is 西梁異物志 *Record of Marvels in Western Liang*. Cf. *Sha chou chih*, f. 3 r°, where the story of the Êrh-shih General making water gush from the mountain-side is recounted from the same source. See also *Tun huang lu* ad init. The Êrh-shih General was 李廣利 Li Kuang li, who assumed this title just before his first expedition to Êrh-shih, or rather Ni-shih (Nisaea), as it was pronounced in ancient times, the capital of Ferghana.—Lung-lo was the ancient name of the district of Shou-ch'ang in the Nan-hu oasis: see *Han shu*, xxviii B, 3 r°.

Shou-ch'ang Lake . . . [Yo-wa] River. Winds round and curves back for more than a *li*. Its depth has not been measured. This is the spot where the Hans got the celestial horse.

According to Sir Aurel Stein, this is the spring-fed reservoir which gives its name to the Nan-hu (Southern Lake) Oasis. See *Serindia*, p. 612 and map 79; *Desert Cathay*, ii, 75. A passage in *Shih chi*, xxiv, 2 r°, enables us to restore the name of the river 濕注 Yo-wa, which is a branch of the 宕 Tang River of Tun-huang. For the story of the celestial horse (天 or 神馬), see Chavannes, *Mémoires Historiques*, iii, 236, note 3.

Great Watercourse. Ten *li* south of [Shou-ch'ang] Hsien. It has its source in the Yo-wa River.

Stein thinks that "the springs are meant which, rising in the dry flood beds south of Nan-hu, collect in small streams which pass through the oasis and supply its irrigation". The word 渠, however, seems rather to suggest an artificial canal.

Long [] *Watercourse* . . . 10 *li*.

Shih-mên (Stone-gate) *Brook*. Rises 3 *li* south of the *hsien*.

Wu-lu (No-salt) *Brook*. Rises 10 *li* south-west of the *hsien*.

Shih-ch'êng (Stone-city) *Chên* is 1,580 *li* west of Sha Chou, and

6,100 *li* from Shang-tu [the "superior capital", i.e. Ch'ang-an]. This was the kingdom of Lou-lan of the Han dynasty.

Identified by Stein with the modern Charkhlik; see *Serindia*, pp. 320 seq. According to *T'ang shu*, xxxvii, 2 r°, 上都 Shang-tu was originally called 京城 "capital city"; in 742 it became 西京 "the western capital"; in 757 中京 "the central capital"; in 761 it was again called the western capital. In 756 (the year of An Lu-shan's usurpation) it was Shang-tu.

The Account of the Western Regions in the Han History says: "The land is sandy and salt, with few cultivated fields. It produces jade. When Fu Chieh-tzū slew the king of this country, the Hans put his younger brother on the throne, and changed its name to the kingdom of Shan-shan."

Cf. *Han shu*, xcvi A, 3 r°-4 r°. 第 should be 弟. Pelliot misreads 地 and translates: "Les Han érigèrent [à nouveau] ce pays [en royaume]."

The Sui dynasty established Shan-shan Chên, but when the dynasty was overturned, the city was abandoned. In the Chêng-kuan period [627-49], K'ang Yen-tien, a great chieftain from the kingdom of K'ang [Samarkand], came east and settled in this town. A number of barbarians (*hu*) accompanied him, so that it became a populous place: it was also called the city of Tien-ho. The city was surrounded on every side by a sandy desert.

The general term 胡 *hu* is here to be taken as Soghdians or natives of Samarkand. "Tien-ho" apparently means "brought together by [K'ang Yen-]tien".

In the 2nd year of *Shang-yüan* [675] its name was changed to Shih-ch'êng Chên, and it was made dependent on Sha Chou.

There were two reign-periods called *Shang-yüan*, but during the second [760-1] the Western Regions were no longer under Chinese rule. The character translated "dependent" is an unauthorized form of 隸.

T'un Ch'êng (Military Camp City) is 180 *li* east of Shih-ch'êng Chên.

It has been identified by Stein with the site of Mirân, which he also shows to have been the same as "the old eastern town" of 扞泥 Yü-ni, the capital of Lou-lan before 77 B.C.

When Wei-t'u-ch'i, the hostage given by Shan-shan [to China], was returning weak and single-handed [to his kingdom], he made this appeal to the Son of Heaven: "In our country there is the city of I-hsiu, where the land is fair and fertile. My prayer is that you should send a general to plant a military colony there and harvest the grain,

so that I may have his prestige to back me." Accordingly, the Hans sent a *ssü-ma* (commandant) with officers and men to colonize I-hsiu by way of protection.

For 依 read 依. This passage is taken almost word for word from *Han shu*, xcvi A, 4 r° and v°: "The King himself petitioned the Son of Heaven as follows: 'I have lived a long time in the land of Han, and am now returning to my country weak and unsupported. The late King has a son still living, and I am afraid lest he should kill me. Now in my kingdom there is the city of 伊循 I-hsün, where the soil is fair and fertile. My prayer is that the House of Han may send two leaders to plant a military colony there and harvest the grain, so that your servant may have their prestige to back me.' Accordingly, the Han Emperor sent one *ssü-ma* with forty officers and men to colonize I-hsün and act as support for the ruler." Professor Pelliot has already shown how easily the characters 依 and 循 can be confused in manuscript, and I-hsiu may therefore be considered identical with I-hsün. It is rather curious, however, that the *T'ang shu* should have adopted the form I-hsin in preference to the I-hsün of the *Han shu*. The vexed question of the situation of this town has, I think, been satisfactorily settled by Stein (*Serindia*, pp. 325 seq.). Everything points to its having occupied the site of the modern Charkhlik. Yet we find the *T'ang shu* (xlili B, 19 r°) making exactly the same mistake in placing I-hsin east of Shih-ch'êng Chên: "Starting from the southern shore of the P'u-ch'ang Lake [Lop-nôr] and going west, one passes Ch'i-t'un Ch'êng (the City of the Seven Military Colonies), which is the city of I-hsin of the Han dynasty. Eighty *li* further west one comes to Shih-ch'êng Chên, the kingdom of Lou-lan under the Han, also called Shan-shan. It is 300 *li* south of the P'u-ch'ang Lake. This is where K'ang Yen-tien became Commissioner of the *chên* in order to establish communications with the Western Regions." "Eighty *li*" is clearly a graphic error for "180 *li*", as Stein has pointed out. But how did the other mistake arise? From a certain ambiguity, I think, in the passage from the *Han shu* which was quoted above. At first sight, it might appear that the King Wei-t'u-ch'i, when about to return to his kingdom, is offering to allot another city to the Chinese colonists, whereas he is really suggesting a change of capital. Chavannes, in commenting on this passage (*T'oung Pao*, 1905, p. 533), says: "... le nouveau roi de Chanchan, craignant que ses sujets ne le fissent périr, demanda aux Chinois d'établir une garnison dans la ville de Yi-siun, afin de le protéger; pour que cette protection fût efficace, il est nécessaire d'admettre que la ville de Yi-siun était assez proche de la résidence du roi." I would go a step further, and say that the obvious course for the Chinese Government would be to station their guards in the same town as the King. Now, according to *Han shu*, xcvi A, 2 v°, "the kingdom of Shan-shan was originally called Lou-lan. Its capital was the city of

Yü-ni, 1,600 *li* distant from the Yang Barrier." This city the King is naturally anxious to avoid, so he proposes that a Chinese force shall accompany him to another place altogether, which shall be his future residence, and where the presence of these military colonists will be a safeguard. This new capital, then, is fixed further west at I-hsün, the modern Charkhlik.

All this agrees with the statement in *Shui ching chu*, ii, 5 r° (whose author died in 527): "The capital [of Shan-shan] is the city of I-hsün, in the territory of the ancient Lou-lan." Further on in the same work (f. 5 v°) we read: "The river [Chu-pin] flows east into the lake, which is situated north of the kingdom of Lou-lan. Here is the town of Yü-ni, commonly known as the old eastern town." This makes it quite clear that the old capital of Lou-lan was Yü-ni (now identified with Mirān), and that the new capital of the same kingdom, when its name was changed to Shan-shan in 77 A.C., was I-hsün. The mistake made by the T'ang writers was in assuming that the King went back to the old capital instead of creating a new one with the help of the Chinese.

This (I-hsün) is the town in question. Because the large city of Shan-shan lies to the west, the barbarians speak of it as Little Shan-shan. It is the modern T'un Ch'êng.

Here, as in many of the Stein MSS., 爲 is used as a homophone for 謂. The author of our present text makes the same mistake as the compilers of the T'ang history nearly 200 years later. He appears to have been misled by the name T'un Ch'êng (Camp City), and to have thought that it was derived from the military colonists who accompanied Wei-t'u-ch'i. This is certainly not the case: Pelliot is wrong in accepting this derivation, and Stein does not seem to see that it is really fatal to his own theory. (See *Serindia*, p. 327.) A more probable explanation is that the name was derived from the thousand colonists who according to *Shui ching chu*, ii, 5, were subsequently brought to Lou-lan by 索勵 So Mai (not So Man: this mistake was first made by Chavannes in *T'oung Pao*, vi, 567, and afterwards copied by Stein).

Hsin Ch'êng (New City). 240 *li* west of Shih-ch'êng Chên. When K'ang Yen-tien settled in Shan-shan, he began by rebuilding this town: hence the name New City. Under the Hans it was Nu-chih Ch'êng.

The 之 in Nu-chih Ch'êng is only a homophone variant of 支 in *T'ang shu*, loc. cit., which incidentally makes the distance from Shih-ch'êng Chên 200 *li*. Herrmann, and after him Stein, both identify the place with Vāsh-shahri: see *Seidenstrassen*, p. 100; *Serindia*, p. 306. But Herrmann wrongly places I-hsün here on his map.

P'u-t'ao Ch'êng (Grape-vine City). Four *li* north of Shih-ch'êng

Chên. Founded by K'ang Yen-tien, who planted vines within the town walls; hence its name, Grape-vine City.

This place has not yet been identified. Assuming a mistake in the bearing, as Stein suggests (*Innermost Asia*, p. 165), its remains may possibly be located at Koyumal, south of Charkhlik.

Sa-p'i Ch'êng is 480 *li* south-east of Shih-ch'êng Chên. It was founded by K'ang Yen-tien. This city is near the Sa-p'i Lake, where the mountains are steep and difficult. An endless stream of Tibetans and T'u-yü-hun is constantly passing to and fro.

Stein thinks that this is "likely to be some grazing and camping ground near the defiles of the Chimen-tāgh, through which routes pass to Charkhlik and Vāsh-shahri". But in T'ang times at least it was evidently a city of considerable importance. There is a reference to the place in *T'ang shu*, cx, 11 v°, where the King of Khotan 尉遲勝 Wei-ch'ih Shêng is said to have joined forces with 高仙芝 Kao Hsien-chih in attacking and subduing Sa-p'i and Po-hsien. This must have been in 747, when Kao Hsien-chih was starting on his punitive expedition over the Pamirs.

The City of Shan-shan is 1,640 paces in circumference, being twenty paces east of Shih-ch'êng Chên. This Shan-shan of the Han period is now in ruins.

This paragraph, referring to the actual site of the ancient I-hsün, seems out of place here. Stein notes that "the extant remains of an oblong circumvallation at Charkhlik probably date from T'ang or later times".

Po-hsien [Banished Immortal] *Chên*. The ancient kingdom of Chü-mo. The Account of the Western Regions in the Han History says it is 6,820 *li* from the superior capital [Ch'ang-an]. The Sui dynasty established Chü-mo Chün. In the third year of Shang-yüan [676] the name was changed to Po-hsien Chên.

播 is a mistake for 播. Cf. *T'ang shu*, xliii B, 19 r°: "After crossing the Chü-mo River, and proceeding 500 *li*, one arrives at Po-hsien Chên, the old city of Chü-mo. The name was changed by Kao Tsung in the Shang-yüan period [674-6]." The identity of the place with Charchan is certain: see *Seidenstrassen*, pp. 99-100; *Serindia*, pp. 298-9. The account of Chü-mo is in *Han shu*, xevi A, 4 v°.

The ancient T'un Ch'êng is north-west of T'un Ch'êng.

"Evidently the ancient portion of the Mirān site is meant, lying W.N.W. of the Tibetan fort of the T'ang period." [Stein.] See *Serindia*, iii, plans 29, 30.

The Chü-mo River [Charchan-daryā] takes its rise in the Nan Shan, flowing out through a large valley. The source of this river is 500 *li*

distant from the *chên* city [i.e. Po-hsien]. It passes under the walls of Chü-mo, hence its name.

涇 is therefore an obvious mistake for 且.

All the cities and garrisons mentioned above fell into the hands of the Tibetans.

In consequence of the general upheaval following the rebellion of An Lu-shan. From about 766 onwards, most of Eastern Turkestan was overrun by the Tibetans; see *Ancient Khotan*, i, 63, 533 seq.

The *P'u-ch'ang Lake* [Lop-nôr] is 320 *li* north-east of Shih-ch'êng Chên. This lake is 400 *li* in circumference.

"The bearing and comparatively small circumference clearly indicate that the lake meant is identical with the Kara-koshun Marshes. The 320 *li* correspond exactly to the distance from Charkhlik to the west end of Kara-koshun at Kumchapgan (below Abdal). The circumference indicated (400 *li* = ca. 80 miles) agrees closely with that of Kara-koshun as shown in the 1906-8 map in *Desert Cathay*. The notice of our text is important in view of the confusing speculations to which the so-called 'Lop-nôr problem' has given rise; for it definitely proves that the terminal marshes of the Târim River occupied in the ninth century much the same position and were of approximately the same extent as at present—a conclusion to which other evidence also pointed (see *Serindia*, pp. 327 seq.), but not quite so clearly." [Stein.]

The account of the Western Regions in the Han History says: "The Yellow River has two sources:—

西 here is a mistake for 兩. Cf. *Han shu*, xevi A, 1 r^o.

One branch comes from the Ts'ung Ling (Onion Range) Mountains, another comes from Khotan at the foot of the Nan Shan. This latter stream flows north and, joining the Ts'ung-ling River, pours its waters eastward into the P'u-ch'ang Lake, another name for which is Yen-tsê [Salt Marsh]. This is over 300 *li* distant from the Yü-mên (Jade Gate) and Yang Barriers. Here it disappears and flows underground, emerging again towards the south from the Chi-shih (Piled-up Rocks) Mountain as the great river of China."

It is hardly necessary to remark that this theory is not accepted by modern geographers.

I Chou.

For a summary of historical notices of the oasis of Hāmi, see *Serindia*, pp. 1147 seq.; *Innermost Asia*, pp. 539 seq.

Houses built by the Government, 730.

Such I take to be the meaning of 公廨, a phrase which occurs

four times in this MS., once in S. 788, and again in S. 2472 v° (3). That it should denote "public buildings" in the ordinary sense of the term is out of the question. It would seem rather to indicate the huts or shacks built for Chinese colonists out of public funds. The word 千 which follows here and in two of the other passages is a puzzle which I have not yet succeeded in solving; but it appears to be a sort of numerative referring to the houses.

Households, 1729. *Hsiang* (Country districts), 7.

For the meaning of 鄉, see "A Census of Tun-huang" (*T'oung Pao*, ser. II, vol. xvi, p. 473, note 5).

The above was the territory of the Western Jung tribe in the ancient kingdom of K'un-wu. When King Mu of the Chou dynasty smote the Western Jung, K'un-wu presented him with a red sword.

The allusion is to the following passage in *Lieh tsü*, v, 20 ad fin.: "When King Mu of Chou made his great expedition against the Western Jung, the latter offered him as a present a K'un-wu sword which was 1 ft. 8 in. in length, had a red blade made of tempered steel, and could cut through jade like so much putty." The incident is also mentioned in 十洲記 *Shih chow ch'i* (鳳麟洲), f. 5 v°: "In the time of King Mu of Chou, the Western barbarians presented a K'un-wu sword that would cut jade."

This is the kingdom in question. Later usage erroneously turned the name into I-wu Chün.

That is to say, the character 伊 was substituted for 昆.

The account of the Western Regions in the Han History says: "During the decline of the Chou dynasty, the Jung and the Ti tribes dwelt intermixed north of the Ching and Wei Rivers."

In Northern Kansu and Shensi. See *Han Shu*, xcvi A, 1 v°.

The territory of I-wu was subsequently taken by the Hsiung-nu, but when Wu Ti of the Han smote the Hsiung-nu, he annexed it.

This is not expressly stated in the Histories, though some have thought that the oasis may have been temporarily occupied during 霍去病 *Ho ch'ü-ping's* brilliant campaign of 121 B.C. In *Han shu*, lv, 5 v°, he is said to have reached the 祁連山 *Ch'i-lien* [or *Shih-lien*] Mountains, which the commentator Yen Shih-ku identifies with the T'ien Shan because *Ch'i-lien* was the Hsiung-nu word for "Heaven". Chavannes has shown, however, that these mountains were in all probability the Nan Shan, south of Su Chou and Kan Chou; see *Tures Occidentaux*, pp. 133-4. Moreover, *Ta ch'ing i tung chih*, cccli, 1 r°, definitely places the first Chinese occupation of Hāmi in A.D. 73.

Afterwards it was again abandoned. In the 16th year of *Yung-p'ing* [A.D. 73], the Later Hans attacked the Hsiung-nu in the north and took

壽昌海

大渠長丁三十三里

石城鎮東去沙州一千五百八十里去大都六百八十里本漢樓

蘭國漢書西域傳云地沙國少出玉傳和子既殺

其王漢立其弟更名為都善國隋置都善鎮隋亂其

城遂廢自蘭中康國大首領康豐典東來居此城

胡人隨之因成聚落亦曰合城其城四面皆是沙磧

歸單弱請天子國中有一儲城之肥美願遣一將往

稽收得衣其威重漢遣馬及吏士去田伊脩以鎮之

即此城是也胡以西有都善大城遂為小都善今去城也

蒲桃城東去石城鎮一百八十里康豐典東來居此城

產城西北去石城鎮四百八十里康豐典所築其城近薩

北澤山險阻恒有吐蕃及土谷渾來往不絕

以爲龍勒泉

飲此水鳴噴宛轉迴旋而去

城似龍頭亦以爲名

A CHINESE GEOGRAPHICAL TEXT OF THE NINTH CENTURY (1).

善善城周圍一千六百步西去石城鎮廿步漢部善城
 見今堆塚 暢仙鎮 故善善城也漢書西域傳云去善善城六十八里隋書
 地理志云善善城在善善縣西北 河東河源從南山大谷口出其源
 去鎮城五百里縣見宋城下過國以為名前城鎮並陷吐蕃
 蒲昌海在石城鎮東三百里其海周廣四百里漢子
 西域傳云黃河西源一出於崑崙一出于闐風南山其
 河北流而慈崩河合東注蒲昌海一名煖澤者也去玉
 門陽關三百餘里依流而下南出積石山為中國河馬也
 伊州下谷廣七百四十戶一千七百廿九 御七
 石在昆吾國西戎之地周穆王伐西戎昆吾獻赤刀是也
 後唐訛轉為伊吾郡漢書西域傳云周靈武伐
 錯居沒渭之北伊吾之地又為匈奴所得漢武帝伐匈
 奴收其地其後復棄至後漢永平十六北征匈奴取伊
 吾廢地置田禾都尉西域傳通以後伊吾三失三得順
 帝置伊吾司馬大魏晉無聞郡縣隋大業六年於城
 東置地置伊吾郡隋亂復沒於胡貞觀四年首領蘇
 牟卒七城來降 我唐始置伊州實應中陶吐蕃大甲四
 年張議潮收復回沙州戶居之羌龍難虔約一千三
 百人

貢賦

管縣三

伊吾

納賦

桑遠

伊吾縣在鄯下公廩三百
千五百 戶千六百五十三 無四

右奔後漢伊吾屯其城云是實固所築也魏以爲縣漢書

云伊吾廬夷狄舊号耳

寺二
安原
觀二
大甲
坪七
無蘭
三
定

風俗有文字田夫蒿畝之人皆有平聲爲傲冬夏常食

餅無釜甑之具，挾是竹筴，皆不啻渴則渠，蹈交而飲。

古所謂博學敏則其質朴之傳其俗又不重衣冠唯

以多肝為貴

陸地鹽池延周十里北去縣六里鎮中無水陸地池廣

漢味廿月盧郎若移長梓郎去無還

小伊吾城北去縣十里伊吾縣也百姓西山城後通朱蘇田水

就其地望加故曰小伊吾

第三水除東北至重凡三水皆然

第三小段東北九里月三十日皆睡岸邊出南河入硤良熱水

林廟中有素畫形像無數有衣主素身隨者高

通鑑外紀卷之六 宋 高

通鑑出胎外者五其胎息實其於手書不用點高

下慈惠諸國家所舉百事皆順天休靈昭無不獲驗

初之接傳人而佳生員在十日已平得女舊本言春

內職縣

納職縣 戶吏主一萬廿里 公廩一百一十石 戶六百三十三 陽七

在唐初有土人鄒伏陀屬東突厥以微統繁衆車戍人
 入破奔鄯善至並吐渾居住唐爲者又投高昌不答而
 歸胡人呼鄯善爲納職既從鄯善而歸遂以爲号司
 寺一併赴石戍一百衆烽八百又不利泉永安
 戍北泉去縣廿里在坎下湧出成流東相城流入蒲昌海也
 東遠縣唐南去州二百里唐書卷一百一
 石相傳隋大業十三年伊吾胡共築營田貞觀四年胡歸國
 因此爲縣以鎮爲名
 觀一天王烽四向望白楊山伊地具獨堆
 乘遠鎮鎮東七里隋大業十三年置伊吾郡同是鎮
 時羅漢山無北四十里按西域傳即石山也綿亘數千里其有
 漢將宣固破呼衍王刻石紀漢之碑美行本吾君去舊
 文更刻斯文以替香燭其山高六百里置壇場祈禱其州
 下立廟神名阿賾
 伊吾軍東去州一百里
 在景龍四年五月日本勅置聖開元六年移就甘露
 鎮兵士三千人馬二千疋
 四聖東南去伊州一百里西南去州一百里
 龍部落本爲耆人今甘肅伊州各有鎮首其大輒銳健
 劍戟皆京皇化沙州東南姚閼山去州一百里
 西南有紫亭山去州一百九十里其山石皆紫色復名紫
 亭庭州南海軍西州天山軍交河縣伊州
 伊吾軍乘遠縣

光緒元年十二月十五日張文慶司雲州安縣使司大夫等集
 五州於銅後遂寫得此文書記

the territory of I-wu-lu, where they set up an *I-ho Tu-wei* ("Military Superintendent for the benefit of the Crops").

田 in the text is a mistake for 宜 : see *Hou han shu*, cxviii, 1 v°, col. 2.

Communication was again established with the Western Regions, after which I-wu was three times lost and three times recovered.

This appears to be an echo of *Hou han shu*, cxviii, 3 v° : " From the *Chien-wu* period [25-55] to the *Yen-kuang* period [122-5], the Western Regions were three times cut off from the Empire and three times brought into communication with it." The dates for I-wu in particular are : 77, lost ; 90, recovered ; 107, lost ; 119, recovered ; 120, lost. In 127 the " Western Regions " submitted once more, but I-wu does not seem to have been re-colonized until 131. The date of its final severance from the Han Empire is not exactly known. In 151 the oasis was ravaged by the Hsiung-nu, and though they retreated before a Chinese relieving force, the latter, too, is ominously said to have " retired without achieving any success " (無功而還) : see *Hou han shu*, cxviii, 14 r°.

Shun Ti [126-44] appointed a *ssü-ma* of I-wu.

Cf. *Hou han shu*, loc. cit. : " In the 6th year of *Yung-chien* [131] the Emperor, considering that I-wu had from time immemorial been a rich and fertile country adjoining the Western Regions, and that the Hsiung-nu were in the habit of raiding it for purposes of plunder, accordingly gave orders for a new military colony to be planted there, as was done in the *Yung-yüan* period [89-104], and appointed a *ssü-ma* of I-wu."

Under the Wei and Chin dynasties nothing is heard of either *chün* or *hsien*.

Cf. *Ta ch'ing i tung chih*, loc. cit. : " The Wei established I-wu Hsien, the Chin appointed an *I-wu Tu-wei* (Military Superintendent of I-wu), but both of these were concerned with the northern territory of Tun-huang, not with the ancient I-wu. [Note : The I-wu of the Wei and the Chin lay north of the modern An-hsi Chên and Sha Chou, but was separated from Hâmi by a long stretch of desert ; it was not the same as the I-wu of the Han period.] "

Under the Sui dynasty, in the 6th year of *Tu-yeh* [610], land east of the city was purchased, and I-wu Chün established. On the downfall of Sui it reverted to the barbarians.

" It fell into the hands of the Jung tribes and became part of the T'u-chüeh Empire." [*I tung chih*.]

In the 4th year of *Chêng-kuan* [630] the chieftain Shih Wan-nien, at the head of seven cities, came and made his submission.

This is evidently the personage mentioned in *T'ang shu*, ccxxi B, 10 r°: "In 630 the head of the city [of I-wu] came to render homage at Court. After the defeat of Hsieh-li [Khan of the Eastern T'u-chüeh], he brought in the submission of seven cities, and the territory was registered as Western I Chou." What these seven cities were is not stated. Nor have I been able to find the name Shih Wan-nien in any other text.

I Chou was established for the first time under our own T'ang dynasty, but in *Pao-ying* [762] it was conquered by the Tibetans.

In 630, according to *I t'ung chih*, "it was absorbed by China under the name of Western I Chou, which in 632 was changed to I Chou. In the first year of *T'ien-pao* [742] it was re-named I-wu Chün. In the first year of *Ch'ien-yuan* [758] it again became I Chou, comprising the three sub-prefectures of I-wu, Na-chih, and Jou-yüan." The irruption of the Tibetans does not appear to have much affected the administration of the region, which remained in the hands of the 陳 Ch'ên family from 714 to about 984, when the oasis was incorporated in the Uighur dominions. During the Wu Tai period it was known as the 胡盧磧 Gourd Oasis.

In the 4th year of *Ta-chung* [850] it was regained by Chang I-ch'ao, and forty families from Sha Chou were settled there.

Some information about Chang I-ch'ao will be found in the translation by Chavannes of two inscriptions dated 851 and 894: see *Serindia*, p. 1333; *Dix Inscriptions*, p. 80. He notes that in the inscription of 851 the first part of the personal name is written 議, not 義, as in *T'ang shu*, ccxvi B, 13 v°. Since our present MS. (the next earliest in date) has the same form, we may plausibly assume 議 to be correct. The passage in *T'ang shu*, whence most of our knowledge concerning this Governor of Tun-huang is derived, runs as follows: "The next year [850], the ruler of Sha Chou, Chang I-ch'ao, presented to the Throne maps of eleven *chou*, including Kua Chou, Sha Chou, I Chou, Su Chou, and Kan Chou. He had previously banded together a number of resolute men with the object of restoring Chinese rule. On the appointed day they armed themselves and started a revolt at the gates of Sha Chou, in which they were abetted by all the Chinese inhabitants. The Tibetan garrison was alarmed and fled, whereupon Chang I-ch'ao took over the local administration. He prepared weapons and armour, and by means of fighting combined with agricultural operations regained all the other *chou*. Officers from each of the other ten cities, bearing dispatches inserted in staves, were sent in haste to T'ien-tê Ch'êng [Marco Polo's Tenduc] in the north-east. The *Fang-yü-shih* (Military Governor) of this place, Li P'ei, reported to the Emperor, who warmly commended Chang for his loyalty, sent a message acknowledging his services and bidding him be of good cheer, and appointed him *Fang-yü-shih* of Sha Chou. Soon after, the

title of *Kuei-i Chün* (Military district returning to Allegiance) was bestowed on the *chou*, and Chang I-ch'ao was made *Chieh-tu-shih* (Governor). . . . In the 2nd year of *Hsien-t'ung* [861], I-ch'ao announced the submission of Liang Chou. . . . In the 8th year [867], I-ch'ao visited the Chinese Court, and was made Commandant of the Right Division of the Shên-wu Imperial Guards. He was presented with a house and land, and it was decreed that his cousin 淮深 Huai-shên should be placed in charge of the territory that had returned to allegiance. In the 13th year [872] he [Chang I-ch'ao] died, and Sha Chou elected the *Chang-shih* 曹義金 Ts'ao I-chin to administer the affairs of the *chou*. Subsequently, the title of *Kuei-i Chieh-tu-shih* was conferred on him. Later on, China became involved in many troubles, and the Imperial authority was no longer effective. Kan Chou was absorbed by the Uighurs, and most of the cities that had returned to allegiance succumbed."

The other six *chou* reconquered by Chang were 善 Shan, 西 Hsi, 河 Ho, 蘭 Lan, 岷 Min, and 廓 K'uo. I have extracted a few more precise details from the *T'ung chien*: 851, 1st (or 2nd) moon: Chang I-ch'ao sends in his submission to China. 10th moon: He subdues the ten *chou*, and sends his elder brother 義澤 I-tsê to the Court with maps and lists of population. 11th moon: The title of *Kuei-i Chün* is conferred on Sha Chou, and *Chieh-tu-shih* on I-ch'ao. 863, 3rd moon: I-ch'ao announces that, acting with a mixed force of 7,000 Tibetans and Chinese, he has regained Liang Chou for China. 867: the name of I-ch'ao's cousin is given as 惟深 Wei-shên. 872, 8th moon, is definitely stated to be the date of I-ch'ao's death. Chavannes, following the 西域水道記 *Hsi yü shui tao chi*, iii, 19 v°, is wrong in thinking that the *T'ang shu* makes Huai-shên, and not I-ch'ao, die in that year.

Any one reading the above extract from the *T'ang shu* would imagine that Chang I-ch'ao was succeeded immediately by Ts'ao I-chin. So far from that being so, there was an interval of forty years or more between the two. The *Sung shih*, cccxc, 15 v°, translated in *Serindia*, pp. 1338-9, tells us that the line of succession in the Chang family only came to an end during the Liang dynasty (907-22). It is also stated that Ts'ao I-chin was succeeded by his son Ts'ao 元忠 Yüan-chung. But on the strength of a passage translated by Rémusat (from *Wu tai shih*, lxxiv, 7 v°, though this reference is not given), Chavannes concludes that another reign comes in between, and that 元深 Yüan-shên, the elder brother of Yüan-chung, was actually King of Kua Chou and Sha Chou in 939. That the latter assumption is not correct may be gathered from another passage coming a little earlier (l. 5 v°) which deserves to be translated in full: "Liang Chou was thus cut off from China, and only Kua Chou and Sha Chou continued to have regular intercourse with her until the end of the Five Dynasties. At Sha Chou, in the K'ai-p'ing period of the Liang [907-10], there was a governor 張奉 Chang Fêng, who called himself 金山白衣天子

"The White-robed Son of Heaven of the Golden Mountain". In the reign of Chuang Tsung of the Later T'ang [923-5], the Uighurs sent envoys to the Chinese Court. Ts'ao I-chin, descendant of the Chinese left in Sha Chou [after the collapse of the T'ang], also sent an embassy which came together with the Uighurs. Chuang Tsung appointed I-chin *Kuei-i Chün Chieh-tu-shih*, *Kuan-ch'a-shih* (Inspector), *Ch'u-chih-shih* (Legal Commissioner), etc., of Kua, Sha, and the other *chou*. During the Chin dynasty, in the 5th year of *T'ien-fu* [940], I-chin died, and his son 元德 *Yüan-tê* came to the throne. In the 7th year [942] Ts'ao Yüan-chung of Sha Chou and Ts'ao Yüan-shên of Kua Chou both sent envoys to China. In the reign of Shih Tsung of the Chou [954-9], Yüan-chung was made *Kuei-i Chün Chieh-tu-shih*, and 元恭 *Yüan-kung* was made Commissioner of Train-bands in Kua Chou."

It is evident from the above that a member of Chang I-ch'ao's family was still ruling Sha Chou at the close of the T'ang dynasty, and was succeeded by Ts'ao I-chin, who was the first of his line, somewhere between 910 and 923. Ts'ao Yüan-chung seems to have succeeded his brother Yüan-tê in 942, but was not made *Chieh-tu-shih* until 955. Yüan-kung may be yet another brother, unless we adopt the emendation 延恭 *Yen-kung*, a son of Yüan-chung, who according to *Sung shih*, loc. cit., was made *Fang-yü-shih* of Kua Chou in 962, and from whom two letters are preserved in S. 5973. Ts'ao Yüan-shên was prefect of Kua Chou in 942 (as he had been in 939), but he never became *Chieh-tu-shih* or Governor of Sha Chou. In the Stein Collection (S. 707) there is a fragmentary copy of the Filial Piety Classic which was made by Yüan-shên in 925, when he was a lay student attached to the 三界寺 *San-chieh* Monastery; and in S. 1286 v° is the end of a letter from him (without a date), when he had already attained high official rank.

Its mixed population includes Ch'iang [Tangutans] and Lung, amounting to about 1,300 people.

We were told above that the number of households in I Chou was 1,729, which, allowing an average of five persons to each household, yields a total population of 8,645. It seems to be implied that the majority of the inhabitants were Chinese, but doubtless other races were represented. (See *Serindia*, p. 1150.) In *T'ang shu*, xl, 11 v°, the households are said to have numbered 2,467, and the individuals 10,157. This would make the ratio of individuals to a household a little over 4:1—greater than that for Tun-huang, but considerably less than that for the Empire as a whole. See "A Census of Tun-huang", *T'oung Pao*, Oct., 1915, pp. 479-80. In the eighteenth century the population was estimated at about 12,000.

Revenue.

Or tribute paid to the Imperial Court. Nothing further is stated in the text.

Subordinate sub-prefectures (*hsien*), 3 : I-wu, Na-chih, Jou-yüan.

I Chou seems to have included a great deal more territory than the single oasis of Hāmi, though most of it was desert. *Ta ch'ing i t'ung chih* gives the following dimensions for the *chou* when it was first established in 630 : east to west, 1,015 *li* ; north to south, 490 *li*. One would naturally suppose that the extent of the *chou* coincided with that of the three *hsien* put together ; but that does not appear to have been the case, for the sum of the households in the three *hsien* (2,634) is much greater than the figure given for the *chou* (1,729). They also comprise twelve country districts as opposed to seven only in the *chou*.

I-wu Hsien. Situated in the suburban area. Houses built by the Government, 301. [*Ch'ien*, 15.] Households, 1613. Country districts, 4.

Here the problem of 千 is complicated by the fact that it is followed by another numeral.

The above was originally the I-wu T'un [Camp] of the Later Han. The city walls are stated to have been built by Tou Ku.

For Tou Ku, see Giles, *Biog. Dict.*, 1959, and below. He led an expedition into Central Asia, and took Hāmi from the Hsiung-nu in A.D. 73, thus laying the foundation for Pan Ch'ao's victorious campaigns.

Under the Wei it was made a *hsien*.

See *Wei shu*, vii B, 3 r° : " In the 12th moon of the 12th year of *T'ai-ho* [Jan.-Feb., 489], the Juan-juan commander of the frontier garrison at I-wu, Kao Kao-tzū, at the head of an army of 3,000 men, surrendered the city [to the Wei]." Also *I t'ung chih*, lxxxix, 19 r° : " the Hans established I-wu T'un, and the Later Wei made it a *hsien*."

The Han History says : " I-wu-lu is only an old name for the I and Ti tribes."

I have not been able to find this statement in our present text of the *Han shu*.

Buddhist monasteries, 2 : Hsüan-fêng (Diffused influence), An-hua (Peaceful civilization). Taoist monasteries, 2 : Hsiang-mou (Auspicious barley), Ta-lo (Great net). Signal stations, 7 : Shui-yüan (River source) ; Mao-êrh (Hairy ear) ;

The second character might be 瓦 *wa*, a tile ; but " Hairy ear " seems a better name than " Hairy tile ".

Lang-ch'üan (Wolf spring) ; Hsiang-tsao (Fragrant jujube) ; P'an-lan-ch'üan (Twining orchid spring) ; Su-tu-ku (Quick cross valley) ; I-ti-chü (*I* territory implement ?). Frontier garrisons, 3 :

Chi-t'ing (Unbaked brick station); Ch'ih-yai (Red cliff); Mao-kan (Lance shaft).

Manners and customs. The inhabitants, consisting of husbandmen and traders, possess a written script.

No doubt Turki is meant. Sir Aurel Stein writes: "The present population of Hāmi comprises a considerable proportion of true Turkish stock, which in the valleys of the Karlik-tāgh has preserved much of the old nomadic ways of life; in the oasis to the south, these have been lost through mixture with Chinese elements."

The peasants and traders only have flat iron plates which they use as griddles; the cakes [which they bake on these] are their usual food, winter and summer. They have no cooking-pots or pans; cups and bowls, spoons and chopsticks form no part of their belongings. When they are thirsty, they simply squat on the ground and drink. The old phrase, "A hole made in the ground served them for a jug, and they drank out of their hands," pictures their rude simplicity.

Reading 掬, which is another form of 杯. The quotation is from *Li chi*, vii, 1 (6).

It is also their custom to set no store by dress, and to make wealth the only criterion of rank.

Sixty *li* south of the *hsien* is a dry salt lake, ten *li* in circumference.

"Probably an old dried-up lagoon of Hāmi drainage which further to the south-west loses itself in the salt basins of Shona-nōr." [Stein.]

In the desert there is no water, but the dry soil yields salt, which has a sweet taste when the moon is full, and is bitter when the moon is waning. Though the salt has been collected for ages past, it still shows no sign of diminution.

The town of Little I-wu, 20 *li* south of the *hsien*, was the original I-wu Hsien. Because in the neighbourhood of this town there was formerly water to irrigate the fields, the people [of I-wu] were attracted to this district and built a walled city; hence it is called Little I-wu.

Shih-lo-man Mountains. Partly in the administrative area of Jou-yüan Hsien.

These mountains are the Karlik-tāgh, the easternmost portion of the T'ien Shan range. See below, p. 842.

Yüan-ch'üan [Source spring] *River*. Ten *li* north of the *hsien*.

"The Hāmi oasis receives its irrigation water from springs which issue at short distances north and north-east of it in the rubble-filled beds of three river-courses, ordinarily dry. These river-beds all descend from the snowy Karlik-tāgh, but carry no surface water after

leaving their debouchures at Törük, Karakupchin, and Aratam. Cf. *Serindia*, p. 1148, maps 72, 73." [Stein.]

River No. 2. Five *li* north-east of the *hsien*.

River No. 3. Nine *li* north-east of the *hsien*.

All these three rivers gush forth from a steep mountain-side and flow southwards into the desert, where they are swallowed up. In the *Huo-t'ien* [Zoroastrian] Temple there are countless images, both plain and painted. One Ti-p'an-t'o was the head priest of the Fire-worshipping Sect.

Mazdeism, or the religion of Zoroaster, was widely spread throughout Central Asia in T'ang times, as we may infer from numerous references in the Chinese histories. "Ti-p'an-t'o" (or "Chai-p'an-t'o") may be the name of a country rather than that of an individual. In *T'ang shu*, xliii B, 18 v°, we read that "600 *li* south-west of Kashgar one reaches the military post of Ts'ung-ling, which is the ancient kingdom of 羯盤陀 Chieh-p'an-t'o." The name occurs again in *T'ang shu*, ccxxi A, 16 r°, and in Hsüan-tsang's *Hsi yü chi*, with slight modifications of the first character.

Before Kao-ch'ang was conquered, P'an-t'o visited the [Chinese] Court.

Kao-ch'ang was the kingdom occupying the Turfān oasis in the sixth and seventh centuries. Under the Later Han dynasty it was known as 車師前王庭 the Anterior Royal Court of Chü-shih. In 335 it was conquered by 張駿 Chang Chün, the ruler of 涼 Liang, and called Kao-ch'ang Chün. In 442 it was seized by one of the 沮渠 Chü-ch'ü clan of Northern Liang, but in 460 fell into the hands of the Juan-juan, who made 闕伯周 K'an Po-chou king of Kao-ch'ang. In 500 the inhabitants raised 麴嘉 Ch'ü Chia to the throne, and the Ch'ü family continued to rule the kingdom until it was annexed to the T'ang Empire by 侯君集 Hou Chün-chi in 640, and given the name of 西州 Hsi Chou.

On arriving at the capital [Ch'ang-an], he called down the Fire-god, [who took possession of his body]. Then he pierced his belly with a sharp sword, so that it went right through him and protruded on each side. Cutting away [from his entrails ?] what was superfluous, and tying up the main portion with his hair,

This is hardly intelligible, and leads one to suspect some omission or corruption in the text.

he grasped the two ends of the sword in his hands and twisted it round and round and up and down [in his body], exclaiming the while : "All the enterprises undertaken by the State are in accordance with the will of Heaven ; with divine aid nothing will remain unfulfilled."

The prophecy seems to refer more particularly to the impending expedition against Kao-ch'ang.

After the god had withdrawn [from his body], he fell rigid and prostrate on the ground, and drew no breath for seven days, when he recovered and returned to his normal condition. This occurrence was reported to the Throne by the authorities, and by Imperial decree he was invested with the title of "Yōgi General".

Na-chih Hsien. 120 li west of the *chou*. Houses built by the Government, 215. Households, 632. Country districts, 7.

This is the present oasis of Lapchuk. For the derivation of the name, see Pelliot, *Journal Asiatique*, 1916, p. 118. Unfortunately, he has wrongly quoted the distance as 320 li, and the mistake has been transferred to *Serindia*, p. 1157, note 14.

At the beginning of the T'ang period, a native of this place, Shan Fu-t'o, belonging to the Eastern T'u-chüeh, on account of the oppressive taxation led his fellow-burghers into the desert, and took refuge in Shan-shan, where they dwelt awhile side by side with the T'u-yü-hun. Then, passing through Yen-ch'i [Karashahr], they migrated to Kao-ch'ang. Not being comfortable there, they returned home [to Na-chih]. The barbarians call Shan-shan Na-chih, so when these people came back from Shan-shan, they gave this name to their city.

Professor Pelliot has translated this passage, and explains it as follows: Na-chih was founded in the sixth century by natives of Shan-shan, and called Na-chih because that was their name for Shan-shan. Shan Fu-t'o (whose surname proves that he came of a Shan-shan family) tried to lead the colony back to its old home, but finding the T'u-yü-hun settled there, returned to Na-chih. Thus interpreted, our text certainly throws some light on a puzzling passage in *T'ang shu*, xl, 11 v°, which informs us that "Na-chih was established as a *hsien* on the site of the old city of Shan-shan in 630". Pelliot, however, assumes that Na-chih was so called from the time of its foundation, whereas it is here clearly indicated that this was a new name, given to it only on the return of Shan Fu-t'o. Previously, we must suppose, it had been called Shan-shan after the Chinese name of its parent city. In 718 it lost the status of *hsien*, but regained it in 727.

Buddhist convent, 1: Hsiang-mou (for nuns). Frontier garrison, 1: Po-ch'üan (Hundred springs). Signal stations, 8: Po-ch'ih (Hundred feet); Pu-tao-ch'üan (Not arrive spring); Yung-an (Lasting peace); Tung-chê-chüeh (Eastern Chê-chüeh tree?); Hua-ch'üan (Flower spring); Yen-mo (Protracted end).

It may be noted that Hsiang-mou was the name of a Taoist convent

(monastery or nunnery) at I-wu Hsien, above. "Eight" signal stations is apparently a mistake for "six". The name 柘厥關 Chê-chüeh Pass or Barrier occurs in *T'ang shu*, xliii, 17 v°: "Westward from An-hsi one goes through the Chê-chüeh Pass."

The spring north of the city is 20 *li* from the *hsien*. It wells up from a pit and forms a torrent which flows into the P'u-ch'ang Lake.

"Probably the springs of Toghucha or Ili-kul are meant, five to six miles north and north-east of Lapchuk, which supply the irrigation of the oasis. See *Serindia*, v, map 69. But "P'u-ch'ang Lake" is obviously an error. The water of Lapchuk loses itself in a dry basin adjoining the Shona-nör depression, about twenty miles to the south-west. Lop-nör is separated from it by some 250 miles across the Kuruk-tāgh!" [Stein.]

Jou-yüan Hsien. 240 *li* north-east of the *chou*. Houses built by the Government, []. Households, 389. Country districts, 1.

公廩 has been added in somewhat fainter ink, without any number. "Distance and bearing prove Jou-yüan Hsien to be identical with the modern Tāsh-bulak, with some adjacent patches of cultivation, about fifty miles E.N.E. of Hāmi. See *Innermost Asia*, iv, map 37. Tāsh-bulak is garrisoned as a small post guarding the approaches to Hāmi from the eastern Dzungarian plateaus and Mongolia." [Stein.] According to *Chiu t'ang shu*, xl, 47 r°, it was founded in 630, and took its name from the old city of Jou-yüan, east of the *hsien*. *Hsin t'ang shu*, xl, 11 v°, further informs us that in 697 it lost its separate status and was merged into I-wu Hsien.

This city is said to have been built, and the adjoining fields laid out, with the co-operation of barbarians (*hu*) from I-wu, in the 12th year of *Ta-yeh* [616]. In the 4th year of *Chêng-kuan* [630] the Hu returned to their own country. On account of this [act of kindness], when it was made a *hsien*, it took its name from the *chên*.

This paragraph is evidently intended to explain the unusual name Jou-yüan (literally "soft-far"), but it is not put at all clearly. The name is derived from a passage in the Canon of Shun (*Shu ching*, ii, 1, v. 16), which is repeated in the Testamentary Charge (ib., v, 22, viii): 柔遠能邇 "Be kind to those who are far off, and help those who are near" (see Legge, *Classics*, iii, pp. 42, 548). As applied here to the action of the Hu, the meaning must be, "Be kind to those from afar." But it would appear, not only from our present text, but from the *Chiu t'ang shu*, xl, 47 r°, and the 元和志 *Yüan ho chih* as well, that the name of the *hsien* was taken from that of the *chên*, which must therefore have been built at an earlier date. Perhaps we may reconstruct the sequence of events as follows: When I-wu Chün was established by the Sui in 610, the need of a fortified post in the north-east was felt in order to protect it, and Jou-yüan Chên

was built about 616 with the aid of the Hu. After a short interval, during which I-wu was in the hands of the Jung Tribes, the T'ang dynasty regained possession of the oasis, and Jou-yüan Hsien was founded in 630, taking its name from the older Jou-yüan Chên.

Taoist monasteries, 1: T'ien-shang (In heaven). Signal stations, 4: Pai-wang (Clear prospect); Pai-yang-shan (White poplar hill); I-ti-chü; Tu-tui (Lonely pile).

"I-ti-chü" is also the name of a signal station in I-wu Hsien, above. *Jou-yüan Chên*. Seven *li* east of the *hsien*.

鎮 in the text is evidently a mistake for 縣. This is the "old city of Jou-yüan" of *Chiu Tang shu*, loc. cit.

Under the Sui dynasty, in the 12th year of *Ta-yeh* [616], I-wu Chün was established, which was followed by the establishment of this *chên*.

Above (under I Chou, p. 833) the date was given as 610, which seems preferable to the other, because the foundation of the *chün* was certainly the result of the brilliant feat of arms accomplished by 薛世雄 Hsieh Shih-hsiung in 608, and described thus in *Sui shu*, lxxv, 9 r^o: "Having been made Commander-in-chief at the Jade Gate, Hsieh Shih-hsiung planned an attack on I-wu in conjunction with Ch'i-min, Khan of the Northern T'u-chüeh. His army proceeded to the Jade Gate, but Ch'i-min broke his promise and did not appear. Thereupon Shih-hsiung set out across the desert unsupported. The people of I-wu never thought that the Sui army could arrive, and made no preparations; so when they heard that it had already crossed the desert, they were terror-stricken and made haste to surrender, flocking to the Military Gate and offering beef and wine. Subsequently, Shih-hsiung built a walled city east of the old Han city of I-wu, which was called New I-wu. He left behind the Silver-and-blue *Kuang-lu Ta-fu* 王威 Wang Wei with over a thousand armed men to garrison the place, and returned."

Shih-lo-man Mountains. Forty *li* north of the *hsien*.

"The Karlik-tāgh ('Snowy Mountains'), of which the eastern end rises due north of Tāsh-bulak, its southern spurs approaching within about eight miles of that town." [Stein.] Cf. *Turcs Occidentaux*, pp. 18, 305; *Innermost Asia*, pp. 532 seq.

According to the Account of the Western Regions, these are the T'ien Shan, which stretch in a continuous chain for several thousand *li*.

The reference is not to ch. 96 of the *Han shu* as we have it, but possibly to some independent treatise which was afterwards incorporated in the geographical section of the T'ang shu; for in the

latter work (ch. xl, p. 11 v°), it is stated that "in this district (I-wu) are the 折羅漫 Chê-lo-man Mountains, also called T'ien Shan". The commentary on *Hou han shu*, ii, 11 r°, says: "The T'ien Shan are the same as the 祁連山 Shih-lien Shan [this is the pronunciation given]. Another name is 'Snowy Mountains', and at the present day they are called the 折羅漢 Chê-lo-han Mountains." This mistake is probably derived from Yen Shih-ku who, as we have seen above (p. 832), also confused the T'ien Shan and the Nan Shan.

On them is an inscribed stone tablet which commemorated the exploit of the Han general Tou Ku in defeating the Prince of the Hu-yen Clan.

This victory was gained in A.D. 73. From the biography of Tou Ku in *Hou han shu*, liii, 8 v°, we learn that "when he and [his lieutenant] 耿忠 Kêng Chung reached the T'ien Shan, they attacked the Hu-yen Prince and cut off more than a thousand heads. The Hu-yen Prince fled, and was pursued as far as 蒲類海 Lake Barkul. Tou Ku left some officers and men encamped in the town of I-wu-lu". See also, op. cit., ii, 11 r°. The commentary there states that Hu-yen was the name (號) of a Hsiung-nu prince; but this is somewhat misleading. In *Shih chi*, cx, 4 v°, where the earliest mention of the name occurs, it is clearly recognized to be that of a Hsiung-nu clan: "All the great ministers (of the Hsiung-nu) hold hereditary office, being selected from the 呼衍 Hu-yen, the 蘭 Lan, and at a later date the 須卜 Hsü-pu clan. These three families constitute the nobility." The commentary adds that the first and last enjoyed the privilege of intermarrying with the Shan-yü's family, while the Hsü-pu also exercised judicial functions. For other passages in which the Hu-yen princes are mentioned, see *Dix Inscriptions*, pp. 19-24. Another possible reference is *Han shu*, xciv A, 19 v°, where it is related how a Hsiung-nu prince succeeded to the throne in 85 B.C. with the style 壹衍鞬 Hu-yen-ti Shan-yü.

Chiang Hsing-pên erased the ancient inscription and engraved a new one in its place, extolling the merits of the T'ang.

This inscription, dated 19th July, 640, is to be found in *Hsi yü shui tao chi*, iii, 26 v°, and has been translated by Chavannes in *Dix Inscriptions*, pp. 25 seq. Hsing-pên was the style (字) of 姜確 Chiang Ch'io, whose biography is given in *T'ang shu*, xci, 8 r°. It contains the following passage: "On the expedition against Kao-ch'ang, he was appointed second in command. Going forth from I Chou, he halted in the mountains at a distance of 100 li from Liu-ku and constructed engines of war in which the ancient methods were modified and the engines themselves greatly improved. In that place there stood an inscribed tablet commemorating the exploits of Pan Ch'ao of the Han. Hsing-pên erased the old inscription, and engraved a new encomium on the majesty and supernatural power of the reigning dynasty." This is clearly the same episode, though Pan Ch'ao is

substituted for Tou Ku. Our present text is more likely to be correct, as Pan Ch'ao was only a junior officer in A.D. 73.

These mountains are 60 *li* in height.

Not, of course, in a vertical sense. The Chinese measure the height of mountains along the slope, from foot to summit.

Chapels for prayer have been placed on them, and below, in the *chou* city itself, a temple has been erected to the spirit of the mountains, who is named A-lan.

I do not feel quite sure about this sentence. One is tempted to make the emendation 其山下 "at the foot of the mountains".

I-siu Chün (*Military Station of I-siu*). 4,800 *li* north-west of the superior capital (Ch'ang-an).

"Evidently a designation of Barkul, the P'u-lei of Han times, about 90 miles to the north-west of Hāmi. It is still garrisoned at the present day for the protection of the high road from Kansu to Chinese Turkestan." [Stein.] See *Innermost Asia*, map 34. This place is not to be confused, of course, with the I-wu Chün (郡) above.

The above was established on receipt of an Imperial command in the 5th moon of the 4th year of *Ching-lung* [June, 710]. In the 6th year of K'ai-yüan [718], the garrison consisting of 3,000 soldiers and 1,040 horses, was transferred to Kan-lu Chên.

The second 月 may be a mistake for 日, or simply a dittography of the preceding 月. The date 710 is confirmed by *T'ang shu*, xl, 11 v°, where we are further told that I-wu Chün was situated on the 甘露 Kan-lu River, 300 *li* to the north-west of Hāmi. This agrees very closely with Stein's estimate. Kan-lu Chên has not been identified, but it was probably in the same district.

Four Ways: To the south-east, I Chou is 300 *li* distant; to the south-west, Hsi Chou is 800 *li* distant; to the west, T'ing Chou is 780 *li* distant; adjacent on the north-east is the brigand country.

Hsi Chou to-day is represented by the ruined site of Yār-khoto, formerly 交河 Chiao-ho, the ancient capital of Turfān. "By T'ing Chou is meant 北庭 Pei-t'ing, marked by ruins north of Jimasa and west of Guchen. This was the seat of a Chinese protectorate in T'ang times. The distances are approximately correct in relation to each other." [Stein.] See *Innermost Asia*, pp. 555, 563.

The Lung (Dragon) tribe came originally from Yen-ch'ü [Karashahr], but now their chieftains are to be found in Kan Chou, Su Chou, and I Chou.

See *T'ang shu*, cexxi A, 12 r° and 13 r°, for the names of two kings of Karashahr in the seventh century: 龍突騎支 Lung T'u-ch'ü-chih

and 龍賴突 Lung Lai-t'u, in which "Lung" is obviously the name of the clan or tribe mentioned in this paragraph.

These people are fierce and unprincipled, hardy and pugnacious, but their character has been modified by the civilizing influence of our Imperial House.

South-east of Sha Chou is the Yao-yüeh Mountain, 180 *li* distant, south-west is the Tzū-t'ing (Purple Pavilion) Mountain, 190 *li* distant. The rocks on this mountain being all of a purple hue, it was re-named Tzū-t'ing.

Instead of 復 we should perhaps read 故 ("it was on that account named"), since we hear of no previous name.

T'ing Chou: Han-hai Chün (Military Station of Han-hai).

The character in the text is certainly meant for 瀚. Han-hai (瀚 or 瀚海) is often used generally for the desert of Gobi. The place mentioned here seems to have been in the district inhabited by the Uighurs, which in the reign of T'ai Tsung was made into a prefecture: see *Chiu t'ang shu*, cxcv, 2 r°: 以廻紇部爲瀚海府.

Hsi Chou: T'ien-shan Chün (Military Station of T'ien-shan). Chiao-ho Hsien.

We hear of a T'ien-shan Chün (郡) being created when Kao-ch'ang was conquered in 640; see *T'ang shu*, ccxxi A, 8 r°.

I Chou: I-wu Chün (Military Station of I-wu). Jou-yüan Hsien.

The nomenclature of places in Turkestan is often found confusing because of the changes arising from the intermittent nature of Chinese rule in those parts. It may be useful, therefore, to recapitulate by giving the names borne by the principal cities mentioned in this account at different periods of their history:—

- (1) *Yü-ni*, old capital of Lou-lan [Former Han].
 "Old Eastern Town"; "Little Shan-shan" [Later Han].
 Ch'i-t'un Ch'êng; T'un Ch'êng [T'ang].
 Little Nob [Tibetan records].
 Mirân [modern name].
- (2) *I-hsün*, or I-hsiu, capital of Shan-shan after 77 B.C. [Former Han].
 Shan-shan Chên [Sui].
 Na-fu-po (納縛波) [Hsüan-tsang].
 Tien-ho [T'ang].
 Shih-ch'êng Chên [T'ang, after A.D. 675].
 Great Nob [Tibetan records].
 City of Lop [Marco Polo].
 Charkhlik [modern name].

- (3) *Nu-chih Ch'êng* [Han].
 Hsin Ch'êng (New City) [T'ang].
 Vāsh-shahri [modern name].
- (4) *Chū-mo* [Han].
 Tso-mo (左末) [Sung-yün].
 Chū-mo Chün [Sui].
 Chê-mo-t'o-na (折摩駝那) [Hsüan-tsang].
 Po-hsien Chên [T'ang, after A.D. 674].
 Jurjān [Mirzā Haidar, sixteenth century].
 Charchan [modern name].
- (5) *K'um-wu* [Chou].
 I-wu or I-wu-lu [Han].
 I-wu Chün [Sui].
 I Chou [T'ang].
 Kumul, Kamul, Camul [Turkī].
 Khamil [Mongol].
 Hāmi [modern name].
- (6) *Chiao-ho*, ancient capital of Turfān [Han].
 Chū-shih Ch'ien-wang-t'ing (Anterior Royal Court of Chū-shih)
 [Later Han].
 Kao-ch'ang Chün [Chin].
 Hsi Chou [T'ang].
 Yār-khoto [modern name].
- (7) *Chin-man* (金滿) [Former Han].
 Chū-shih Hou-wang-t'ing (Posterior Royal Court of Chū-shih)
 [Later Han].
 Kagan-stūpa [Hsüan-tsang's *Life*].
 'ing TChou [T'ang, after 640].
 Pei-t'ing Tu-hu Fu (Protectorate of Pei-t'ing) [T'ang, after 702].
 Bēsh-balik ("Five Towns") [Turkī].
 Hu-pao-tzū (護堡子), near Jimasa [modern name].

On the 25th day of the 12th moon of the 1st year of Kuang-ch'i [2nd February, 886], when the *An-wei-shih-fu* (Assistant Commissioner) of Ling Chou, Minister of State, arrived with his suite at the *chou*, Chang Ta-ch'ing, in attendance on the Assistant Commissioner, made a copy of this document to serve as a record.

Professor Pelliot, not allowing for the difference of the Chinese lunar calendar, makes the year 885. Ling Chou is a little south of Ning-hsia Fu in north-east Kansu. The last character is written 訖, but 訖 may be intended, in which case the translation will be: "completed the copying of this document."

On Mubarakshah Ghuri

By AHMET-ZEKI VALIDI

THE geographical statements of Mubarakshah Ghuri (*Ta'rikh*, pp. 4-6) are taken from Alberuni, precisely from his book *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī* (cf. the MS. of the Library of Veliëttin-Efendi, in the Bayazid Mosque, Constantinople, No. 2277, fol. 145b-153b). The following words and phrases of Mubarakshah

نهر والہ — خافقین — طالقان — مندکور — دھامانہ — رملہ — ناراین — کوالیور — مہرہ — شہر ایسونست کہ بلغاریان انجا — بیشہ لورہ کہ مردمان وحشی باشند مہورہ — نھلوارہ — خانغو — بازارکانی روند — طالقان — مندککاور — دھالہ — دملہ — نیروان — قلعہ کوالیر — بلدایسو یجر الیہ البلغاریون — عیاض یورہ و ہم متوشون

The situations of تکسین and مقبرہ خاتون are defined by Alberuni more accurately: in the second zone (اقلیم), in the extreme East ینجو مستقر فغفور الصين (that is, Yang-chou, cf. G. Ferrand, *Textes relatifs à l'extrême Orient*, 132), 125 long., 22 lat.; اوتکین فی بلاد الترك (that is, Ötügen on the Orkhon, in central Mongolia, see Barthold, *Hist. Bed. d. alttürk. Inschr.* 25), 136 long., 26 lat.; قتا فی شرق الصين (that is, the capital of the Khitans, Peking) 136 long., 21 lat., in the third zone, خاتون سین ای مقبرہ 120° 15' long., 32° 50' lat., الا علی [من بلاد] الترك (that is, Sa-chou = Tun-huang, cf. in Mahmud Kashghari, i, 349, طریق منه جنوبا الى الصين (سینجو بلدة على طريق الصين الا علی (that is, Kan-chou) 116° 5' long., 43 lat.; قلمجو من بلاد الصين (that is, 113 long., 39 lat.

From this it could be inferred that تَكْسِين is situated somewhere to the east of it on the northern frontiers of the provinces of Shen-si and Shan-si, let us say, on the line Tai-juen—Kwei-hwa-chong. قَاتُون سِينِي is also mentioned by Mahmud Kashghari (3, 101). The city was earlier mentioned by him in the fragments of a poem on the war between the ruler (امير — بك) of that city and the emperor (قَتَن سِينِي — ملك — خاقان — خان) of Tangut (3, 240, 242). Although on this author's map the city (خَاتُون سِينِي) is placed together with the Uighur cities of eastern Turkestan, in the text (3, 101, 240) it is clearly stated that it is situated between Tangut and "Sin", that is, the country of the Khitans, as he usually opposes this term الصين, to الصين العليا or ماصين. Thus the statements of Mahmud Kashghari fully agree with those of Alberuni. As is well known, the Shato Turks after the fall of the dynasties founded by them in the tenth century, still maintained themselves in some parts of the north in the province of Shan-si, and their descendants appear as the Onguts—White Tatars (Po-ta-ta). Khatun-sini is undoubtedly one of those many K'o-tonen-tch'eng, to whom, according to Pelliot (*Journ. Asiat.*, 1920, avr.-juin, p. 174), M. Matsui has dedicated a paper inaccessible to us. It may refer to just our Khatun-sini, when Lao-shi speaks of a K'o-tun in connection with the Old Hun "Ordu" (Marquart *Komanen*, 195) and Kin-shi speaks of Kutun in the province of Si-king to the north of Shan-si (Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, i, 212). But the K'o-tun, through which the Kara-Khitai Ye-lin-ta-che passed in 1123 on his way to Beshbalik and which is to the west of Etsin-gol (Bretschneider, *ibid.*), in all probability is identical with the city Khatun of the Uighur princess of the period of the Tang, situated on the site of modern Khatun. There it is to the east of Khami (Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, ii, 178-9; Grum Grжимaylo, *Opisanie Severo-Zapadnago Kitaya*, i, 484), and has evidently nothing to do with our خَاتُون سِينِي.

The تَكْسِين of Alberuni and Mubarakshah ought perhaps to be read نَكْسِي as the MS. of Veliettin-Efendi permits, then it may signify the name of the Tangut capital Ning-hsia; the reading نَكْسِي is also permissible, then it could be identified with the Mongolian name of South China نَكْيَاس in Rashid-uddin and Hamdullah Qazvini and

Nangkiassun in the letter of the Ilkhan Öljeitü to the French king Philippe le Bel. According to Rashid-uddin (Berezin T., 3 text, p. 147, Blochet, 324) this province bordered on the countries of the Tanguts and Jurjens in the Liupan Shan mountains, to the east of Lan-chou, that is, precisely there where تَكْسِين must be sought. Perhaps the Mongolian term meant originally only the upper part of the river Huang-ho, that is the north-eastern provinces, bordering on the Tangut, in the present Tibet, where once some Turks lived, such as these same Shato (see Yakinf-Bichurin, *Sobranie T.*, i, p. 456). I am on the whole more inclined to read تَكْسِين as تَكْسِي and to identify it with the name of the second capital of the contemporary Tangut Nang-hsia, although this city in the time of Alberuni was known to the Chinese under the name of Sing-chou. For the scholars of the Musulman world at that time the remote Tanguts and Chinese (Khitans) could appear only as Turks.

The statements of Mubarakshah Ghuri on the country Yure (pp. 39-40) are taken, evidently, from a common source with that used by Alberuni (in his book *تحدد نهايات الاماكن*, a unique MS. of which exists in the Fatih Library, in Constantinople, No. 3386, fol. 67b), and Muhammad Aufi (Markwart, "Die arktische Länder," in *Ungarisches Jahrbuch*, iv, 3-4, pp. 263-5), perhaps from the geography of Ibn Khordadhbih or Al-Jaihani; but Mubarakshah has somewhat confused the statements concerning these, Yure and Isu, with the statements of the same common source on the tribes of the Kimaks living more to the north, that is, Altaians and Kirghi-Yenissei Kirghizes, quoted in Aufi (Markwart in *Festschrift für Hirth*, p. 296) and Gardizi (ed. Barthold, pp. 86-7). From the same source he borrowed (p. 41) the information about the cold winter and sultry summer of the region, of which he uses almost the same expressions (*chaque année dans la saison la plus chaude les habitants se retirent dans des souterrains*) as the Chinese envoy Wang-yen-ti (in *Journ. Asiat.*, 1847, t. ix, p. 56). This information is contained also in the *Ta'khīr* of Maqdisi (MS. of Damad Ibrahim Pasha, No. 918, fol. 122a), in Gardizi (ed. Barthold, p. 92), and in some others.

The golden tent (in the *Ta'khīr* of Maqdisi *خيمة من ذهب مركبة*) of the Toghuzghuz Khakan mentioned by various authors (e.g. Ibn Khordadhbih, p. 31, Yaqut, *Geography*, t. i, p. 840) is called by our author not at all rightly *تنورة زرین*.

In the list of Turkish tribes (p. 47) سالوك must evidently be read سالور, which is identical with the صلفر mentioned in the same place.

كجى, that is, the Turkish tribe Kumiji, mentioned by Ptolemy, by the Chinese and various Musulman authors (Maqdisi, Baihaqi, Nasiri Khusrau وجهدين, p. 53, see also Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp. 70, 248, 297-8, 301).

اوران, a branch of the tribe Kipchak, mentioned by various authors, as Juvaini (t. 2, p. 35, 109) and Muhammad ibn Muaiyid al-Baghdadi (MS. Nuri Osmaniye, No. 4300, fol. 306, عثمانى تاريخ); remains of this branch exist in Anatolia in different places. The point between the words كجات and آلى is neglected in the printed text, perhaps originally the author had placed the word اغول after the word آلى and it was the copyists who transposed these words.

The tribe Altiul, that is, Alti Oghul, in the chronicles of Khiva forming part of the large Nogai Horde, until their immigration to the West, to the northern Caucasus and the Crimea, thence partly into Turkey, always lived as nomads around the Aral Sea and in Khvarizm, that is, in the very place where the Kujats lived, mentioned also by Baihaqi (Calcutta edition, pp. 91, 368), and till the ninth century the Pechenegs; thus the location of the tribe Alti in our author with the tribes of Kujat and Pecheneg, is perhaps not accidental.

اقبا must be the Kipchak tribe Itaba (in Shams-uddin Damashqi اثبا, in Abu Khaiyan al-Andalusi, first Constantinople edition, p. 116, يَتبا, new edition of *Ja'far Oghlu*, p. 92, يَتبا, in Al-Nuvairi, in the excerpt of Tiesenhausen, p. 539, يتا, but in the autograph MS. of Aya-Sophia, No. 9546, يتبا).

لر تكت should perhaps be read بَرَلِك, the name of the same Kipchak tribe, in *Rashid-uddin*, ed. Blochet, p. 45, اولبرليك. The correct reading of the name of this tribe is difficult: Markwart (*Komanen* p. 171) read Alp-äri, but this is clearly unsuccessful. In Abu Khaiyan,

برلی, in Damashqi, ed. Mehren, برکوا, in the Aya-Sophia MS. No. 2945
 برلوا, in Ibn Khaldun البولی, in the Aya-Sophia autograph of
 Al-Nuvairi البرلی, in Juzjani, *Tabaqati Nasiri*, text, pp. 281, 406,
 البری. The most correct of these may be considered to be that which
 is given by Abu Khaiyan, Al-Nuvairi, and Rashid-uddin; the name
 of the tribe was evidently Berli برلی or Berlik برلیک. To this it
 is possible to relate our لرتک also; but there would be subdivisions
 of the tribe, of these are known to us only the Ulu-Berli البرلی
 — اولبرلیک or Ulu-Berlik اولبرلیک. It might evidently have also the
 pronunciation Barli, Borli, and Borlu. The latter forms can be seen
 in the geographical names of Asia Minor Uluborlu and Kichiborlu
 (in Ibn Bibi برغلو, in the historians of Timur كچك and الغ برلغ
 برلغ). However, the form Berli is met with more frequently; to the
 same is to be referred اولبرلیک in the Arabic redaction of the history
 of Rashid-uddin, MS. Aya-Sophia, No. 3034, fol. 603, and the Nisba
 of one Kipchak scholar at the end of an Aya-Sophia MS. of the book
 of Shams-uddin Damashqi, where is clearly written الالبرلی, that is,
 Al-Uluberli.

As to دوحیران and جیران, the only thing like it in Aristov
 (*Zametki*, 480) is Juzhaik, but it has hardly anything in common
 with دوحیران. In this word it is possible to suspect the name of the
 Kipchak tribe جرطان in Ibn Khaldun or جزان in Al-Nuvairi, in the
 excerpt of Tiesenhausen, but in the Aya-Sophia autograph of Al-
 Nuvairi the word is written جرطان, and in Damashqi جرطن, which
 must be read Chortan. Generally in Mubarakshah subdivisions of
 the Oghuzes and Kipchaks are counted greater than subdivisions
 of other tribes, from which it is possible to realize the constitution
 of the Turks of the Afghanistan and northern India of that time.

The word تُغراق is rightly compared by Sir Denison Ross with
 the اُغراق of Mahmud Kashghari; in my opinion تُغراق should
 be read بُغراق. Now Saif-uddin Ugrak was one of the principal
 generals of the army of the Khvarizmshahs in Afghanistan (see
 Juvaini, 2, 135, et seq.).

By the inhabitants of Khvarizm in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Kara-Kalpaks living on the islands in the Amu-darya delta, were called Aral Khalki *آرال خلقي* — *آرال جماعتی*, as they are called in all the Khivan chronicles.¹ This word is perhaps also used by Mubarakshah; then the word *آرل* must be read *آرل*.

لغز ترا and *اتقوق* remain obscure to me.

The fragments of a Turkish epic poem on Afrasiyab-Tunga Alp, quoted in Mahmud Kashghari (see Brockelmann, *Asia Major*, Hirth, *Anniversary Volume*, p. 15) have shown that an epic poem on this legendary hero, known hitherto chiefly in the Iranian version, not only existed among the Turks but that among the latter there existed also a cult of lamentation over Afrasiyab. Meantime we knew from the Orkhon Inscriptions (i, N. 7; ii, E. 31) that Prince Kül-tegin on his fifth expedition against the Oghuzes in the year 714 won a victory over them "having slain them at the time of the funeral of Tunga-Tegin" (*tunga tigin yoghinda kiri ölürtimiz*). In Markwart's opinion this event took place in Beshbalik. But everyone, including Markwart, has explained this passage of the inscription in his own way. Here obviously it has in view the cult of lamentation over Tunga-Alp, among the Kök-Türk "Oghuzes". Perhaps we should refer to the same the blood-stained portrait of the Turkish prince on the walls of the Buddhist temple No. 19 in Bezeklik. The late Von Le Coq recognized this portrait as a *Stifterbild*, as a *Bild eines uigurischen Würdenträgers* and as a *Porträtbildnis eines Angehörigen der uigurischen Königsfamilie* (*Die buddhistische Spätantike*, iii, 46-7, Tafel xviii). Further he especially stressed the fact that the artists of the period of the "dawn of Turkish art" gave more significance to drawing a person's features, that is, to portrait work (see *ibid.*, p. 47, and *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ost-Turkistan*, p. 74). Professor Grünwedel directed attention to the blood-stained mouth and costume of the prince, and found that the portrait represented a martyr (*Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan*, p. 271). The name of the prince is to be read in the badly preserved red line *Tonga* and at the beginning of the second red line clearly *tigin*, on the left-hand black line *Tonga ol*. Afrasiyab in the belief of the pre-Islamic inhabitants of Bukhara, presented by Narshakhi, appeared as the representative of Eastern,

¹ In Abdul-Karim Bukhari, ed. Schefer, *عزل*.

Chinese, and Buddhist culture over against the West-Asiatic Iranian. As capital of Afrasiyab and the centre of Buddhism was considered the city of Ramitan (now a settlement twelve miles to the north of the city of Bukhara), whither the objects of the Buddhist cult were brought from China, by the daughter of the Chinese emperor, the wife of Afrasiyab; Kai Khusrau, as a centre of Mazdeism built over against Ramitan the city of Ramush, a temple of the fire-worshippers which the tradition cited considers to be more ancient than those of Bukhara (*Narshakhi*, ed. Schefer, p. 6, see also the essay of Barthold, "Places of pre-Musulman Culture in Bukhara and its Environs," in *Vostochnia Zametki*, Leningrad, 1926, p. 20-1). As is well known, here, that is, in the plain of the Zarafshan, till the time of the Sasanians, Buddhist culture was predominant, but in Sasanian times the Irano-Mazdean; and the Bukharan citadel became a centre of the cult of Siyavush. The discovery of a good portrait of the prince and martyr Tunga-Tegin (?) on the walls of a Buddhist temple of the Uighur Turks could be fully explained by the tradition of the Buddhist Afrasiyab in Ramitan.

The cult of Afrasiyab-Tunga Tegin and the epic of that hero were doubtless widely spread among the Turkish population of Central Asia. In this connection the fragment recently discovered in Constantinople of the Oghuz Epic on the son of Afrasiyab Alp-Ariz, existing among the fragments of the songs and utterances of other Oghuz epic heroes, is significant. These fragments are preserved in an addition to the beginning of a very early MS. of the history of the Seljukids of Yaziji Oghlu, existing in the Palace Library at Topkapi-Serai in the section Revan-Köshkü, No. 1390. The fragments significantly supplement the list of epic heroes of the Oghuzes, well-known in the Kitabi Dede Kurkut and in the Oghuz-name, descending to us in Rashid-uddin (in the second part of the history of Rashid-uddin, devoted to universal history) and in Abul-Ghazi (in his book, *Shejerei Terakime*, edited so far only in the Russian translation of Tumanskii). In addition to those well known in the work just mentioned, Bayander-Khan, Uruj oghlu Salur Kazan, Kian-Seljuk, Kanglu-Khoja oghlu Kan-Turalu, Kian-Busat (Bisat), Tokush-Khoja oghlu Toghrul, the names and characteristics of the following heroes are given: Kara Küinek brother of Salur-Kazan, Bagrikchi oghlu Yazı-Kondaz, Kian-Üchen oghlu Amin-Bek, and his slayer Eksi-Koja oghlu Okchi Kuran, Allarish oghlu Etil-Alp, Baibura oghlu Baribek, Urulmish-Khan, slayer of the Turkish Cyclops Tepe-Küza.

Kian-Seljuk oghlu Deli-Dundar and Afrasiyab oghlu Alp-Ariz. The metrical characterizations of the heroes are very brief; very interesting is the characterization of the Oghuz tribe as a whole. Like the Oghuz tribe, its chiefs Salur-Kazan and Kan-Turalu are described as inhabiting the Kara-Tagh or Karachik-Tagh, which is north of the Sir-darya, and as champions of Islam against the infidel Kanlu, that is, the Kangli tribe, who remained as is well-known heathens up to the epoch of the Khvarizmshahs. Alp-Ariz son of Afrasiyab is depicted as a giant, for whom a fur-cloak of ninety skins could not cover his legs, a cap of nine skins could not cover his head (?) (ears?), for whom are needed (as food) ninety sheep as . . . (*duughalik*?), and ten sheep as . . . (*öiönlik*?), a warrior, with one swing hurling away a nine-year-old . . . (*jung*?), holding in the heavens . . ., swallowing a horse's head in one gulp:—

طقسن دریدن کورک اولی طبوغین اوتین
 طقوز دریدن شکلا اولی قلوگین (قلاگین؟) اورتین
 طقسن قیون دووعالق اون قیون ایونلک یتین
 طقوز یشار جونکین سلکوب آتان
 قیاغنده کوکده دوتان (دونان؟) آت باشین یلمیر برکز یودان
 افراسیاب اوغلی آب آریز بک

Besides this it is said in a blessing (آلش): Let your prophet be Muhammad, may you have wisdom seven times greater than Dede-Kurkut, be fortunate as Emir Suleiman, may you have good luck seven times greater than Salur-Kazan, wealth seven times greater than Bayandur Khan and . . . (?) seven times greater than Alp-Ariz, be a thousand times greater, more terrible, more majestic than Begdüz-Amin with blood-stained beard.

As to what Mubarakshah has handed down (pp. 36-7) from "the sayings and tales of Afrasiyab, ruler of the Turks, a man exceedingly clever and wise"

واز مثل و سخنان افراسیاب که پادشاه ترکان بوده است واز حد بیرون
 کامل عقل وصاحب رائی وبسیار دان بوده است اینست که . . .
 that "A Turk may be compared to a pearl which, when it is in the oyster-shell and at the bottom of the sea has no value, but when

they drag it from the sea's bottom and take it from the shell it becomes precious, an ornament on the crown of Kings, on the neck and in the ears of brides", such an enraptured opinion of the Turks in the sayings of Afrasiyab can have place only in sayings current among the Turks, contemporaries of the author. We know what great importance the Turkish song had in the army of Mahmud of Ghazni and in the army of the Karakhanids (Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 273), and that Alberuni according to his own words collected at the court of Mahmud of Ghazni information on Turkish culture and the Turkish calendar.¹

If the Turkish traditions about Afrasiyab were known to the Turks of Afghanistan, contemporaries of Mubarakshah Ghuri, then it must be assumed that they knew these traditions already in the time of Mahmud of Ghazni. In a MS. of the *Shahnama* of Firdusi, belonging in 1923 to an inhabitant of Meshhed, a chemist Ghulam, the preface of Baisunkur contained the phrase that Mahmud of Ghazni loved to hear tales from Persian and Turkish antiquity. We must assume that among these Turkish tales was also an epic about Afrasiyab. It appears to me, that Daqiqi and Firdusi took some details in the part of the *Shahnama* which treats of Afrasiyab, precisely from the Turks in the dominions of the Samanids and the Ghaznevids. By this is perhaps explained the important rôle which Daqiqi and Firdusi give to the Khalaj and the Khallukh (that is, Karluk), who were predominant in the army of Mahmud and his descendants, as also the form in those writers of the name of the companion-in-arms of Afrasiyab "Demur" in accord with the pronunciation of Oghuz-Turkomans, of which the Khalaj and Khallukh formed part (according to the pronunciation, e.g. of the Jikils the word must have been written "Timur").

The statements of Mubarakshah about the script of the Turks (pp. 44-6) although in agreement with the statements of Al-Nadim (Fihrist, 17-20), must have been taken from another source. The Sogdian script is also the Uighur, but that of the Toghuzghuz, in which were written their sacred books (in Mubarakshah *كتاب بنام يزدان*, in Al-Nadim *وهذا القلم يكتبون اناجيلهم وكتب شرائعهم واهل ما ورا*).

¹ These words are found in Mir Chelebi (MS. Topkapi-Serai, Enderun, No. 3502, fol. 10-11) from the no longer extant book of Nasiri Tusi on the Turkish calendar. Nasiri Tusi in his sketch took these words from the book of Alberuni, which has not come down to us.

(النهر وسمرقند بهذا القلم يكتبون كتب الدين ويسمى ثم قلم الدين), was Manichean. Al-Nadim, on the script of the Turks, mentions only the script used by the Turkish Great Kaans (ملك الترك الاعظم) and the Turkish aristocracy (افاضل الترك), which, contrary to the opinion of the late Professor Markwart (*WZKM.*, xii, 167, 170), undoubtedly was identical with the Orkhon runic alphabet which was known also to the Arabs, but seemed to them perhaps at the beginning of their acquaintance with the culture of the residence of the Turkish Khakans, not an alphabet, but simple signs. Of this Orkhon alphabet Mubarakshah evidently knew nothing. Al-Nadim says of the Khazars that they used the Hebrew script which is now proved by documents. The statements of Mubarakshah that the Khazars used the Graeco-Russian script, has also perhaps some foundation. Although the Khazars as also the Bolghars on the Danube could well have used the Cyrillic alphabet, I incline on the whole to read the word بروسيان as خزرين and to refer the word بديشان not to بروسيان but to خزرين, since I think the statement refers only to the Greek colonies of the Black Sea coast and the Crimea, called by our author "Rum i Rus". It may well be that the statement refers only to the Greek script which was used on the golden vases of Nagy Szent Miklós, ascribed to the Avar-Bolghars. The study of the Turkish phrases and words on these vases was taken up after Thomsen by the Bulgarian scholar Stifan Mladenov (in *Memoirs of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences*, 1923-5), and by the Russians, G. Ilyinskii (in *Vestnik Nauchnogo Obschestva Tatarovedenia*, No. 8, Kazan, 1928) and A. Sobolevskii (in *Dokladi Akademii Nauk*, No. 6, 1929).

In the Aya-Sophia Library, in the collection No. 4792, completed in A.H. 816 (see fol. 795a) in Shiraz, by a certain As'ad ibn Muhammad al-Katib, is contained (fol. 767b-788a) a moral compilation of our author in verse. The book is entitled رحيق التحقيق من كلام فخر رحيق التحقيق من كلام فخر الدين مبارکشاه غوری نورقبره and begins with the verses:—

تا شود لاف عقل در باقی	بادۀ عشق در ده ای ساقی
وز تقاضای آب و گل برهان	یکزمانی مرا زمن بستان
در کلین دیکش آتشی در بند	زر مغشوش ما چو نیست پسند

I have restricted myself to giving a synopsis of chapter-headings :—

Fol. 770b	حكاية از احيای علوم غزالی
Fol. 771b	سؤال السالك عن القرطاس وجواب القرطاس له
Fol. 772a	سؤال السالك عن الخبر وجواب الخبر له
Fol. 773a	سؤال السالك عن القلم وجواب القلم له
Fol. 774a	سؤال السالك عن اليد وجواب اليد له
Fol. 774b	سؤال السالك عن القدرة وجواب القدرة له
Fol. 776a	سؤال السالك عن الارادة وجواب الارادة له
Fol. 776b	سؤال السالك عن العلم وجواب العلم له
Fol. 777a	حكايت
Fol. 777b	تعليم العلم للسالك and تردد السالك
Fol. 778b	الاشارات
Fol. 779a	حكايت
Fol. 779b	فصل
Fol. 780a	اعتراف الرجل تصديعة للعلم
Fol. 781a	حكايت
Fol. 781b	حكايت
Fol. 782a	سؤاله عن القلم
Fol. 782b	جواب القلم له
Fol. 783b	حيرة السالك وجواب اليمين له
Fol. 784a	حكايت
Fol. 784b	سؤاله عن القدرة وجواب القدرة له
Fol. 784b	نهاية السلوك
Fol. 785a	حكايت
Fol. 785b	حكايت
Fol. 786a	حكايت
Fol. 786b	حكايت

Fol. 786b	حکایت
Fol. 787a	حکایت
Fol. 787b	حکایت
Fol. 788b	الحائمة والدعا

The MS. ends with the following words of the author :—

این رسالت بکمتر از يك ماه گفت از فضل حق مبارکشاه
 طبع چون کرد عزم تعلیقش نام کردم رحيق تحقیقش
 بوده ماه محرم اول سال سال هجرت بحرف ثا فا دال

= ۵۸۴

that is, the book was finished at the beginning of February,
 A.D. 1188.

Mahāvīra and the Buddha

By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

IN a very interesting article,¹ Professor Jacobi has arrived at the conclusion that, contrary to the Buddhist tradition, we must hold that Mahāvīra outlived the Buddha, probably by some seven years. In point of fact, of course, it may seem of very little consequence whether we accept this view or that of Buddhist tradition, but the issue involves a very important question affecting the value of our authorities, and on this point it seems to me clear that the position adopted by Professor Jacobi involves serious difficulties.

Professor Jacobi treats as the assured foundations for his investigations the dates of the Nirvāṇas of the Buddha and of Mahāvīra as 484 and 477 B.C. But it must be admitted that both these dates rest on very unsatisfactory and late evidence. The question of the date of the Buddha has been set out, with his usual acumen and precision, recently by Professor de La Vallée Poussin,² and he has shown how utterly uncertain is the date 483 or 484 B.C. for the Nirvāṇa. From a very different point of view the late Professor Rhys Davids confessed³ that the date was purely conjectural. We may readily believe that the Buddha died sometime in the fifth century B.C., but to lay any stress on the exact date is completely impossible with the evidence available. What is perfectly clear is that knowledge of the early period of Buddhism was imperfect,⁴ and the same remark applies even more strikingly to the traditions of Jainism. In the case of Mahāvīra the earlier tradition—of uncertain date—is emphatic in allowing 470 years between his Nirvāṇa and the beginning of the Vikrama era, which places the date in 528 or 527 B.C. The later tradition, given in Hemacandra's *Parīṣiṭaparvan*, viii, 339, and somewhat earlier in Bhadrēṣvara's *Kahāvalī*, ascribes 155 years as the period between the death of Mahāvīra and Candragupta's accession to the throne of Magadha, which gives 477 B.C. as the probable date of Mahāvīra's death. Here again we are on utterly uncertain ground. We are obliged to treat the earlier Jain tradition as of minimal value

¹ *SBA.* 1930, pp. 557-68.

² *Indo-européens et Indo-iraniens*, pp. 238-48; *L'Inde aux Temps des Mauryas*, p. 50.

³ *CHI.* i, pp. 171, 172.

⁴ Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, chap. i.

and there seems every ground for so doing ; but the tradition accepted by Hemacandra rests equally on no assured foundation. The only possible conclusion regarding it is that it cannot be trusted to be accurate within a few years, and it seems wholly impossible to base on two dates so acquired the view that we must believe that the Buddha predeceased Mahāvīra. Nor is it irrelevant to note that Professor Jacobi¹ himself has adopted slightly different dates, namely 477 and 467 B.C. in other contributions ; but what is more important is that the Jaina tradition contains one certain error which, if rectified, destroys the value of its testimony for 477 B.C. By that tradition, apparently accepted by Hemacandra as well as the rest of Jain opinion, the date of the accession of Candragupta is placed at 255 years before the Vikrama era, i.e., in 313 or 312 B.C. This date is obviously too late ; if we take 322, as does Professor Jacobi, as a probable date,² then we must admit a clear error in the Jain tradition of about ten years in respect of this interval ; admitting a like error regarding the earlier interval, that between the accession of Candragupta and the death of Mahāvīra, we would arrive at 487 B.C. for the death of the latter, and this would place that event before the death of the Buddha, and confirm the Buddhist tradition. This shows clearly with what inadequate data we have to reckon, and leaves the conviction that the supposed dates of the deaths of the two great teachers are of too uncertain character to afford any conclusion as to the priority of these events.

On the other hand, we have the clear and distinct tradition of the Buddhist Canon which asserts that Mahāvīra died before the Buddha and does so, not incidentally, but as giving rise to allocutions of the Master regarding the tenets of his teaching, recorded in the Pāsādika Suttanta of the *Dīgha Nikāya* and the Sāmagāma Suttanta of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, and of Sāriputta, at the Master's bidding, in the Saṃgīti Suttanta of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. How are we to discredit this definite tradition recorded in canonical texts ?³ That these texts belong to the period immediately after the death of the Buddha, I confess I do not believe, but they far outrank in age the traditions of the dates of the deaths of the Buddha and Mahāvīra, and give us

¹ Introduction to *Kalpa Sūtra*, p. 9 ; Introduction to *Parīṣiṭṭaparrava*, p. 6.

² In *CHI.* i, pp. 471-3, 321 is suggested as plausible. For other dates see L. de La Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde aux Temps des Mauryas*, pp. 51, 52.

³ The Upāli Suttanta clearly asserts an illness, if not the death, of Mahāvīra : Chalmers, *SBB.* v, p. 278, n. 2.

authentic views of the belief held in Buddhist circles at some period considerably before the Christian era. If we are to discredit their account, we must be prepared to accept the consequences, which involve acceptance of a scepticism as to the value of the Buddhist and Indian traditions in general, which is quite inconsistent with the faith placed by Professor Jacobi in the tradition as to the dates of the Nirvāṇas, or his acceptance of the view that the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* is the work of a minister of the Emperor Candragupta. If we are on any logical ground to discredit the Buddhist tradition, very strong arguments are necessary, and those adduced seem quite inadequate.

It is contended by Professor Jacobi that the evidence of the three Suttantas is destroyed by the fact that, while all agree in making the occasion of Mahāvīra's death and consequent unrest in his community the cause of the dissertations on the Buddhist tenets, the divergence of the form of argument in the three Suttas shows that that cannot represent what the Buddha actually said. This may, of course, be conceded at once by those who believe¹ that we have little or nothing of the *ipsissima verba* of the Master. The view which seems natural is that the Buddhists believed that there was difficulty in the Jain community on the death of their leader, and that this took place before the Buddha's death, eliciting from him comments, which were probably not preserved in any authentic form, leaving it open for the composers of the Suttantas to present the teachings each in his own way. The essential point is really that different Buddhist authors held the same tradition, which shows that it was a belief handed down by tradition and widely spread in Buddhist circles.

In the second place, Professor Jacobi argues that the account in these Suttantas is contradicted by the account in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, the oldest account of the proceedings of the Buddha's last year up to his Nirvāṇa. This text does not refer to any special anxiety of the Buddha as to the fate of his community after his death as having been elicited by the report of the dissensions in the community of Mahāvīra, whence it is deduced that this report is a later invention. But this reasoning rests on several unproved assumptions. (1) That the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta is older than the other three Suttantas is assumed without any arguments being adduced, and its age certainly is far from obvious. On the contrary,

¹ See Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, 5, pp. 360 f.

it appears to be a very sophisticated and worked up account of the last days of the Buddha, and in fact it is not open to Professor Jacobi to contend for its early date. He himself shortly afterwards (p. 562) refers to the account given in that text of the plans of Ajātaśatru for the subjection of the Vṛjis, and points out that the undertaking was one demanding careful planning. He adds: "Über die von ihm getroffenen Massnahmen enthält das M. P. S. Angaben, die aber in viel späterer Zeit entstanden und darum so gut wie wertlos sind." Very probably Professor Jacobi's view of the statements of the Suttanta is correct; but it is quite impossible to hold this view of it, and then to ask us to accept the silence of the Suttanta as entitling us to negate the evidence of three Suttantas, two of which at least may well be older than the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta. (2) Moreover, the argument is essentially one *ex silentio* and there is no form of contention more dangerous. It would be necessary, in order to give it weight, to show that the omission of the episode of the Buddha's views on hearing of Mahāvīra's death is inexplicable, if its occurrence were widely believed in Buddhist circles. No such proof, however, is possible. Professor Jacobi's view appears to be that the episode of the hearing of the death of Mahāvīra took place during the last journey of the Buddha *en route* to Kusinārā, and that, therefore, any full account of his last days must necessarily include the episode in question. If this view were sound, there might be something to say for his contention, though the argument would be far from conclusive. But there seems no ground whatever to assume that the Buddhists thought that the news of Mahāvīra's death came to the Buddha just before his own Nirvāṇa. The Sāmagāma Suttanta has nothing to suggest such a conclusion. On the contrary the Buddha is at Sāmagāma when he hears of the death of Mahāvīra at Pāvā,¹ and equally in the other two Suttantas the Buddha's utterances are not connected with his own last stay at Pāvā.² The fact that the death of Mahāvīra evokes the mention

¹ Cunda here appears as a novice, and so also in the Pāsādika Suttanta, which marks him out from his description in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta. The Saṅgīti Suttanta does not use this term of him, and seems to have been influenced by the Mahāparinibbāna in this point; compare Franke, *Dīgha Nikāya*, p. 229. Two Cundas can hardly be admitted, though the Mahāparinibbāna is certainly confused.

² The Saṅgīti sets the scene in Pāvā, but under quite other circumstances than those of the Mahāparinibbāna, namely the consecration of the new Mote-Hall of the Mallas. This indicates that the author had no desire to connect the episode recorded with the death of the Buddha also. The location at Sāmagāma seems the more accurate account. The fact that Cunda of Pāvā brought the news to Ānanda no doubt encouraged the idea that the declaration of views took place at that town.

of the possibility of the effect on the order of the Buddha's death does not indicate that that death was then imminent. It may be noted also that in the *Upāli Suttanta* the Buddha was at Nālandā when the episode of the defection of Upāli had so evil an effect on Mahāvīra that it brought about, according to the tradition followed by Buddhaghosa, his death at Pāvā. At any rate, it is clear that we have no reason to assert that Buddhist tradition placed the death of Mahāvīra close to that of the Buddha, and it is then obvious that the silence of the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* is inevitable. If the tradition placed the episode as to Mahāvīra before the short period covered by that *Suttanta*, it could not possibly include it in its narrative. So far, therefore, from correcting the version of the other *Suttantas*, the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* accords excellently with them. Nor (3) can it be admitted that the Buddha, according to tradition, shows no concern for the future of his order after his death. This runs counter to the fact, recorded in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* itself, that he assured Ānanda that the place of himself as teacher would be taken by his doctrine. This assurance is significant of the position. It accords exactly with the frame of mind asserted in the other *Suttantas* to have been engendered by the news of the dissensions in the Jain community on Mahāvīra's death. In the three *Suttantas* alike, the result of the news is to make the Buddha insist that his doctrines provided a definite system which would prevent schisms in the community. In the *Mahāparinibbāna* the Buddha gives the same advice; his doctrine is to serve as the norm. So far, therefore, from the *Mahāparinibbāna* contradicting the testimony of the three *Suttantas*, it is perfectly consistent with it, while there is no evidence whatever that it is earlier in date than the other three *Suttantas*, or at least two of them.

Thirdly, to strengthen his view that the Buddha could not have known of strain in the Jain community on Mahāvīra's death, Professor Jacobi insists that there is no record in the Jain tradition of such a catastrophe in the Jain community at the death of Mahāvīra as is suggested by the Buddhist tradition. No schism, it can be asserted, was occasioned by the death of Mahāvīra. Indeed sects among the Jains developed relatively late, save in the case of the division into *Āvetāmbaras* and *Digāmbaras* which was not the result of a single period of conflict. The Buddhists, on the other hand, knew of schisms in their own community, arising soon after the Master's death and resulting in the development of the new religion of the *Mahāyāna*. They did not realize that Mahāvīra was not the founder

of a new religion, but merely the reformer of that of Pārçva, so that on Mahāvīra's death no catastrophe was possible. The Buddhist account, therefore, in the three Suttantas is based on erroneous assumptions and was evoked by dogmatic needs.

This interesting suggestion rests on a very unsound basis. It assumes that the Buddhists believed that a formal schism or a catastrophe afflicted the Jain congregation on the death of Mahāvīra. But this is much more than we can justly deduce from the Buddhist statements. All that is said is that there arose disputes, division, and a wordy warfare in the community and that the lay followers were disgusted with the monks. Not a suggestion is made of a real schism or catastrophe, and there seems no reason whatever to suppose that the Suttantas intended to assert that such a schism occurred. Moreover, it seems hard to accept the view of the paucity and lateness of schisms in the Jain community. The evidence is that Mahāvīra was much troubled by the rivalry of Goçāla, whether we regard him as strictly within the Jain community or not,¹ that in his fourteenth year of power his son-in-law, Jamālī, raised opposition to him, and persisted in opposition to his death, while two years after Jamālī's revolt, Tisagutta stood out in opposition.² Moreover, the divergence between Çvetāmbara and Digambara is fundamental, as is fully recognized by Jains at the present day,³ so that it was certainly unnecessary for Buddhists to go to their own experience to find justification for the belief in divergence within the Jain community. There is, in fact, nothing whatever to suggest that Buddhist tradition was wrong in asserting that Mahāvīra's death caused commotions in the Jain community. To judge from the bitter feud between Mahāvīra and Goçāla and from the revolts of Jamālī and Tisagutta, not to mention the defection of Upālī, we may take it as certain that the community was far from being in ideal unity of heart. The argument that there could be no schism, because (1) Mahāvīra was the child of parents who were adherents of Pārçvanātha, as he perhaps also was, and (2) as a Kevalin, Mahāvīra was above all worldly interests, cannot be accepted. Apart from the fact that we are not told of anything so serious as a definite schism or catastrophe, it is clear that Mahāvīra was no mere follower of Pārçvanātha. The Jain tradition

¹ Hoernle, *ERE*, i, pp. 267 ff., held that the Jain division into Digambara and Çvetāmbara may be traced back to the beginning of Jainism, being due to the antagonism of Mahāvīra and Goçāla, the representatives of two hostile sects.

² See Chimanlal J. Shah, *Jainism in Northern India*, pp. 60-5.

³ Chimanlal J. Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

does not even assert that he was an adherent, but, on the contrary, tells us distinctly that he departed in an essential from the doctrines of his predecessor, as was long ago stressed by Professor Jacobi¹ himself, who held that the innovation postulated a decline in the morality of the community between Pārçva and Mahāvīra. Moreover, even if, as a Kevalin, Mahāvīra was superior to worldly considerations, what has that to do with the effect of his death on the community? The disappearance of a great teacher is always a time of trial for his adherents, and, so far from doubting the truth of the assertions of the Buddhist texts, we may treat them as representing the normal result as in the case of Pūraṇa Kassapa, and common sense invites us to believe that what is normal really happens.

Still less satisfactory is the explanation offered by Professor Jacobi of the cause of the alleged Buddhist error. The Buddhists, he holds, confused the place of Mahāvīra's death, which is now identified with a village, Pāpapurī (Pāvāpurī) in the Bihar part of the Patna district, with the town² Pāvā in which the Buddha stayed in the house of Cunda on the way to Kusinārā. The correctness of the Jain identification, Professor Jacobi holds, cannot be doubted. This seems a strange assertion, for he holds that the three Suttantas fall in the second or third century after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, and he does not give any indication of the age of the Jain identification.³ To assert an error on the part of the Buddhists demands support by adduction of proof of the early date of the Jain view, which appears to be lacking and, at any rate, is urgently required. But, apart from this minor consideration, what ground is there for holding that a mistake as to a place was sufficient to cause the invention of an assertion of the death of Mahāvīra in the lifetime of the Buddha? It is perfectly legitimate to suppose that the Buddhists were right in placing the death of the rival teacher before that of Buddha, even if they confused the two places. But that they were wrong in their identification is so far quite unproved, though possible.

It must be added that the tradition that the Buddha died after Mahāvīra, thus asserted with particularity in the Buddhist texts, recorded within two or three centuries after his death, according to

¹ *JA.* ix, p. 160.

² Jacobi (p. 561) ascribes Pāvā to the Çākyas, but it is clear that it was a Malla town.

³ The *Kalpa Sūtra* ascribed to Bhadrabāhu is clearly not by that author, and is wholly uncertain in date; see Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur*, ii, pp. 309 f.

Professor Jacobi's own dating, is not contradicted by anything expressed in the Jain tradition, and that the contradiction rests on the strength of a deduction from two late and unsatisfactory traditions fixing the date of the deaths of the two teachers. If the Jain tradition contradicted the Buddhist by asserting that Mahāvīra died after the Buddha, the case for Professor Jacobi's view would assume a different aspect; but, though the Jains must for many centuries have been aware of the Buddhist assertion, there has been adduced no passage in which they negatived it. The obvious conclusion is that no doubt existed in either community on this point.

Professor Jacobi has endeavoured on the basis of the Jain and Buddhist traditions to throw some light on the political development of Magadha in the time of the great teachers, but it may seriously be doubted if we can make anything very satisfactory out of these confused and obviously biased records. There is no independent control available, and combinations thus become subjective to the highest degree. But one point with which he deals elsewhere¹ should be noted, his belief that Pārçva can be assigned confidently to a period 250 years before Mahāvīra, a view which is utilized by him as assigning to the early part of the eighth century B.C. that influence of popular religious belief on Indian philosophy, which led to the innovations of the Yoga and Sāṅkhya systems, involving (1) belief in the personal immortality of souls, and (2) the recognition of moral principles, and thus advancing beyond the monistic tendency of the older Upaniṣads with their intellectual disdain for morals. We really cannot accept, as in any sense valid, the date assigned to Pārçvanātha. If Jain tradition was wrong, as Professor Jacobi holds it was, in dating the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, how can we trust its assertions for a period 250 years earlier? The mere figure is suspicious, and why should we give it any greater credence than we do to the figures equally afforded by tradition² for the number of his adherents? All that we can possibly rescue from the tradition is the belief in the existence of Pārçva at some time before Mahāvīra; to claim more is misleading. There are other objections to certain features of Professor Jacobi's most interesting reconstruction of the early Yoga, but these must be dealt with on another occasion.³

¹ *SBA.* 1930, pp. 326, 327.

² See *Kalpa Sūtra*, sections 161-4.

³ It is dubious if the *Bhagavatī*, vii, 0, 2, can be understood, as by Professor Jacobi (p. 584), as meaning that the Mallakis and Licchavis were the chiefs of the Kāçis and Kosalas.

The Doctrine of the Buddha

By TH. STCHERBATSKY

WE must be thankful to Professor Berriedale Keith for once more calling attention to the problem of the doctrine preached by the Buddha. The problem is indeed important for the history of Indian civilization, as well as for the comparative history of philosophy. Was there or was there not a real philosophy, or, to use an expression of the late M. Émile Senart, "une pensée maîtresse d'elle-même," in the sixth century B.C. in India? Professor Keith thinks it "really impracticable to discover with any precision the doctrine which Buddha in fact expounded". The reasons for this despair are several. First of all, an extraordinary diversity of doctrine has developed from the teaching of the Buddha in the sixth century B.C.¹ Professor Keith apparently thinks that if a doctrine has much developed, it becomes "undiscoverable". I rather feel inclined to disbelieve such an axiom. A rotten seed will have no growth; but a seed strong and healthy may produce luxuriant vegetation. The other reason is more plausible. "What assurance have we that the Pali Canon really represents the views of the Buddha with any approach to accuracy?" But, even if it contained the records of contemporary eyewitnesses, the scepticism of Professor Keith would not be shaken, for "we need", he says, "only remember the difficulties presented by the Aristotelian view of the doctrine of Plato"—in order to disbelieve an eyewitness of the highest authority. The position is really desperate. Even if the Buddha had been surrounded by a host of Aristotles, and we possessed their authentic records, we should never believe them!

Such a radical scepticism evidently makes all history impossible, and there must have been very cogent reasons to induce Professor Keith to entrench himself in this position. These reasons, I hope, will clearly emerge at the end of my article.

That the final redaction of the Pali Canon is late, was first established by Professor Minayeff a generation ago. It is besides a well-known fact that an Indian text is reliable only from the time that it gets a good commentary. These facts have become truisms.²

¹ Article in the *Bulletin SOS.*, Vol. VI, Part 2, pp. 393 ff.

² "Das glaubt heute kein Pali Forscher mehr, dass wir im Pali Kanon das Wort des Buddha vor uns haben," cf. Winternitz, *Studia Indo-Iranica*, p. 66.

But, nevertheless, the Pali Canon remains our main source for establishing the early form of Buddhism. Professor Keith himself does not really believe that the doctrine of the Buddha is "undiscoverable"; in fact, no one has ever spoken with more assurance of what this doctrine really was, and even of what it necessarily must have been. But as a dialectical preparation to introduce his preconceived opinion he feels it incumbent upon him to condemn all sources of real knowledge.

Another line of argument of the same kind is to require impossible "precision" and "accuracy" from a hostile opinion and to condemn the highest degree of precision attainable on the pretext that it is not mathematical precision. Accuracy, indeed, is not to be found at all in the Pali Canon. Accuracy is not its aim. It is misleading to seek accuracy there. Accuracy is found in later works, in works belonging to the *śāstra* class. All Buddhist literature is divided into a *sūtra* class and a *śāstra* class. The first is popular, the second is scientific. The first is propaganda, the second is precision. What an Indian *śāstra* is can best be judged by the example of the Indian grammatical *śāstras*. Who will say that the grammatical *śāstras* of Pāṇini and Patañjali want precision? ¹ Precision and its companion laconicism are here carried to the utmost pitch of perfection. It is an incomparable monument of precision. It is only natural that the habits of scientific precision which were acquired in one branch of knowledge were transferred into, and imitated in, other departments. We are in possession of a *śāstra* work which aims at rendering the teachings of early Buddhism with precision and laconicism. That is the Abhidharma-kośa of Vasubandhu. It was preceded by a voluminous collective work of a conclave of the highest authorities of the time, where all the fundamental teachings, as well as all the dissensions which had separated early Buddhism into eighteen schools, were carefully recorded and expounded *en regard*. Vasubandhu's work is a *mahā-śāstra*, a great *śāstra*. Now what is an Indian "great *śāstra*"? It is a work which in its methods, its style, and its thoroughness aims at imitating the *mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. This was for the Indian scholar of those times the ideal of irreproachable, painstaking precision applied to a vast subject. It must be noticed that the title of "great scientist", like the title of "great poet", is very sparingly bestowed. Of great

¹ Professor Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 399, seems to have misunderstood my reference to Pāṇini (in my book on Nirvāṇa, p. 23, note), as if it implied that he was a contemporary of Buddha—an *Ignoratio Elenchi*, I fear.

poets, says Ānandavardhana, there were in India "only two or three, perhaps five or six" !

The knowledge of Buddhist philosophy has made comparatively slow progress in Europe because the *śāstra*-literature has been neglected and precision was sought where it is never to be found. For the educated Buddhist as well as for his opponent in India, Buddhism has always been considered a *śāstra*. My exposition of Buddhism, in the two works already issued, and in a third which is in the press, is exclusively founded on *śāstra* works. I have sufficiently emphasized this fact, and I have promised to consider in a prospective separate work the relation between the exposition of Vasubandhu and the original teaching of the Buddha, so far as it is discoverable.¹ This position of mine is so clear that I should have thought it could not have been misunderstood. My astonishment was therefore great when I saw that in an article under the title of "The Doctrine of the Buddha", which is exclusively devoted to a refutation of my views, I am represented by Professor Berriedale Keith as endeavouring, in my two books already issued, to discover the undiscoverable doctrine of the Buddha and to do it on the basis of the Pali Canon !² I leave it to every impartial reader to characterize the procedure of Professor Keith as it deserves. In ancient Greece such a method was called *Ignoratio Elenchi*, and provoked the censure of Aristotle. Professor Keith does not scruple to resort to the Pali Canon, which has been so severely condemned by him, as his unique source for discovering the real doctrine of the Buddha. For it appears that the doctrine is not in the least undiscoverable ; it was declared to be undiscoverable only by way of a preparation to announce its discovery. Nor does he scruple, on the one hand, quietly to brush aside the data of the Canon as often as these do not fall in with his preconceived opinions, and on the other to appeal to its late date as an irrefutable argument against every hostile view.

But be this as it may be, I accept the challenge. I am prepared to follow Professor Keith on to the field where he invites me to meet him, and where he evidently feels that his position is particularly strong. I propose now to examine "the precision" and "the accuracy" with which he himself establishes the doctrine of the Buddha by the methods recommended by him.

¹ Cf. my *Central Conception of Buddhism* (R.A.S.), p. 2.

² Op. cit., p. 395.

TWO METHODS CONTRASTED

These methods are not complicated. They consist of three principles. The views we are justified in ascribing to the Buddha must, according to him, be (1) simple, (2) in accord with the trend of opinion in his day, and (3) more calculated to secure the adherence of a large circle of followers.¹ Everything refined, or above the primitive, and every unattractive idea must be rejected. In these three principles we are invited to believe, without a shade of that scepticism which is legitimate only in regard to the Pali Canon.

I must confess that I feel much more sceptical in regard to the efficacy of these three principles than in regard to the Pali Canon. Professor Minayeff, who was the first to establish the late origin of the Pali Canon, has also pointed to the way in which it must be supplemented. The dissensions which arose in the community soon after the death of Buddha, and the doctrines professed by his contemporaries, afford valuable supplementary information. We are indebted to the late Dr. Hoernle for an excellent account of the doctrine professed by one of Buddha's contemporaries, of whom no direct tradition at all has survived. The doctrine of Gosāla Makkhaliputta is neither very simple nor is it peculiarly attractive, but it starts from a definite conception of the stability of the world and attempts to explain its composition and destinies by logical deduction from that principle. It is an illuminating contrast to the Buddhist system, which is contemporaneous and starts from the opposite view of the world's instability. In his work of reconstruction Dr. Hoernle did not rely on *a priori* principles, but on a careful study of texts whose late final redaction was no secret for him. It hardly needs to be mentioned that Professor H. Jacobi, in reconstructing the early period of Jaina philosophy, did not rely upon general views of the sort recommended by Professor Keith. In reconstructing the doctrine of the Buddha we must proceed in a similar way; we must compare the records of the Pali Canon with what we know about the condition of Indian philosophy in the time preceding the age of Buddha, with what followed it, and with what was contemporaneous with it. The Sāṅkhya system is known to us from evidence much later than the Pali Canon; we nevertheless know that in some fundamental form it preceded Buddhism, and indeed bears witness to the trend of philosophic opinion

¹ Ibid., p. 396.

of the day.¹ In thus attacking the position from the rear and from the front we shall establish the trend of philosophic opinion in his days, not of course with mathematical precision, but, I hope, much better than by a blind belief in gratuitous *a priori* principles established on no one knows what evidence.

I now beg leave in a short summary to recall that system of philosophic Pluralism which in my opinion clearly emerges, albeit through later evidence, as the initial form of Buddhism.

THE GENERAL FEATURES OF ALL BUDDHISM

If we confine ourselves to the historically ascertained forms of Buddhism, we must distinguish between three main phases of that philosophical religion. Each of them has its central conception; they are respectively Pluralism, Monism, and Idealism. The Sanskrit terms designating them are *pudgala-śūnyatā*, *sarva-dharma-śūnyatā*, and *bāhya-artha-śūnyatā*. These are negative definitions meaning: (1) Unreality of the Ego, (2) Unreality of all Elements of Existence, (3) Unreality of the External World. Their implied positive meaning is respectively, (1) Plurality of interrelated and ultimate Elements of the Personality, (2) Relativity and consequent Unreality of all these Elements, and the unique Reality of the Immutable Whole, (3) Ideality of these Elements and of all cognizable things.

But if the leading principles of these three Buddhisms are so different and even so contradictory, as Pluralism and Monism, as Realism and Idealism, is there anything general at all which can be predicated of Buddhism?

Yes, there is. Disregarding the pluralism, relativity, and ideality of the elements of existence, there are these elements themselves, the "elementariness"² of Existence, the denial of a permanent substantial Ego, and the splitting of it into separate elements—that is the central conception out of which all the subsequent diversity of doctrine developed. These elements are classified from different points of view, according to the requirements of the system, as five groups of elements in the life of an individual, as twelve bases of all cognition,

¹ In order to avoid all misunderstanding I must repeat that I assume that the metrical Upanishads were either preceded by, or were contemporaneous with, the Sāṅkhya system; and that both preceded, or were contemporaneous with, the rise of the Dharma-theory. Under early Buddhism I understand this theory, not all its details, of course, but its very definite essence as expressed in the Buddhist Credo. There are no precise dates. In the following short summary I omit all references to texts, since they will be found in my two works mentioned above.

² *dharmatā*.

and as eighteen, or less, component principles of life in the different spheres of existence. The elements are "dependently originating", that is, interrelated according to causal laws. They are not stable elements, but impermanent energies. Their beginningless unrest is produced by the influence of the forces of ignorance and desire. By restraint, by knowledge, and by the mystic power of Meditation they are gradually reduced and finally brought to a standstill in Nirvāṇa. The theory, which denies the existence of an eternal Soul, and which replaces it by a plurality of interrelated non-eternal Elements, is established only in order to teach their gradual reduction and final rest.

These are the general features of Buddhism in all the above-mentioned three aspects which it presents to us in its historical development. To recapitulate, they are : (1) denial of a Soul, (2) its replacement by separate Elements, (3) their classification into groups, bases, and components, (4) the law of their dependent origination, (5) their impermanence, (6) their moral unrest produced by ignorance, (7) their purification produced by the element of transcendent knowledge, (8) the mystical powers produced by the element of trance, (9) rebirth in higher realms or paradises, and, after that, (10) Nirvāṇa.

Is there any other, fourth, kind of Buddhism ? Is there any simple Buddhism without this complication of soul-denial and without a system of energies, scientifically constructed, interrelated and steering towards final quiescence ? No, there is no such form!—except in the imagination of some European scholars. For example, a Buddhism without Nirvāṇa has been recently invented, but the reason of that is only the fact that the *Mahāyāna* doctrine of the equipollency of Samsāra and Nirvāṇa—quite logical in a monistic system—has been utterly misunderstood by the inventor. Another Buddhism, without a denial of soul and, consequently, without the theory of elements, has been discovered by Professor Keith. That is a Buddhism without a trace of Buddhism in it. But it is, we are told, the Buddhism of Buddha himself !¹

THE FEATURES OF THE EARLY PERIOD

(1) *Denial of Soul*

The starting-point of Buddhism is the denial of a permanent Ego. There is in the life of the individual no abiding principle, no ego, no

¹ According to M. Jean Przyluski (*Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, p. 369) primitive Buddhism was a religion of joy (*une religion de joie*). This is established on the authority (very feeble!) of the Chinese patriarch Tsong-mi!

soul, no concrete personality. The Spirit is even much less permanent than the body. Every sensation, every thought, every mental phenomenon is instantaneous. It disappears as soon as it appears, in order to be followed by a next moment. Buddhism is called the theory of No-Soul.¹ Whosoever wishes to understand Buddhism must fully realize the decision and the vigour with which this doctrine is professed and defended. In this respect Buddhism stands alone among the great philosophies and religions of mankind. It professes a psychology without a Soul at a very early date in the history of human thought. The question naturally arises: What induced the founder or the founders of Buddhism to adopt this position?—a position purely philosophical, which clearly indicates that philosophy had already parted company with religion. An explanation can be found in the following direction. The Sāṅkhya system of philosophy which preceded Buddhism had a Soul-theory which provoked the criticism of the Buddhists. It assumed an individual Soul as a pure spirit, a motionless, changeless, eternal light of pure consciousness. All mental phenomena, sensations, feelings, volitions were separated from it and relegated to the sphere of physiology.

This pure Soul was nevertheless somehow contaminated by a connection with Matter, from which connection it becomes delivered in a mystic way by a transcendental intuition of the Superman. This Soul-theory the founder of Buddhism is reported to have called a doctrine of fools. It is a known fact that philosophy develops not only by gradual progress in the same direction, but also dialectically, by contrasts. The union of the motionless eternal Soul with matter and its final deliverance is indeed a weak point in the Sāṅkhya theory, and the unfavourable view of it held in the Pali records may be an echo of spirited discussions which raged upon that problem at the time of Buddha.

(2) *Reality of Separate Elements*

The positive corollary from denial of Soul is the theory of the *Elements of Existence*. The principle is laid down that *every composite thing contains nothing real over and above the parts of which it is composed*. Real are only the parts, that is, the ultimate parts, the Elements. Element and Reality are synonymous. An Element is defined as a "bearer of one's own (separate) essence".² It is a separate Element, a separate Unity, a Thing as it is strictly in itself, shorn of

¹ *anātma-vāda*.

² *sva-lakṣaṇa-dhāraṇād dharmah*.

all extensions. The Individual, the Personality is nothing over and above the ultimate Elements of Matter and Mind of which it is composed. All these Elements, although separate unities, are held together in the formation of the life of an Individual, not by any spiritual substance, but by causal laws. The idea that there can be a real unity between the Elements, that they inhere in a pervasive whole with which they are identical, this idea is the first cardinal error, and sin,¹ of which the aspiring Buddhist must rid himself at all costs.

(3) *Classifications of the Elements*

The classification of the Elements of existence is a most important part of the Buddhist theory. It is mainly owing to the neglect of it that Buddhist philosophy has been so long misunderstood in Europe. The classifications are numerous, and undertaken from different standpoints. This alone shows the care that has been bestowed on the theory of separate Elements as ultimate realities. The most important classifications are the following :—

(1) By a first broad dichotomy all Elements are divided into Caused and Uncaused.² The Uncaused or eternal are Space, i.e. empty Space, and *Nirvāṇa*, as a place where all causes are brought to a standstill. Notwithstanding their negative character, these eternal Elements are assumed as real. All the other Elements are Caused, i.e. impermanent.

(2) By another broad dichotomy all Elements are divided into those "influenced" by Ignorance and those "uninfluenced" by it.³ In the first group the life of the "individual" is in full swing; it is shaped under the influence of an egoistic Will,⁴ unappeased by higher Knowledge,⁵ and it produces the ordinary man.⁶ The second group produces Individuals in whom the interest in life is on the wane and approaches to a standstill.⁷ They are the Saint⁸ and the Buddha.

(3) By another division all Elements are classified as physical, mental, and pure forces,⁹ i.e. such forces as are neither physical nor mental, e.g. the forces of Production and Destruction.¹⁰

¹ *sat-kāya-dṛṣṭi*.

² *sāsrava* and *nāsrava*.

³ *prajñā* *amālā*.

⁴ *Nirvāṇa*.

⁵ *rūpa-citta-viprayuktasamskāra*.

² *samskṛta* and *asamskṛta*.

⁴ *celanā* = *karma*.

⁶ *prthag-jana*.

⁸ *ārya*.

¹⁰ *utpāda-sthiti-jarā-anityatā*.

(4) From the standpoint of the subject-to-object relation¹ the Elements represent all things cognizable, and are divided into six subjective and six corresponding objective groups; they thus make twelve "bases" of cognition.² They are:—

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Faculty of vision. | 7. Colour and shape. |
| 2. " audition. | 8. Sounds. |
| 3. " smell. | 9. Odours. |
| 4. " taste. | 10. Tastes. |
| 5. " touch. | 11. Tactiles. |
| 6. Introspective faculty (<i>viññāna</i>). | 12. Mental phenomena (<i>dharmā</i>). |

Of these, ten items (Nos. 1-5 and 7-11) are physical, while Nos. 6 and 12 are mental. The mental group thus contains only one subjective element, the Element of pure sensation or pure undifferentiated consciousness. All other mental Elements, feelings, ideas, volitions, moral and unmoral forces, are classified as objects with regard to the Element of pure consciousness. The mental phenomena, ideas, etc., are related to the Element of pure consciousness as sense-data to their corresponding sense-organs. They are the special objects of this faculty, the faculty No. 6. But for the apprehension of sense-data the participation of this faculty is likewise needed, because the sense-organs are by themselves unconscious and can, when alone, produce no conscious apprehension. Consciousness is thus introspective; it is pure consciousness or pure sensation respectively. It is extremely important to notice this character of the fundamental Element of pure, undifferentiated, so to speak, empty consciousness. The neglect of it cannot but conduce to confusion.

(5) There is another classification into eighteen, or less, component principles of individual life in the different realms of existence. It is but slightly different from the preceding one. It divides the component principles of an individual into six subjective organs of cognition, six corresponding cognized kinds of objective reality, and six corresponding kinds of sensation.

- | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1.) | 7.) | 13.) |
| 2.) The five | 8.) The five | 14.) Five kinds |
| 3.) senses. | 9.) kinds of | 15.) of sensuous |
| 4.) | 10.) sense-data. | 16.) consciousness. |
| 5.) | 11.) | 17.) |
| 6. The (pure) Intellect. | 12. Mental Phenomena. | 18. Non-sensuous self-consciousness. |

The first twelve items of this division are but a repetition of the preceding division. The six additional items, Nos. 13-18, represent

¹ *indriya-viṣaya*.

² *dvādaśa-āyatanaṇi*.

a differentiation of one and the same Element of pure sensation (No. 6), not, however, by itself—for being pure sensation it cannot be differentiated—but according to its participation with one or another sense-faculty.

The question naturally arises: why is this double classification needed? Is it not superfluous scholasticism? Was it not added by a later philosophy whose inventive force has not found its proper field of action? The new classification is in fact needed for the formulation of an individual life in the different realms of existence. Only in the lower realms of gross flesh are all the eighteen principles co-operating in the production of the life of an individual. In higher realms, among the denizens of heavens, the principles Nos. 9-10 and 15-16 are absent; the life of an Individual contains only fourteen principles. In still higher heavens, in purely spiritual realms, it consists of only three principles (Nos. 6, 12, and 18). Thus this new division is an indispensable part of the system. The preceding one is probably an inheritance from the Sāṅkhya, just as the Element of pure consciousness is evidently nothing but the dethroned Soul of the Sāṅkhyas, whose characteristic is also pure sensation or empty consciousness.

(6) The last classification which we will here mention is the most natural and popular one, it divides the Elements of an individual into five groups:—

(i) Its body, the physical group, corresponding to ten items of the preceding two classifications;

(ii) its feelings, pleasant or unpleasant;

(iii) its ideas, or ideation in general;

(iv) its volitions and other faculties, moral and immoral;

(v) its pure consciousness.

The last is the same as No. 6 of the two preceding classifications. The items (ii), (iii), and (iv) are included in No. 12 of both preceding classifications.

This last classification is probably the original production of Buddhism, while the subject-object classification seems to be a possession of the Sāṅkhya, whence it was borrowed with modifications.

(4) *Causation*

The Buddhist Theory of Causation is a direct corollary from the denial of a permanent Ego. When there is no abiding Spiritual Substance in which the mental phenomena can inhere as qualities

appertaining to it, nor any real personality representing the common receptacle for the physical and mental elements of an individual; when there are only detached elements; something there must be to hold these elements together in order to constitute a concerted individual life. This tie between the elements is simply the Causal Laws. The elements constituting a personality are like a bundle of reeds tied by a cord. But even this simile is not quite adequate, since the Causal Laws do not represent any separate unit corresponding to the cord. These laws are contained in the elements themselves; the elements are, so to speak, intrinsically law-abiding. This circumstance lies at the bottom of the fact that so many European scholars have failed to discriminate between the meaning of *Law* and *Element*. In fact, the conceptions of law, of quality, and of element are designated by the same term.¹

The elements are interdependent. As impermanent elements they constantly originate, but they originate in mutual interdependence. The causal laws are called the Laws of Dependent Origination.

If we were called upon to determine to which of the modern theories of causation the Buddhist idea comes nearest, we should answer that it is a theory of causation as *functional interdependence*. We may then remember the words of the initiator of that theory, that when the interest of philosophy for a real ego is extinct, and Reality reduced to separate sensations, nothing remains but the laws of causation as functional interdependence, to explain the regularity in the process of life. The Buddhist theory cancelled the Ego, and was *eo ipso* obliged to resort to the laws of causality, there being no other issue. It is of the highest importance clearly to realize this part of the Buddhist doctrine. The elements are interdependent; they do not produce anything, they are strictly speaking no causes at all, they "do nothing",² they are "unemployed"³; but given the presence of such and such elements, another one necessarily arises in functional dependence on them. The connection between mind and body is accordingly explained in the following manner. Being given a moment of pure consciousness,⁴ a patch of colour,⁵ and a moment of the faculty of vision,⁶ a visual sensation necessarily arises in the next moment. The element called sensation⁷ originates in functional dependence on

¹ *dharma*.

² *nirvyāpāra*.

³ *rūpa*.

⁴ *spṛṣṭa*.

⁵ *ākāṣit-kāra*.

⁶ *viññāna*.

⁷ *cakṣur-indriya*.

the presence of these three Elements in association¹; they being present, the visual sensation necessarily appears. The one element is mental and internal (consciousness), another is physical and external (colour), the third is physical and internal (organ). Their presence in association is followed by a new element which is mental and external (sensation). For sensation is an objective element (*viśaya*) in regard to the Mind, which has an introspective function. Consciousness does not produce sensation out of itself, neither does the physical element of the sense of vision produce it, but it arises by itself in strict functional dependence on the presence of three elements in association. The formula expressive of Causation is therefore the following: "this being, that appears",² being given the presence of such and such elements in association, a new element necessarily appears. Students of philosophy will at once notice that the idea of causation is here brought in line with the form of the hypothetical judgment, and they will know exactly who has taken the same step in European philosophy. How the fact is to be explained and what are its implications is another question, but the fact itself is too obvious to be denied.

Is it possible to explain the origin of life, the roots of a present existence in pre-natal conditions, and its consequences in a future one, without assuming any permanent Soul? Are the causal laws sufficient to establish a future life without the survival of an uncaused Soul in a blissful paradise and without the resurrection of the flesh? Yes, they are, answers Buddhism. The life of the ordinary man, who is bereft of the knowledge of the Absolute, is a revolving wheel which can be divided into twelve parts connected by the laws of dependent origination. Life is dominated by a transcendental illusion (1),³ in dependence on which pre-natal forces⁴ (2) produce the first germ of life⁵ (3) in a matrix. Then in the embryo⁶ (4) the sense-organs,⁷ (5) sensations,⁸ (6) and feelings⁹ (7) are gradually developed. In dependence on them in the grown-up man sexual desire¹⁰ (8), the attachment to life¹¹ (9) and the

¹ *trayāṇāṃ sannipātaḥ sparśaḥ.*

² *asmin sati idam bhavati.*

³ *avidyā.*

⁴ *samvāsa = karma.*

⁵ *vijñāna.*

⁶ *nāma-rūpa pañca-skandha* in the embryonic condition.

⁷ *saḍ-āyatana.*

⁸ *spṛśa*, it is not at all "contact", it is a *cāitasika-dharma*, one of the 46; this fact alone must have suggested looking in the tables of the Elements for the meaning of all the terms.

⁹ *vedanā.*

¹⁰ *trṣṇā.*

¹¹ *upādāna.*

fully developed life ¹ (10) with its moral and unmoral deeds arise in due order. In dependence on the deeds of this life comes rebirth ² (11) and the tribulations of a new life, which is again followed by a new death ³ (12), and so on. The rotation of this twelve-spoked wheel has no beginning, but it will have an end when the element of transcendental illusion, which is at its root, is removed and absolute knowledge, inseparable from final deliverance, is attained. There is absolutely no need for an eternal soul. Causal laws explain the process of the beginningless toil of life much better than the hypothesis of an uncaused eternal spiritual substance. Such is the answer of early Buddhism. It assumes survival in blissful paradises as a reward for virtuous deeds, but it imagines life there as subject to causal laws without assuming any uncaused element. The only uncaused element is Nirvāṇa, which is a complete cessation of all life. It is the element of extinction, defined negatively, but it nevertheless is in early Buddhism an element, a reality, a unity.

Now, is this theory of causation, of which some aspects are so formidably modern, something quite impossible in the moral atmosphere of the sixth century B.C. in Hindustan, or is it to a certain degree prepared by preceding developments and capable of being regarded as agreeing with the trend of philosophic opinion of the day? It is indeed a direct answer to the corresponding theory of the Sāṅkhya school, it is allied to the Sāṅkhya theory of causation by the filiation of contrast. I need not repeat that descent by contrast in philosophy is as legitimate as the descent by similarity or repetition. It is also an answer to two other theories which probably were already in vogue in those days in India. Sāṅkhya assumed an eternal pervasive matter which only changed its manifestations; it is causation "out of oneself". Another theory denied causal uniformity altogether; it was a theory of "causation at random". A third theory, the precursor of the later Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, assumed the real production of one thing by the obtruding activity of other things; this is called causation "out of another self". To all these three theories the Buddhist reply was: "not out of one's own self, not out of another's self, neither at random does causation proceed, there is no real causation (in the sense of production), there is only dependent origination."

¹ *bhava*.

² *jāti*.

³ *jarā-maraṇa*.

But first of all the Buddhist theory was an answer to Sāṅkhya, just as its denial of soul was an answer to the Sāṅkhya soul-theory. If an exceedingly ingenious suggestion of the late M. Émile Senart is accepted, the technical term expressing the Sāṅkhya theory of causation is a contamination of the one used by the Buddhists to designate what from their standpoint is the cardinal error¹ of ordinary mankind, an error of which the aspiring Buddhist must at the outset rid himself irrevocably.²

5. *The Forces*

A common feature of all Indian religions and all Indian systems, except that of the Materialists, is the belief in the law of Karma, that is, the belief in the influence of past deeds upon present events and of present deeds upon future life. It is the foundation of morality, because it teaches that retribution for one's deeds will come necessarily, either in this life or in a future one, either at once or in a very remote future, and neither virtue nor crime will remain unrequited. The popular, crude form of this belief is metempsychosis. In philosophy the belief takes different shapes according to the system. In Buddhism the belief is of course fitted into the theory of elements. Karma is an element, it is identified with the will. Indeed, what is Karma? The earliest definition answers: "Karma is the Will and the Wilful Action."³ Its function consists in the arrangement of the separate interrelated elements into the shape of an individual life.⁴ Life is shaped through Karma, that is, according to one's own deserts.

Since the universe represents the sum-total of individual lives, of their subjective as well as their objective parts, the universe, i.e. this world, as well as the heavens, is shaped by Karma. The will is thus the central force in the life of the individual, as well as in the formation of worlds. But it is not the only force; there are others besides. It follows from the definition of Karma that all moral and unmoral faculties or tendencies of the individual are also Forces. Nay, even feelings and ideas are included in the list of elements as Forces. The forces are called co-operating forces,⁵ for the evident reason that a force never produces something alone, but, as we have seen, while

¹ *sat-kārya-vāda* = *sat-kārya-dṛṣṭi*.

² There is a difference between the elaboration of the theory in the *Abhidharma* and its simple form in the *Sūtras*, but the idea is quite the same.

³ *cetanā cetayitvā ca karanam*.

⁴ *dharma-samcetana*.

⁵ *sampekāra*.

examining the law of causation, the presence of several elements in association is always needed in order that another element may arise in functional dependence upon them. Since there are no forces other than co-operating forces, we may, for simplicity's sake, call them forces shortly; the real meaning will remain the same.¹ Thus all mental faculties are regarded as companions of the faculty of the will and included in the class of elements called forces. There are the general forces besides, the forces of production, decay and destruction,² which accompany the appearance and disappearance of every element in life. They are not mental forces, neither are they matter,³ they are energies simply.

We have seen in examining the law of causation that every element is a cause, with the exception of empty space and of Nirvāṇa. It is a co-operating cause in the sense of dependent origination, since when definite elements are present in association, a new element necessarily arises in functional dependence. All these elements are "caused",⁴ i.e. non-eternal, impermanent, and distinguished by this broad division from the "uncaused" or eternal ones. But they are also, in their turn, causes⁵ in respect of those elements which will arise after them. Thus in a broad sense all elements, except the eternally motionless ones, are forces. The term *force* refers directly to (1) the will, (2) all mental faculties, except the mind itself, regarded as the element of pure consciousness, (3) general forces, and, in a metaphorical sense, (4) all the elements except space and Nirvāṇa. I must again repeat that it is of the highest importance fully to realize the precise meaning of the term *saṃskāra* in Buddhist philosophy. The term has also a wide application in religion and in common life. But in Buddhism it has a special sense; it is a technical term of the theory of elements. A force in Buddhism, first of all, *eo ipso*, is a unit, an ultimate reality, an element, an uncompounded element. It is never a compound; it is the negation of composite being. The term "co-operating force" (*saṃskāra*) and the term "co-operatingly caused" (*saṃskṛta*) have often been mistranslated as meaning something "compound", but the real meaning is "taking part in composition", hence "un-compound". Nirvāṇa and empty space, which are neither causes nor caused, which are eternal and unchangeable like a "mountain peak",

¹ *saṃskāra* = *sambhūya-kāra*.

² *utpāda-sthiti-anityatā* = *utpāda-nirodha*.

³ *rūpa-citta-viprayukta*.

⁴ *saṃskṛta*.

⁵ *saṃskāra*.

never take part in the composition of anything (*asaṃskṛta*). This has been mistranslated as meaning "uncompound", whereas all elements are uncompound. To be an element means to be an element of a compound, but not to be compound oneself. A product is for our habits of thought always a compound, whereas the Buddhist theory considers the simple element as produced with respect to its antecedents. Nirvāṇa and empty space do not actively take part in the composition of anything. All other Elements of Matter and Mind do so take part. The term *saṃskāra* is very common in Buddhist scriptures. Not a page of the Pali Canon can be translated correctly without realizing its precise meaning, but this is only possible in the light of the theory of elements. The terms "produced by co-operating forces" and "dependently originating element", or simply "element" are convertible terms.

6. Dissensions about the Theory of Elements

We need here examine the chief tenets of only two schools, because they are directly concerned with the theory of elements. The school of the *Sarvāstivādins*, according to Professor Keith, maintained that "everything exists". Such a tenet is, of course, meaningless, as long as we are not told what "everything" means. Everything means all the Elements. And that they exist means that the past and the future also exist, the past because it has an influence on the present, and the future because it is foreshadowed by the present. The Element thus consists of a permanent "essence" and a momentary "manifestation" in the present. Such a theory was in danger of shifting into Sāṅkhya, with its permanent matter and its momentary manifestations. The *Sarvāstivādins* protested, maintaining their belief in the instantaneous character of existence, but they could not agree that the past and the future were absolute blanks. The origin of the dissension is traced by tradition to the time of the founder of Buddhism, and his utterances are adduced by both parties in support of their respective views. That these utterances need not be strictly authentic is very clear from the fact that the schools accuse one another of introducing spurious texts into their canonical collections. However, the dissension itself is an historical fact, and since it was concerned with the theory of Elements, it clearly proves that the theory existed at the time of the origin of the sect and even before, whensoever the schism may have taken place.

The other dissension which we will here mention is the chief tenet

of the *Vātsīputrīya* school (*Vajjians*). They maintained that the personality,¹ although not a real unit, not a real Element, was nevertheless something conditionally real. They did not admit any eternal Soul. This would have been quite impossible for a Buddhist. But they at the same time maintained that the interconnection of the units of which the personality consists was not merely imaginary. Not only did they not admit any permanent Soul, but they did not allow to personality full reality, because reality, according to the system means a unit, and a unit is an Element. The personality is not an Element ; it has no place in the list of them. It appears neither among the non-eternal nor among the eternal Elements. But it nevertheless, was something which held together the separate Elements constituting the personality and survived in a future existence. The opponents answered that this personality was nothing but a soul in disguise, and rejected it. Neglecting the law of contradiction, the *Vātsīputrīyas* retorted that their personality was something both existing and non-existing at the same time. Such a neglect of the law of contradiction is not uncommon among the early philosophic schools in India ; it is analogous to a very well-known feature of the pre-Platonic philosophy in Greece.

Now what does the character of this dissension mean ? Is it not a clear indication that the conception of an Element as a unit, as an ultimate reality, was firmly established in the habits of thought of the contending parties ? The trend of the philosophic opinion of that time, as the *Sāṅkhya* system clearly shows, was to seek behind the cover of phenomenal reality its subtlest ultimate elements, and to conceive phenomena as collocations of these elements or as the co-operation of subtlest forces. The *Sāṅkhya* system included these infinitesimal elements in a pervasive and eternal Matter. The Buddhists cancelled this Matter, and difficulties at once arose. It is a natural difficulty for a philosophic mind to imagine a reality absolutely discontinuous. Hence the doubts of the *Vajjians* and of the *Sarvāstivādins*. But the doubts could not have arisen, if the system of pluralism was not already present in its main lines, containing denial of soul and its replacement by ultimate elements, not inhering in any permanent substance, but holding together exclusively through the laws of dependent origination. Buddhism means no Soul, pluralism, existence of elements, co-operation, dependent origination, instantaneousness of being, its unrest, moral progress, appeasement, and Final Quiescence.

¹ *pudgala*.

7. *Salvation*

These are the main lines of the ontology and psychology of early Buddhism. But they do not contain the chief aim of the system. Like all other Indian systems, Buddhism is a doctrine of salvation. There are three ways of reaching final deliverance: the path of religion, consisting in minute observance of sacrificial rites; the path of knowledge, consisting in philosophy; and the path of devotion, consisting in a mystical union with the adored deity. Buddhism, as well as its neighbour, the Sāṅkhya system, belong to the path of knowledge. The system of elements aims at explaining the gradual evolution from the unquiet life of an ordinary man through the appeased life of the Saint towards final quiescence of the Buddha in Nirvāṇa. It is important to realize that the supreme bliss is Quiescence, and that it is always contrasted with the movement of life, which is suffering. It is quite misleading, and leads to grave confusion, when the term *duḥkha* is translated as "misery". Even the blissful existence in the highest heaven contains a portion of attachment to life, albeit infinitesimal, and only in this sense, only because it is not Nirvāṇa, is it *duḥkha*. Life is an evil, but it contains in itself the germs of deliverance from pain. These germs are also elements or forces, forces of moral perfection, the so-called Bright Elements conducive to Saintliness and Buddhahood. By a natural process of evolution they will gradually predominate and gradually reduce the evil and disturbing elements of life. The full number of all the elements partake in the formation of individual lives only in the lowest spheres of existence, where their working is in full swing. But this world is not the only one among existing worlds; there are other, higher realms, there are the Buddhist heavens. Buddhism is not only analytically destructive it is also poetically constructive. It offers us magnificent views of the appeased life of the saints in paradise, which, theoretically regarded, is but another way of co-operation between the same elements which were active in the lower planes of existence, although they are now reduced in number and changed in character. The central element in the lower planes was will, the central element in the higher realms is wisdom. It exercises a purifying and pacifying influence upon the whole complex of the forces which constitute the individual life. There are in the human mind, even in its lowest manifestations, two faculties which are exceedingly precious, because they contain the germ of future perfection. These are the faculty of appreciating an object and analysing it into its elements,¹ and the faculty of concentrating

¹ *mati* = *prajñā*.

attention upon something to the exclusion of other thoughts.¹ The element of appreciative analysis develops into the element of sublime wisdom²; and the element of concentration develops into the element of sublime ecstasy. This last element when fully developed confers on the individual some mystic powers. With the exception of the *Mīmāṃsaka* system, no Indian system of philosophy is completely free from mysticism. The mystical part can be insignificant, as e.g. in the *Nyāya* system; it may be predominant, as in the *Yoga* system; it may be comparatively moderate, as in the *Sāṅkhya*, the *Buddhist*, and the *Jaina* systems. It is impossible to understand Buddhism without realizing that the whole system of the elements of the universe is controlled by the central element of will in the lower spheres of existence and by the central elements of wisdom and ecstasy in the higher realms. All elements are from this point of view divided into those which become appeased by wisdom,³ and those which are excluded by trance.⁴ By wisdom wrong views, the ignorance of the truths of Buddhism, are first of all brought to a standstill. But it is only through the mystic power of trance that the number of physical elements can be gradually reduced and finally extinguished altogether in the purely spiritual realms. The mind of the saint living in these lofty regions is always concentrated, it is in a condition of continual trance. His body is transparent, light, and radiant, his movements are swift without effort; his housing, his clothing, and his food, which is entirely spiritual, are provided by nature; there is no manual work; there is no gross sensuality, no sexual love; there is no hatred and no envy; there is full equality, there are no crimes, no government is needed. The duration of life is enormous, but it is nevertheless not eternal. The saint will die, and may be reborn in a still higher, purely spiritual realm, where he will have no body at all, or a spiritual body. His condition of mind in these realms will be complete rapture in a single idea either of the infinity of space, or of the infinity of pure consciousness, or of the infinity of the idea of naught; it can be in a dreaming half-conscious state, it will be near complete extinction, but still it will not be eternity; he will die, and only in *Nirvāṇa* will eternal rest be attained. This is the kind of bliss which Buddha has promised to his followers. It is not a resurrection of the flesh in a sensual paradise, it is a rebirth in a pure land of bliss, and, after that, extinction of life in *Final Quiescence*.

¹ *samādhi*.² *vipśi-keya*.³ *prajñā amalā*.⁴ *bhāvanā-keya*.

Here again Buddhism does not stand alone with its idea of salvation. Like the Sāṅkhya and Jainism, it is a path to salvation through knowledge and trance and after an existence of bliss in meditative heavens. Its originality lies in the analysing spirit which conceives these higher existences also as a co-operation of separate elements linked together into individual lives through causal laws. Just as in the lower spheres of gross desire the individual life is composed of elements of eighteen different kinds, so in the realms of transparent bodies it is composed of elements of only fourteen kinds, and in the purely spiritual realms of only three kinds. In the Sāṅkhya system deliverance through knowledge comes at once. As soon as the liberating intuition comes, matter, although eternal, has ceased to exist for the delivered soul. In Buddhism, since there are no eternal substances, deliverance is reached gradually through the gradual extinction of the separate elements.

It would take us too far if we were to expound here the Buddhist and the Sāṅkhya theories of instantaneous being. Notwithstanding their fundamental difference, they belong to the same "trend of opinion".

Such is in its essence this theory of elements, which constitutes the theoretical part in the first period of historical Buddhism. Its central conception is one of a plurality of separate elements connected by the laws of functional interdependence. The whole system is deduced with irrefutable logic out of this conception. There is only one point where the solid ground of logic is forsaken and Buddhism appeals to mysticism: that is, its theory of final deliverance, which is attained partly through mystic powers. We have endeavoured everywhere to show that this Buddhist system is a legal heir to the Sāṅkhya, and consequently it is well established chronologically in India at the time when we know the Buddha to have lived. It is so established by its predecessor the Sāṅkhya, by its contemporaries, the six heretical teachers, and by its successors, the schools of the Hinayāna, in which it was controversially discussed.

Now, who is the author of this system? It is not Buddha, answers resolutely Professor Keith. But why? The doctrine of the Buddha is undiscoverable, we have no evidence! But is not the system itself a very eloquent evidence? If Buddha is not responsible for it, who then is? If we really know nothing of the preaching of the Buddha, let us call this unknown author the Buddha, as all the Buddhist world

in fact calls him. But now Professor Keith discards his scepticism ! He knows very well what the Buddha Gautama could and what he did preach. He does not want the evidence of the Pali Canon, or if he wants it, he will correct it in accordance with his three general principles.¹ The system described above is "refined",² it is not simple ; being refined, it is far above the trend of opinion in Buddha's time ; and it is not attractive enough for the masses. Therefore another must have composed it, not Buddha. But who ? It is "the product of later scholasticism".³ Professor Keith firmly believes that the intellectual and moral value of Buddha's teaching must have been very low. He was "a commanding personality", but a feeble philosopher.⁴ He lived in a "barbarous age". We must "lay aside our natural desire to find reason prevailing in a barbarous age".⁵ Then we shall see that Buddha obtained his commanding position not by philosophy, but by far simpler means. He had claims to a place as high as the rank of the greatest of the gods".⁶ He evidently had no need to deny the existence of a soul, and he certainly knew nothing about "elements", and such things. In fact, "the crudities of Buddha's views become painful to modern rationalism."⁷ But they are "simple", and therefore attractive to the masses. If the Buddha had preached Nirvāṇa as annihilation of life, the least his audience, living in a barbarous age, could have done would have been to clear off. He therefore promised them blissful residence in a paradise called Nirvāṇa. Professor Keith does not give any details of this blissful existence, but since he insists that it was very attractive to barbarians, one may easily imagine what it must have been.

Such is the simple way in which Professor Keith explains the immensely powerful appeal of the doctrine of the Buddha to all the nations of the world, an appeal which is by no means limited to the civilized nations of the East, but has found a strong echo among the educated classes of modern Europe ! And if we ask on what evidence Professor Keith establishes his account of the "trend of opinion" in Buddha's days, we shall see that there is absolutely no other evidence than the rejected Pali Canon. Thus the Canon must be interpreted on the strength of our knowledge of the trend of opinion, and the trend of opinion is to be established on the authority of the Pali

¹ Ibid., p. 396.

² Ibid., p. 403.

³ Ibid., p. 26.

⁴ Ibid., p. 14.

⁵ Ibid., p. 402.

⁶ *Buddh. Phil.*, p. 147.

⁷ Ibid., p. 29.

Canon! When it is needed, Professor Keith becomes a firm believer in the authority of the Pali Canon.¹

But let us, for the sake of argument, concede the point and assume that the Buddha believed in an eternal soul and its blissful survival in a paradise called Nirvāṇa, and that he declared himself to be "a great god". We must then assume that in the time between Buddha's death and the final redaction of the Pali Canon some obscure reformer whose name has not been preserved, dethroned Buddha from the dignity of a great god, cancelled the soul, and replaced it by a pluralistic system of philosophy. This obscure man evidently did not care to be attractive and did not mind complications. In answer to this, Professor Keith delivers himself in the following way: "The Nikāyas," says he, "exhibit so slight a development of philosophical insight as to render it impossible to accept the suggestions of Professors Rosenberg and Stecherbatsky as to the significance of the doctrine of the Dharma."² What is then the meaning of the term *dharma*, and of all the terms directly connected with it in the Nikāyas? This terminology, we must not forget, is specifically Buddhistic: it has been framed for the expression of Buddhist ideas, and is inseparable from them. In Professor Keith's work, *Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon*, we find sufficient evidence that, if the explanations there given are admitted as accurate, the development of philosophic insight is, to say the least of it, very slight. There is apparently no development at all. "Dharma means object or thing without any metaphysical implication of a far-reaching nature,"³ "a sense which unquestionably is common in the extreme in Buddhism." However, "ideas"⁴ are dharmas; are they "things"? The "feelings"⁵ are dharmas, and "consciousness"⁶ is also a dharma; are they "things"? May

¹ In his account of the Vinaya (pp. 119 ff.), Professor Keith does not scruple to ascribe to the Buddha himself the rules of conduct of the monastic order and of the layman. However, if he had had an opportunity to look into the review of the Vinayas of all other schools compiled by the late Professor Wassilieff from Chinese sources (the MS. is preserved in our library, and has never been published), he would have seen that the *vinaya* was much more shifting ground than the *dharma*. This is also easy to understand *a priori*. A consistent philosophical doctrine is a much more solid basis than the rules of conduct, which are supplemented according to circumstances.

² *Bulletin*, VI, pp. 403-4.

³ *Buddh. Phil.*, p. 73.

⁴ *saṃjñā*.

⁵ *vedanā*.

⁶ *viññāna* = *citta* = *manas*; the equation is emphasized evidently in contrast to the Sāṅkhya triplet *buddhi*, *ahaṃkāra*, *manas*, which are different faculties. The Nyāya later on answered by the equation *buddhir* = *upa-labdhir* = *jñānam*, N.S., I, i, 15.

even the physical elements, colour, shape, sound, odour, taste, touch, etc., properly be called "things"? Is it then not more proper to call them elements, since the term equally applies to physical and mental items? That is what Professors Rosenberg and Stcherbatsky have suggested. There is, of course, the danger of metaphysical implications, which must be faced, but otherwise the term element seems more appropriate.

We have seen that one of the twelve "bases of cognition" in the classification of all elements according to the subject-object principle is called *dharmāḥ* (in the plural) simply.¹ This item contains non-sensuous elements only, i.e. all elements exclusive of all sense-organs, of all sense-data and of the element of consciousness itself. Professor Keith suggests that "the plural of the term (*dharma*), which is presumably the older, as it is by far the most frequent, arises from things being regarded as manifestations of the natural and spiritual law which underlies reality."² This long definition is, of course, not found in the texts, but is his own elaboration. Does it mean that in the singular the "thing" is not a manifestation of the law, but in the plural it becomes so? Had not the classification in twelve *āyatana*s escaped his attention, Professor Keith would have known that the plural *dharmāḥ* is used as a technical term to designate *āyatana* No. 12.³ If he then looks into the passages of the Nikāyas where this term is used in the plural, these passages will at once be clear to him, and he will be able to produce an intelligible translation of them. But then he will at once be obliged to accept the whole system. The doctrine is so logically compact that as soon as you accept a bit of it, you needs must accept the whole.

Another term, which is "common in the extreme" is *saṃskāra*. The terms *dharma* and *saṃskāra*, says Professor Keith, "come to be used practically as identical."⁴ Consequently, *saṃskāra* must also mean a "thing". But it does not mean a "thing" at all. It means "dispositions" or "impressions resulting in dispositions". However, the predominant *saṃskāra* is the will.⁵ It is also "an Element", and "a mental Element"⁶; but is it really a "thing" or a "disposition"? Nor is it very easy to understand what it does mean when we are told that these dispositions are "without self, evanescent, and full of

¹ It is the *dharmā-āyatana*, the *āyatana* No. 12.

² *Buddh. Phil.*, p. 73.

³ *Buddh. Phil.*, p. 60.

⁴ *caitaṇika-dharma*.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 875.

⁶ *cetanā* = *karma* = *saṃskāra*.

misery" !¹ Why should the will be "an impression resulting in a disposition full of misery" ? Fancy you happen to have a disposition which is "without self" (i.e. which is no disposition at all ?), but nevertheless evanescent and full of misery, you may then be sure that you have had a *saṃskāra* ! The appearance and disappearance of every element is accompanied by the forces of production and destruction.² These forces are *saṃskāras*, but are they indeed "dispositions, full of misery" ? The meaning of *saṃskāra* is "consistent and intelligible", says Professor Keith in one case,³ but in another context he complains of its "vagueness".⁴ However, if he had looked into the tables appended to my *Central Conception*, the vagueness would have disappeared. He would then have known exactly which *dharma*s are never *saṃskāras*, which are always *saṃskāras*, which may be and may not be *saṃskāras*, which are mental,⁵ and which are "non-mental".⁶ But then he would also have seen that the system of *dharma*s is present on every page of the Pali Canon in the meaning suggested by Professors O. Rosenberg and Th. Stecherbatsky.⁷

A very important term is *viññāna*, "pure consciousness" or "pure sensation". Its meaning becomes at once clear when its position in the subject-object classification of the elements is considered. Feelings, ideas, volitions are situated in the objective part. The corresponding subjective part, the introspective faculty which apprehends them, is pure consciousness, formless consciousness. Just as in the systems of Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya, consciousness is in Hinayāna formless (*nirākāra*), whereas in later Buddhism it contains forms (it is *sākāra*). In this meaning the term appears as the third member in the chain of causation, as the fifth group in the *skandha* classification, as the sixth item in the *āyatana* classification, as the

¹ Ibid., p. 60.

² *utpāda-sthiti-jarā-anityatā*.

³ Ibid., p. 50.

⁴ Ibid., p. 86.

⁵ *citta-samprayukta*.

⁶ *citta-viprayukta*.

⁷ It is curious that, pp. 201-2, the Sarvāstivādin classification of the seventy-five *dharma*s is called "a not very happy attempt at an *objective* description", whereas the redistribution of exactly the same seventy-five *dharma*s in *skandha-āyatana-dhātu*'s is called a "*subjective*" [*sic*] classification ! This is accompanied by the remark "in the whole scheme we find little of philosophic insight or importance in this, clearly a very important side, in its own eyes, of the activity of the school". The sarcasm would have been more effective if it had been better grounded. Professor Keith ascribes to the Sarvāstivādin school what is common to all schools, and the *āyatana* and *dhātu* divisions, which are found everywhere in the Pali Canon, he ascribes to the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivādins ! If we add to this the double account of the "chain of causation" and the double account of the "*skandha*-division, we see how the "history" of Buddhism is written by him.

sixth and thirteenth to eighteenth items in the *dhātu* classification. It is present in every living organism from the first moment of its being engendered. That is its position as the third member of the twelve-membered chain. The moment of conception means already the presence of the element *viññāna*, it is the primordial element of pure consciousness, the life-principle of a living organism and in this respect the central among all the elements of a personality, the Buddhist substitute for the soul. All differentiation of cognition, all content of cognition, all ideation, every cognition capable of coalescing with a name, is relegated to the group of ideas, under the term *saṃjñā*. The contrast between *viññāna* and *saṃjñā* is fundamental; it corresponds to a certain extent to the contrast between sensation and ideation of modern psychologists, and is very drastically put forward by the Buddhists in their classification of the elements of a living personality, where pure consciousness, which is here the same as pure sensation, is separated from ideation as a separate and fundamental item in the complex of Elements forming a personality (*pudgala*).

Now all this, as Professor Keith remarks on another occasion,¹ is "too coherent and logical to be primitive". He accordingly says²: "the mention of *saññā* along with *viññāna* is otiose and a decisive proof of the lack of psychological interest or acumen of the observers." He translates *viññāna* sometimes by Intellect, sometimes by Consciousness, sometimes by both, and remarks³ that it "comprehensively covers mental phenomena in the Canon". It has escaped his attention that the comprehensive term for mental phenomena or mental faculties is *saṃskāra*.⁴ *Viññāna* is the only mental Element which is not *saṃskāra*, it is not a mental phenomenon,⁵ but the *mind* itself.⁶ This again is "too coherent and logical to be primitive". Of all the terms of the fivefold division (in Skandha),⁷ Professor Keith has understood only the term *vedanā* "feeling".

¹ Ibid., p. 107.

² Ibid., p. 86.

³ Ibid., p. 84.

⁴ viz., *citta-saṃprayukta-saṃskāra*.

⁵ *caitta*.

⁶ *citta*.

⁷ In order to appreciate this classification of mental phenomena in the Buddhist "Psychology without a Soul" into Feelings, Ideas, Volitions, and Pure Sensation, it is sufficient to follow the ever-changing and inconclusive attempts which manifest themselves in European psychology, beginning from the times when the Soul was divided into "parts" up to modern times, when the greatest indecision continues to reign regarding the places to be assigned to some important items. Bain's division into Feeling, Volition, and Intellect (*vedanā*, *cetanā* = *saṃskāra*, *saṃjñā*) has no place for sensation (*viññāna*); he says sensations are partly feelings and partly intellectual states". On the contrary, Warren and a number of other psychologists declare "sensation and ideation" to be the fundamental types of experience. This would

Professor Keith declares that it is "absurd to assign to Buddhism faith in the uniformity of the causal process or of nature."¹ Why should it be absurd? Because "universal causation is an idea wholly foreign to the Canon" and the Chain of Causation "is intended to explain the coming into being of misery". The origin of misery is then very curiously explained. The explanation starts by positing the element of ignorance, which is but the ignorance of the four "noble truths". Forgetting his scepticism, Professor Keith declares that in these truths "we may, indeed, for once believe to have reached a doctrine, which goes back in form to the Buddha himself, his central teaching". Why is it the central teaching, and what does it teach? The "truths" are just the same and just as fundamental in the Sāṅkhya, the Yoga, the Nyāya systems and in medical science! There is therefore either nothing or very little Buddhistic in them.² However, the neglect of these "noble truths" has, as interpreted by Professor Keith, very grave consequences. It produces . . . what?—"Dispositions"!³ These "dispositions" are of a peculiar kind—they produce . . . consciousness! It follows evidently that the preceding "dispositions" and ignorance of the truths were unconscious! Consciousness which is "visible" ⁴(?!) does not remain idle. It produces "name and

correspond to the difference of *viññāna*- and *samjñā-skandha* (it is the same as *nīreikalpaka* and *savikalpaka-pratyakṣa*). But this classification has no separate place for feeling and will; and besides, what is most important is this: when I divide consciousness into sensation and ideation I should not mix them up. I should have a sensation without ideation, i.e. pure sensation, i.e. sensation without the slightest ideation. Brentano's division into representation, judgment and emotional phenomena, distributes the intellect into two items and has no separate place either for sensation, or for will. It comes near to the Buddhist division in this respect, that the will is united in the same item with all emotional phenomena of hatred and love (*samskāra-skandha*). No European classification has any separate place for pure sensation (*viññāna-skandha*), although W. James discusses its possibility. Thus the Buddhist classification into (1) pure sensation, (2) feeling, (3) intellect, and (4) will, compares not unfavourably with the indecision of European psychology. The critique which Professor Keith applies to *samskāra-skandha* is quite unintelligible. *samskāra-skandha* means, just as in Brentano's classification, "Phänomene von Hass und Liebe," including the will as the chief phenomenon or force (*etanā, rāga, dveṣa*, etc.).

¹ Ibid., p. 113.

² Cf. my *Conception of Nirvāṇa*, p. 17.

³ Professor Keith, *Buddh. Phil.*, p. 100, gives vent to his "amazement" at "the creation of two curious bodily complexes alone by ignorance" (! ?). He remarks that "the confusion is significant of the lack of skill of the interpreters". It has escaped his attention that the element of ignorance means in this context the counterpart of Nirvāṇa. When Nirvāṇa is attained, there is no ignorance and no rebirth: the *samskāras*, and among them ignorance, are brought to a standstill. The doctrine is by no means exclusively Buddhistic.

⁴ I.e., belongs to the class of *sapīḍarāsa*-elements (! ?).

form", i.e. it unites "with matter to form the individual", and then the senses are developed. After that, "contact" arises which, according to the "scholiasts", means consciousness again, but "consciousness arising from contact". The preceding existence was evidently contactless. Contact produces feeling and from feeling "thirst", "grasping", and "becoming". There was evidently no becoming before, and even "grasping" managed to exist without becoming. Birth, misery, and death come after "becoming"! We can believe Professor Keith when he says that "the coherence of the whole is not effective and we can hardly suppose that even to its compilers the construction had much demonstrative force".¹ Such is the "explanation of misery", the central teaching of Buddha!

Professor Keith treats of the twelve-membered *pratītya-samutpāda* doctrine twice, pp. 96 ff. and 179 ff., as if it were two different doctrines. He does the same in respect of the *skandha* doctrine, pp. 85 ff. and 200 ff. The exposition is such that the same doctrine could have been repeated five or six times, without any possibility of recognizing it as the same. When we come across a term like "the assumption groups" (*upādāna-skandha*),² we naturally think "what on earth may these assumption groups mean? How absurd!" But when we look into the tables of the Elements and begin to realize that the "assumption groups" simply mean the ordinary man as contrasted with the Saint, we then see that the translator is alone responsible for the absurdity.

It is useless to accumulate further examples. With the single exception of the term *vedanā* "feeling", Professor Keith has not translated correctly a single one of the multitude of terms specially framed for the expression of Buddhist ideas. The characteristics of "absurd", "ludicrous", "ridiculous", "otiose", etc., which he pours upon these ideas, do not in the least affect real Buddhism. His failure is an eloquent proof in favour of the theory of Dharmas. Without this clue to Buddhist terminology, Buddhism is incomprehensible. Nay, the Buddhist Credo, this short Credo which is so different from the Credos of all other religions, which simply says that "Buddha has taught the causal origin of the elements of existence and their extinction in Nirvāṇa"—this Credo remains a riddle as long as we do not know what the elements are. Neither is it possible to extract a genuine doctrine of the Buddha by applying the *a priori*

¹ *Buddh. Phil.*, p. 109.

² *Ibid.*, p. 47.

principle that he must be personally responsible for the most absurd among all absurdities.¹ I apologize for representing some current explanations of Buddhistic ideas in a ridiculous shape. But their thoughtlessness cannot be better shown. They are thoughtlessly dragged from one book into another, and their absurdity is a disgrace to European science. We must make an end of all these "misery", "assumption groups", "things", "dispositions", "contacts", "graspings", "becomings", "noble truths", "compounds", etc. Before making conjectures about the history and prehistory of Buddhism, it seems indispensable to know what its terminology means, or else we shall be writing not the history of Buddhism, but the history of our "dispositions" and "assumption groups"!

In conclusion, I must add some remarks on the puzzling problem of Nirvāṇa. Professor Keith insists that it necessarily must be something "real".² The reason is that it must be "simple", in accord with a "barbarous" age, etc. But this is evidently begging the question. It has apparently escaped his attention that there is no deficiency of paradises in Buddhism.³ There is no resurrection of the flesh—this idea seems absurd to the Buddhist—but a new and radiant body, a new and purified consciousness are created in blissful paradises as a continuation of a virtuous life, according to the laws of dependent origination. Life in the paradise is of enormous duration, but it is not eternity. Real eternity is absence of change, and that means absence of life. Eternity means extinction (*niradha*) of all energies (*saṃskāras*), Entropy. It is curious that Professor Keith insists upon the necessary "reality" of Nirvāṇa in opposition to my views, whereas if anything is clear to the reader of my two books, it must be that in Hīnayāna Nirvāṇa is a Dharma, consequently, a reality, a separate reality, an ultimate reality, an element. This has

¹ *Buddh. Phil.*, p. 63—it is suggested that Buddha's agnosticism means that he really knew nothing about Nirvāṇa. "he allowed men to frame their own conceptions." "From the general poverty of philosophical constructive power exhibited by such parts of the system as appear essentially Buddha's (?), one is inclined to prefer this explanation."

² Cf. article in the *Bulletin*, p. 398.

³ Professor Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 92 ff., apparently confounds the meaning of *rūpa*, by throwing into the same bag the *rūpas* or *rūpa-skandha*, *rūpa-āyatana*, and *rūpa-dhātu*. That the meaning of *rūpa* is quite different in all the three combinations is clearly seen from the table appended to my *Central Conception*. To what confusion this want of discrimination leads is seen from the fact that the Buddhist heavens are thus converted, p. 92, into a "world of Matter" (!).

been changed in Mahāyāna, but in Hinayāna no one denies that Nirvāṇa is real, just as no one denies that a long future life in a paradise is promised to virtue.

What is the definition of Nirvāṇa as an Element? It is an "uncaused" element.¹ "Uncaused" means eternal, never changing. Are there other eternal elements? Yes, there are. The element of empty space is eternal and never changing, not living, but real. Thus Nirvāṇa in the system is brought into line with eternal and empty space. Are both these negative elements unreal? Professor Keith seems to be naïvely convinced that there can be no real naught, that annihilation cannot be real! We have arrived at the core of the problem. Was there or was there not a real philosophy at the time of the Buddha, "une pensée maîtresse d'elle-même"? For in philosophy the reality of the naught is a very familiar idea. Omitting all realistic schools in India, and beginning with Democritus, who believed in the reality of empty space and all pre-Aristotelian philosophy in Greece; beginning with N. Cusanus in Europe up to Hegel and Bergson, the reality of the naught has been treated from many different sides. Bergson maintains even that the naught contains much more than the something, and Bradley (*Logic*, p. 666) insists that "the negative is *more* real than what is taken as merely positive".

Now there are unmistakable signs that the idea of naught occupied the minds of early Indian philosophers intensely. They practised concentration of the mind upon this idea in the state of trance. The constructive poetical imagination of the Buddhists has created worlds, the denizens of which are for ever merged in a motionless contemplation of that unique idea. There are worlds whose denizens are for ever merged in the intuition of infinite empty space, others are motionlessly contemplating the boundless realms of pure consciousness, others are eternally staring at the boundless naught. These poetical pictures are again analytically constructed in accord with the theory of the elements. Life consists here of three elements only.² They are non-eternal, changing, living, causally produced³ elements. Therefore they produce life which is non-quiescent⁴ still. It is a contemplation of the naught, not its realization. Its realization is Nirvāṇa. To

¹ Professor Keith translates *asamākṛta* as "uncompound" Element. This is quite wrong. All elements are uncompound; not a single one is compound. The term "element" and the term "uncompound" are convertible.

² The *dhātus*, Nos. 6, 12, and 18.

³ *samākṛta*.

⁴ *duḥkha*.

construct a Buddhism without a Nirvāṇa and without the theory of elements is a hopeless undertaking. And if it is so, Professor Keith will be obliged to change his pre-conceived idea of the simplicity, attractiveness, and absurdity of Buddhism and look for another explanation of the appeal of these ideas to the noblest instincts of civilized humanity.

That his estimate of Buddhism is preconceived appears clearly from the fact that he has two theories concerning it, a special and a general one. The special one affects Buddhism only; Buddhism is absurd. The general one affects all things Indian—nothing can be absurd enough for "Indian minds".¹ Taking his stand on these two theories, Professor Keith declares² that even if the Buddha was the author of the theory of elements, "it is clearly no great intellectual feat to reduce the world into the concerted appearance of discrete evanescent Elements regarded, together with Space and Annihilation, as the ultimate realities." Professor Keith deals lightly with philosophy! Adopting the same supercilious attitude of nonchalance we might also say, "is it after all a great intellectual feat to have reduced the world to two substances with two attributes as Descartes has done, or to only one substance with two attributes as Spinoza has done"? However, in a spirit of justice to all nations, and of a true appreciation of great intellectual feats, we will rank the founder of Buddhism with Descartes and Spinoza among great men. They all were *Mahā-puruṣas* and *Mahā-pañḍitas*.

¹ *Bulletin*, Lc., p. 394. Cf. *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda* by the same author, on p. 494 the characteristic utterance "... even for India such a thought is absurd" (viz. that Kṣatriyas gave instruction on Brahman)!

² *Ibid.*, p. 395.

Tulu Prose Texts in Two Dialects

By L. V. RAMASWAMI AYYAR

I. Tuluva, a Dravidian speech spoken by about 400,000 people within a comparatively small area in the district of south Kanara, on the west coast of Madras Presidency, has preserved its individuality from a very early time, despite its being an uncultivated dialect with no literature of its own. The Mangalore missionaries were the first to reduce this unwritten language to writing, and they published in the closing decades of the last century a grammar and a dictionary of this speech, besides a few scriptural texts. An attempt is now being made by educated Tulus to cultivate their mother tongue as a literary speech through the composition of essays, stories, and poems.

II. From the standpoint of the student of Dravidian this dialect offers very interesting material :—

(a) Its sound system, though in the main characteristically Dravidian, presents features like the following :—

(i) The occurrence of the sound æ as a distinct phoneme in final positions of certain noun-bases and tense-forms, e.g. :—

ta:læ, <i>coco-nut</i>	ba:læ, <i>plantain</i>
guḍḍæ, <i>hill</i>	aṇtæ, <i>I did</i>
su:jæ, <i>I saw</i>	ke:ṇḍæ, <i>I heard</i>

(ii) The presence of an initial half-voiced f in certain sub-dialectal varieties of Tulu, e.g. *fɯp-*, *to see*; *fioj̥ɜ-*, *to appear*; *fɯ:pæ*, *sweetness*.

(iii) The occurrence of voiceless plosives as short sounds in intervocal positions and in consonant groups formed of nasals and plosives, e.g. *kaɽɯ*, *wild, jungly*; *po:kæ*, *profligate*; *ta:ŋk-*, *to take care of*.

(b) Its *phonology* (when examined with comparative reference to other Dravidian speeches) reveals a number of instructive phenomena like the following :—

(i) The apheresis of initial syllables of words as the result of accent-shift, e.g. *lamb-*, *to wash*; *lepp-*, *to call*, etc.

(ii) The occurrence of sub-dialectal *ɕ*, *s*, *ʃ*, in initial positions, beside *t*, e.g. *ta:ræ*, *ɕja:ræ*, *coco-nut-palm*; *teɭi*, *seɭi*, *ʃeli*, *clear*.

(iii) The correspondence of Tulu *ʃɜ* or *d* to *ɽ* of other southern Dravidian speeches, e.g. *na:d-*, *to stink*; *pa:dæ*, *rock*; *ka:ʃɜæ*, *stain*, etc.

(iv) The action of labial consonants on neighbouring vowels, e.g. *bi:ḍu*, *bu:ḍu*, *house*; *ḷḷe:vu*, *ḷḷo:vu*, *girl, child*, etc.

(c) Morphology.

(i) The presence of what has been called the "communicative" case with the affix *ḍu*, e.g. *amməḍu paṇḍe*, *said to father*.

(ii) The frequency of interrogatives on an *o-* basis, e.g. *oḍə*, *whither?* *o:lu*, *in which place?* *ojiku*, *why?*

(iii) Separate "crystallized" stems for the present, perfect, pluperfect, and future perfect tenses.

(iv) A frequentative stem formed of the verb-base *plus -e-*, and an intensive stem formed of the past stem *plus -r-*.

(v) The reflexive or middle verb-base formed of the past stem *plus* the particle *-on-*.

(vi) Different infinitives (with unique syntactical functions) corresponding to the primary tenses, e.g. *ampune*, *to make*; *aptune*, *to have made*; *aptmḍittune*, *to have made* (in an anterior past).

(d) Dialectology.

The Tuluva speech, though confined within a comparatively small area, is characterized by sub-dialectal divergences which vary more often with communities than with localities. Among all these sub-dialects the widest cleavage is met with between the form of speech used by the Brahmins and that employed by the masses who are chiefly cultivators. Though the Tuluva Brahmins are now found all over Tuluva nāḍu, their stronghold is Udipi (called Oḍupe by the Tulus), noted as a centre of Sanskrit learning and as the seat of eight religious maṭhas following the cult of Madhwāchārya. The communal character of the inter-dialectal divergences is not peculiar to Tulu; such differences on a communal basis are found in the other Dravidian dialects of the south of India, though not to the same extent as in Tulu. Nothing in this part of the country perhaps better illustrates the cultural aloofness of the Brahmin community than the existence of these dialectal divergences in their speech.

III. Brigel's grammar of Tulu—the only one that we have now for this speech—gives a good descriptive account of the morphological and syntactical peculiarities of the folk-speech. Neither the inter-dialectal variations nor the details of the phonetics and the phonology of Tulu have been treated by Brigel in his grammar, which, written as it was several decades ago, was primarily intended for the use of missionaries working among the masses.

The present writer was able to collect materials regarding these

particular features while he was on a visit a few years ago to Tuluva nāḍu. He has since been able to confirm his observations and verify them by references to educated Tuluvas resident in Cochin State and elsewhere. The data thus collected about the phonetic and the phonological aspects of Tulu have already been embodied by him in a contribution to the *Grierson Commemoration Volume*.

The present paper aims at putting together in a schematic way the main differences between the Tuluva folk-speech and the sub-dialect used by the Brahmins, and to illustrate these by phonetic transcriptions of a few texts in both sub-dialects.

IV. The script used here is that of the International Phonetic Association, which the present writer has already adapted for use in his "Brief Account of Malayālam Phonetics" (*Calcutta University Phonetic Studies*, i, 1929).

So far as the present paper is concerned, a few remarks explaining some of the symbols may be necessary.

æ is slightly more open than the sound in English *cat*. Similarly o is slightly more open than the sound in English *boat*. The centralized vowels ɪ, ē, and ɔ̄ are represented by symbols recommended by the pamphlet *L'Écriture phonétique internationale* (1921), published by the I.P.A.; similarly the symbol ʋ standing for a more open variety of the neutral ə has been used in this essay in accordance with the suggestion made by the same pamphlet on page 7.

ɕj and ʃʒ represent affricates, as in the other south Dravidian speeches. The plosives, both voiced and voiceless, have a slight aspiration which does not exist in similar sounds of other Dravidian speeches of the south, except Kannāḍa. k and g of Tulu—generally velar in value—possess a slightly more forward articulation in the neighbourhood of front vowels. The retroflex or cacuminal sounds are here represented by t̠, d̠, l̠, n̠, r̠, instead of by the ligatural mono-types ʈ, ɖ, ɭ, ɹ, ʀ, for the sake of uniformity with other systems of transliteration. ɳ represents the dental nasal, while n is an alveolar. r is usually alveolar, but among some communities it tends to assume very nearly a cerebral value. ʃ stands for the sibilant produced with the tip of the tongue on the alveolar region; ʂ for the sibilant with the cerebral value, and s̪ for the inter-dental "hisser". ɦ is a half-voiced sound initially, while it is fully voiced in medial positions. ʋ and ɰ are frictionless glide-sounds which crop up in breath-groups between the final vowel of a word and the initial vowel of the following word.

V. The annotations to the texts given below are purely explanatory, with particular reference to the inter-dialectal divergences. No comparative references to other Dravidian speeches are given here. Brigel's grammar (*Br. Gr.*) is an excellent guide to the morphological peculiarities of the folk-dialect and therefore wherever necessary references are made to this grammar in connection with the folk-speech.

MAIN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BRAHMIN'S TULU AND FOLK TULU

I. *Phonetics*

(i) Medial *l* in the Brahmins' dialect stands for *r* of the folk-speech :—

bu:l-, bu:r-, *to fall*

kol-, kor-, *to give*

ta:læ, ta:ræ, *coco-nut-tree*

ba:læ, ba:ræ, *plantain-tree*

(ii) *s* in the Brahmins' dialect stands often for *t* of the folk-speech, in initial positions :—

su:p-, tu:p-, *to see*

saip-, taip-, *to die*

so:ĩĩ-, to:ĩĩ-, *to appear*

sik-, tik-, *to get*

(iii) *ĩĩ* corresponds to *d* of the folk-speech in the following :—

ĩĩa:næ, *what? which?*

ĩĩa:læ, *anything*

ĩĩa:jəgu, ĩĩe:əgu, *why?*

ĩĩipĩĩ-, *to be full*

ĩĩepĩĩi, *crab*

da:næ

da:læ

da:jəgu

dipĩĩ-

depĩĩi

In one common instance the converse is the case :—

iddi, *not*

ijĩĩi

(iv) While aphasized words are found in both forms of speech, in certain instances the Brahmins' dialect evidences the non-aphasized forms :—

(ü)oləpp-, *to call*

adəpp-, *to plough*

adəkk-, *to cast off*

erədu, *two*

lepp-

dapp-

dakk-

raddu

II. *Morphology*

(a) *Inflections.*

(i) The singular genitive "post-positional" affix in native words of the Brahmins' dialect is generally *-to*, *-do*, corresponding to *-tu*, *-du*, of the folk-speech :—

marôto, of the tree	marôte
kurîto, of the sheep	kurîte
nirûdo, of the water	nirûde

The Brahmins' dialect occasionally has **-no** in the genitive singular of words denoting the humans :—

aṇṇino, of the boy	aṇṇide
appeno, of the mother	appede

Sanskrit words with final **-v**, like the following, take on, in the Brahmins' dialect, the genitive ending **-ṇṭv**, while corresponding forms of the folk-dialect fail to show the nasal **ṇ**¹ :—

ṣṣana(ṇ)ṇṭv, of the people	Folk-speech	ṣṣanêdv
kaṣṭeṇṭv, of the trouble	"	kaṣṭêdv
grāmaṇṭv, of the village	"	grāmaêdv

Instead of **-to**, **-do**, for native words in the Brahmins' dialect, occasionally one hears **-tv**, **-dv**, also, especially when the final vowel of the noun-base is a "front" vowel, e.g. :—

crits, of the rice	kurîtv, of the sheep
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(ii) The accusative singular ending is always **-ni** in the Brahmins' speech corresponding to **-nu**, **nu**, of the folk-dialect :—

mageni surje, he saw the son	magenu tuje
pustakēni gette, he took the book	pustakōnu

It may be noted here that in the folk-speech the value of the final vowel of the accusative ending depends upon the character of the terminal vowel of the noun-base : if the latter is **-v** (i.e. the value of **A** appearing in final positions of words), **-o** or **-u**, the accusative ending is **-nu** ; but if the final vowel of the noun-base is **-u** or a front vowel, then the accusative termination is always **-nu**, e.g. :—

arinu upp-, to eat rice
be:leṇu malp-, to do the work
urunu tu:p-, to see the country
na:ḍṇnu buḍ-, to leave the land

This rule of harmonic change of **u** and **u** applies also to the locative and the dative endings of both the dialects.

¹ The appearance of the nasal in the genitive, locative, and dative endings of certain words of the Brahmins' dialect is, as I have sought to explain it in my contribution to the *Grierson Commemoration Volume*, to be connected with a final **-m**, which the bases of cognate words show in the allied Dravidian dialects, but which the Tulu words to-day appear to have dropped altogether.

(iii) The Brahmins' dialect shows $-(\delta)\text{ṇtu}$ for the locative singular of "neuter" nouns, corresponding to $-\text{tu}$ or ḍu of the folk-speech, when the final vowel of the noun-base is $-\text{u}$; this $-\text{u}$ changes to $-\delta$ very often in the locative in both dialects :—

<i>marōṇtu, at the tree</i>	Folk-speech <i>marōḍu</i>
<i>dinōṇtu, at the day</i>	„ <i>dinōḍu</i>

If the terminal vowel of the noun-base is other than $-\text{u}$, then the locative termination lacks the nasal, and the final vowel is $-\text{u}$ or $-\text{uṃ}$ according as the preceding vowel of the noun-base is dorsal or front (cf. the harmonic change mentioned above).

<i>gellu, branch</i>	<i>gelluḍu, at the branch</i>
<i>ari, rice</i>	<i>ariḍu, at the rice</i>
<i>ta:ræ, ta:læ, coco-nut-palm</i>	<i>ta:ræḍu, ta:læḍu, at the coco-nut-palm</i>
<i>uru, country</i>	<i>uruḍu, at the country</i>
<i>guru, teacher</i>	<i>guruṭu, guruḍu, at or near the teacher</i>

Note that this is common to both dialects and that the interchange of the voiced and the voiceless plosive of these endings depends on sentence-accent and euphony (cf. *Br. Gr.*, § 17).

(iv) The singular ablative ending in the Brahmins' dialect is always $-\text{tu}$, or $-\text{tuṃ}$, corresponding to $-\text{ḍuṃ}$ of the folk-speech, whatever the final vowel of the noun-base may be, e.g. :—

<i>me:ḷḷittu, from or with the table</i>	Folk-speech <i>me:ḷḷiḍuṃ</i>
<i>be:lettṃ, from or with the work</i>	„ <i>be:leḍuṃ</i>
<i>marōttṃ, from the tree</i>	„ <i>marōḍuṃ</i>

(v) The singular dative ending in the Brahmins' dialect is $-(\delta)\text{ṇku}$ when the noun-base has final $-\text{u}$, whereas the folk-speech lacks the nasal but shows $-\text{ku}$ or $-\text{gu}$, e.g. :—

<i>marōṇku, to the tree</i>	Folk-speech <i>marōk(g)u</i>
<i>dinōṇku, to the day</i>	„ <i>dinōgu</i>

If, however, the final vowel of the noun-base is other than $-\text{u}$, then the Brahmins' dialect does not show the nasal in the dative ending, and both dialects show $-\text{ku}$ or $-\text{gu}$ and $-\text{ku}$ or $-\text{gu}$ according as the final vowel of the noun-base is dorsal on the one hand or is one of the front vowels (or $-\text{uṃ}$) on the other, e.g. :—

<i>u:ruḡu, to the village</i>
<i>ka:ruḡu, to the foot</i>
<i>de:va:rēḡu, to the god</i>
<i>kuriku, to the sheep</i>
<i>guruku, to the teacher</i>

(b) *Demonstratives, Interrogatives, and Pronouns.*

(i) *iṇḍu* and *uṇḍu* both meaning *this* are equally common in the folk-dialect; the Brahmins' speech favours *uṇḍu*.

(ii) The singular feminine proximate pronoun in the Brahmins' dialect is *imbōḷu*, *she (here)*, while the folk-speech shows the apheresized *mōḷu*. We may also note that the proximate masculine singular pronoun in the Brahmins' dialect is always *imbje*, while the folk-speech has *imbe*.

(iii) The second person plural pronoun in the Brahmins' dialect is *iṇkūḷu* or *nikūḷu*, while the folk-speech generally shows *iṛu*, *you*.

(iv) The folk-speech has an honorific third person proximate plural *mēṛu*, *he (honorific) here*; the Brahmins' dialect uses the remote honorific *aṛu* only.

(v) The first person singular pronoun in the Brahmins' dialect is *eṇu*, *I*, while the folk-dialect has *jaṇu* (with the frictionless on-glide being *conspicuously* heard in the folk-enunciation of this word).

(vi) While *eṇḍe*, *when?* *eṇḍe*, *how?* *eṭu*, *how many?* *eṇḍitti*, *in what way?* are common to both dialects, the following differences are observable in respect of the other interrogatives:—

<i>Brahmins' dialect</i>		<i>Folk-speech</i>
<i>ḷḷā:næ</i> , <i>what?</i>		<i>da:næ</i>
<i>ḷḷā:jəḡu</i>	} <i>why?</i>	<i>da:jəḡu</i>
<i>ḷḷē:jəḡu</i>		
<i>ḷḷē:ḡu</i>		
<i>ojikṇ</i> , <i>what for?</i>		not found
<i>eṇṇu</i> , <i>who?</i>		<i>jaṛu</i>

da:, *which?* and *da:ḍəvu*, *what?* of the folk-dialect are not heard commonly in the Brahmins' dialect.

(c) *Verb-forms*

(i) The first person plural ending of all tenses in the Brahmins' dialect is *os*, while the folk-speech has *ṇ*:—*ampuvo:*, *we make*; folk-speech, *malpuvṇ*.

The termination of the simple infinitive is *-ṇṇ* or occasionally *-ṇṇ* in the Brahmins' dialect, while in the folk-speech it is usually *-ni*.

(ii) The third person neuter ending of the primary tenses is in the Brahmins' dialect *uṇṇu* or *uṇṇu*, while in the folk-speech it is always *-uṇḍu*:—

<i>Brahmins' Dialect</i>	<i>Folk-speech</i>
ampəṇṇu, it makes	maḷpaṇḍu
aṭṭuṇṇu, it made	maḷtuṇḍu
aṭṭuḍuṇṇu, it has made	maḷtuḍuṇḍu
aṭṭuḍittuṇṇu, it had made	maḷtuḍittuṇḍu

The third person singular neuter ending of the negative of the future and future perfect tenses is in the Brahmins' dialect -aṇṇu, corresponding to -aṇḍu of the folk-speech :—Brahmins' ampəṇṇu, it will not make, beside folk-speech maḷpaṇḍu.

(iii) One type of causatives is formed in the folk-speech with the addition of -a: to the verb-base ; in the Brahmins' dialect the corresponding particle is always -o:, e.g. :—

<i>Brahmins' Dialect</i>	<i>Folk-speech</i>
ampo:-, to cause to make	maḷpa:-
koḷpo:-, to cause to give	koṛpa:-
paṇpo:-, to cause to say	paṇpa:-

(iv) There are a few divergences among the negative verb-forms :—

(1) While the folk-speech uses the verb-base *plus* iḷḷi, the negative meaning *not*, *plus* pronominal endings, the Brahmins' dialect commonly employs for all tenses (except the future and the future perfect where the two dialects agree in employing the negative particle a to the base to form the negative tense-stem) the simple infinitive of the particular tense-stem *plus* iddi, *not*, *plus* pronominal endings :—

<i>Brahmins' dialect</i>	<i>Folk-speech</i>
i: barpuṇu (ḷ)iddiḷe, thou has not come	i:barpiḷḷiḷe
a:ḷe battuṇu (ḷ)iddiḷe, he did not come	a:ḷe battiḷḷiḷe
etc.	etc.

(2) Certain popular negative verb-forms are found exclusively in the Brahmins' dialect :—

<i>Brahmins' Dialect</i>	<i>Folk-speech</i>
bo:tṛi, not wanted	bo:ḍiḷḷiḷi
itri, it was not, did not exist	ittiḷḷiḷi
a:tṛi, it did not become	a:tiḷḷiḷi
ke:niri, it does not hear	ke:ṇiḷḷiḷi
barpri, it will not come	barpiḷḷiḷi
pa:pṭiri, not enough	not found at all in folk-speech.

The negative ending (i)ri is sometimes fully conjugated for gender, number and person in a few negative tenses in the Brahmins' dialect.

(v) The present relative participle always ends in -i in the Brahmins' dialect, while the folk-speech has -u, e.g. :—

ke:ni, *that hears*
bu:li, *that falls*

ke:pe
bu:u

(vi) Among other minor differences, we may single out here the tendency favoured by the Brahmins' dialect to use voiceless plosives in the endings of certain tense-forms: po:tu, *having gone*; su:tu, *having seen* corresponding to po:du, tu:du of the folk-speech.

III. Vocabulary

Apart from the structural variations involved in the instances we have noted above in the section on Phonology, a few other prominent differences in vocabulary between the Brahmins' dialect and the folk-speech may be recorded here.

(1) The following are some of the most conspicuous among the words which have been separately popularized in the sub-dialects :—

Brahmins' Dialect
to take, gepp-
young, kippi
all, ma:te
like, lake
strength, gfiatti, beside j̃o:ru
to catch, pass-
to stand up, enḍ-
to begin, suriuvamp-, beside toḍəṅg-
therefore, anēta:vəre or
a:nēta:vəre
coconut, teṅṅai
scorpion, ēje:lu
boy, ma:ni
girl, j̃e:vu
enough, pa:pu
no, a:tu
to scratch, gi:r-

Folk-speech
depp-, beside gepp-
eliḷe
ma:te
lekke
j̃o:ru, only
patt-
uṇt-
toḍəṅg-
aiṇəḍṇḍe or
aṇēja:jinaḍṇḍe
ta:ra:ji
se:lu or te:lu
a:nu
ponnu
i:jəvu
at:u
j̃ir-

(2) Though the folk-dialect does possess a fairly large element of loan-words, chiefly Indo-Aryan in origin, the Brahmins' speech, as is only to be expected from the fact that the Brahmins in and around Udipi are the custodians of Sanskrit learning from a very early period, employs a larger proportion of words directly borrowed from Sanskrit. Words borrowed or adapted from Middle Indo-Aryan (particularly Jaina Prakrit and Pāli) appear to be largely common to both the sub-dialects; but direct borrowings from Sanskrit or old Indo-Aryan are far more numerous in the Brahmins' dialect than in the folk-speech. Many of these Sanskrit loans have not been naturalized, but a few like the following have become exceedingly popular in the Brahmins' dialect.

<i>Brahmins' Dialect</i>	<i>Folk-speech</i>
marriage, kaljaṇṇe	maḍḍumæ
fear, bñāje	poḍigæ
food, aḥḥare	umpu, nuppu, tinu
fast, upəva:sə	nompu
man, manuṣje	narema:ni, maṇḍæ
water, j̄ḡale; beside niru	niru or niru
rainy season, baṛṣa:ka:le	marja:le
betel leaf, taməṇṭræ	bacējiræ

In the case of adaptations from Indo-Aryan, common to both sub-dialects, we find different modifications of the same word:—

thousand, sa:vūre	sa:re
Brahmin, berəṇæ	bra:ṇæ
bra:ṇti, Brahmin woman is heard in both dialects.	
trade, vja:pa:re, be:pa:re	bja:re
trouble, upədrəve, upədre	upəj̄ḡədre
twilight, sapḍhje	taṇj̄ḡe
earth, prithvi	poḍəvi

I¹

This passage was read out to me by Mr. Śrīdhar Sarma of Udipi

¹ Word-accent and sentence-accent exist in the enunciation of Tulu, as in the other south Dravidian speeches, though the precise character of this accent (i.e. whether it is dynamic stress or tonal pitch or a combination of the two) remains to be determined with the help of scientific instruments.

Acoustic impression suggests that "accent" in south Dravidian is far less "strong" than what has been postulated as "stress" (?) in

from a recently printed version of a legend current in Tuḷuva nāḍu. I have verified Mr. Sarma's dictation carefully.

a: (ō)	'u:rūdo	(ō)	'arəsūgu		'ori:je (j)	itti	'mage	
that	country-of		ruler-to		single-that-was		son	
'j̄zaine	'baira:gile	(j)	ottūgu				'se:rtu	
Jaina-saints-of			company-to (= together with)				having-joined	
'sanja:si	(j)	a:vəreg,a:tu		a:'baira:gile	(j)	ottūge		
ascetic	for-becoming-in-order-to			those-saints-of		together-with		
				(Gen. pl.)				
'po:je:tri:je		a:je		'ev-	u:rūgu	'mo:rə (j)	a:tu	
went-away-for-good		he		which	land-to	face-having-become (= in		

Indo-Aryan speeches like Benares Hindi; nevertheless, one has to recognize the existence of "accent" in south Dravidian, as testified to by the varying degrees of "vigour" with which the different syllables of a word and the different words in a sentence are uttered.

So far as single words of two or more syllables are concerned, the primary accent generally falls on the root-syllable. The rules of sentence-accent, i.e. the accentuation of the words in a sentence, are governed by the psychological importance of the particular word or words in each breath-group.

In our texts given here, a bar on the top,^{*} immediately preceding the syllable, indicates primary accent on that syllable; and a similar bar below stands for secondary accent.

Breath-groups are marked off by vertical lines, the single line indicating a half-pause and the double line a full pause.

ō and j̄ are frictionless glide-sounds which, in our texts, are indicated as cropping up in non-Dandhi positions, between two words within a breath-group, between the final vowel of the first word and the initial vowel of the second. These glide-sounds occur only when the vowels of different words come into proximity within a breath-group. If the vowels are both "front" in character, the glide-sound is invariably j̄; and if they are both dorsal the glide is invariably ō. If one of the vowels is "front" and the other dorsal, the character of the glide generally depends, as a rule, upon "accentual" factors: i.e. if the dorsal vowel is affected by greater accent, the glide is ō; while if it happens that the "front" vowel has stronger accent, the glide is j̄. Very often where the degrees of accent show no appreciable difference, one hears j̄ or ō used indiscriminately. A word like Tulu **kai(j̄)oppu** *signature* (= hand-impression) is heard very often alternating with **kai(ō)oppu** according to the fancy of the speaker.

a:kuljēḍe		" nɪpkule (j)	'era:ṇḍə,la'		enɐ (õ) a: (õ) ori
them-to		" you-of	who-ever-yet		my that single

(Communicative case)

mageni	'na:ḍṁtu	'konḍətaruḍe		nɪpkulēḡu		enɐ
son	having-searched	having-brought-to-give-if		you-to		my

(õ) 'arḍe	'ra:ḡḡe	'kolpə		uru	'tirigjærəḡu	'bo:ḍa:ji
half	kingdom	shall-give-I		lands	for-wandering-to	necessary

'duḍḍula'	kolpə		mage	'siknɐ (j)	'idjēḍe		e:n'e: (j) uru
money-too	shall-give-I		son	finding	not-if		I-also land

'buḍṁtu	'po:pə	"-ṇḍe	
having-left	go-shall-I'	-said	

uṇḍēni	ke:ṇḍi'	'bra:mḥṇḍəkula		Arəṣū'viṣəjōṇtu	'baḥḥə
this	that-heard	Brahmins		King-matter-in	great

'dukkə	buḍijērɐ		'epṇə:ṇḍəla'		name (õ) Arəṣṭuḡu	suk-
sorrow-felt			whatever-yet		our king-to	happiness

'a:vōḍu-ṇtu		enjērɐ		uru	'tirigjærəḡu		'dumbuttu
must-be-thus		thought-they		lands	for-wandering-to		formerly

'la:ga:jtu la'		'bra:mḥṇḍəkule'	'gaṭṭige:rṁde'	
early-times-from-even		Brahmins-indeed	clever-people-indeed	

'na:ḍu patjære		'naṇəla'	'buddḥimaptērɐ		a:klēḡu
land-for-catching		now-even	wise-are-they		them-to

'oḍəḡu	'po:vērəḡula'		'taḍə (j) 'itri		'appəṇə
wherever-to	going-for-to-even		hindrance existed-not		permission

'daṇṭə,ne'		'ra:ṇi:va:sōṇkule'ḡula'		'po:tu		'surtu
without		queen-residences-to-even		having-gone		having-seen

'pa:tērtu	battōṇḍūt-	ittērɐ		apṇḍə,ne'
having-conversed	having-come	remained-they		thus-indeed

i:'bra:mḥṇḍekulūla'		Arəṣu	paṇṇəik-	'oppitōṇḍutu
these Brahmins-even		king	what-said-to	having-agreed

keləvērɐ	'pida:ḍjērɐ		" duḍḍu	kolpe		naṇḡu	'tirtḥəja:tre
some	started-they		" money	give-he-will		us-to	pilgrimage

(j) a: lakɐ (õ)	a:pūṇu		Arəṣūmagēni (õ)	'olītōṇtu	'batti
that-like	become-will		king-son	having-called	having come

(Acc.)

lakɐ,la' (õ) a:nɐ		naṁṇṇu		Arəṣṭuḡu	'ba:lɐ (j) 'eḍḍe (j)
thus-also	became		us-to		king-to great pleasure

a:vu -'ptu		'lakijēru		'po:jēru		'e:to:
will-be -so		rose-up-they		went-they		how-many
'tirtfakṣe:trōṅkulēḍṁla		'guḍḍæ ka:dlēḍṁla		'baira:gīle		
places-of-pilgrimage-at-and		hills-jungles-at-and		ascetics-of		
'gumpūlēḍṁla		'tirigijēru		a:je ,siknə (j) 'iddje		
assemblage-at-and		wandered-they		he to-find not		
'baḍṇə (j) ,iddjēru		'ka:figṁla po:jēru		ka:fiḍu		
to-leave not-they		Benares-to-and went-they		Benares-at		
'baira:gīle 'ra:si		aulla' ,siknə (j) 'idjēḍə		bettu		
ascetics-of crowd		there-and to-find not-if		afterwards		
'pirane barpūṇə-ptu		'niṣṣej -aptōṇḍēru		aulte		
back-only to-come-thus		resolve made-they		there-of		
baira:gi 'chatrōṅkulēḍṁ		aiṭ aiṭe 'sulijōṇḍūtu				
ascetics-resting-places-at		there there having-roamed-about				
'gurutu patjære ,toḍṅgijēru		aiṭ- ,orijūni ,sutu				
trace-for-catching began-they		there one-man having-seen				
svalpə 'samfəj- a:nu		inēṣ (ō) a:klēḡu		'e:to:		
slight doubt became		thus them-to		how-many		
dikkṁḍu samfəj- ,a:tnu		'prajo:ḡḡən-	'a:tri			
places-at doubt became		use	did-not-become			
samfəj- a:ji kaḍəṭu 'maṭta		mo:klu opḡḡi keləs-				
doubt having-become place-at all		they one work				
ampe:tēru		a: (ō) aṣəsumage (ō) ,u:rūḍu (j) ,ipnəḡe				
used-to-do-they		that king-son native-land-at remaining-while				
bedṁr-	'aḍi-npi	'kaṇḍəṭarite (ō) 'umpūnije (ō)				
(a name)	that is-called	field-of-rice-of	meal-only			
'uṇṇūṇə		a:(ō)opḡḡi kaṇḍəṭ-	arite (ō) umpu			
to-eat		that one field-of	rice-of meal			
'baḷḷə 'pariməḷə		a:jəḡu	a: (ō) aṛiṭu		'ba:ḷə 'ruṣi	
very fragrant		him-to	that rice-at		great taste	
anaṭta:ṇēre		'ku:ḍūṇa:tu	a: kaṇḍəṭarini			
therefore		as-far-as-possible	that field-of rice			
			(Acc.)			
'paṣōṇḍṁtēru		a: (ō) umpu baipi ,pariməḷōṅk'e		a:je (j)		
taken-had-they		that meal that-cooked fragrance-to-only		he		

aiṭ- there	ittēḍe remained-if		battutur having-come	taṅkūlēḍe them-to	'pa:tēr, vṛte (j) speaking-without
ippejē-ṇtur remain-would-not-so	teritur having-known		samṣaje doubt	so:ḡḡi arising	ḡḡa:ḡuḍur place-at-all
i: (j) this	arite (ṽ) rice-of	umpūni (j) meal	ṇṭōṇḍūt- having-prepared	ittērum remained-they	
'inila to-day-too		ṇṭēḡane (j) ṇṭērum thus-even did-they		a: ,parimāḷe that fragrance to-arise-at-that-time	'bapūṇṇane
ori a-man	battutur having-come		'ṇipdusta:niḍur Hindustani-in	'pa:terpo:je started-conversing	
'ni:nu,jā:ra:ṇḍērum you-who-said-he		'samskrute Sanskrit	'kannāḍe Canarese	'malaja:ḷe Malayalam	'tuḷu (ṽ) Tulu
a:vṛṇte becoming-without (= except)	'be:te other	bḡa:ṣe language		mo:kḷḡur them-to	
'bapri does-not-come		'ḡa:di way	naḍḍēṇṇeḡe while-walking		samskrutēḡu Sanskrit-of
'kaitōḷa:titti near-having-become-that-remained (= that was related)					'mara:ṭhi Marathi
bḡa:ṣe language		'sualpəsualpə little-little	terit- having-known	itnur remained-it	aiṭur it-in
'pa:terpo:jērum started-conversing-they		a:je he	kaitōḷu near	'ta:na:tur himself-by	battutur having-come
,pa:terpo:vēre for-conversing	toḍēḡ ^{mn} 'aita:vēre started-because-and		'su:nēḡe (ṽ) seeing-while	,urūdo land-of	
ḡḡanēḡa lake man-of-like	so:ḡḡūṇ 'aita:vērla appears-because		samṣaje doubt	'ḡeḡēḡinur increased	
,aṇḍe yet		'ḡuṭṭu secret	sikṇe (j) to-find	iddi not	
ḡḡo:rampēre force-for-making	,dḡairje courage	(j)	'iddi not		'mo:rə mo:rə face-face
'su:pōṇḍērum observed-for-themselves-they		'tuḷūṭa Tulu-in	'karna:ṭakōṇṭa Canarese-in		'mellēmellēne in-low-tones
'pa:terōṇḍērum conversed-among-themselves-they		aiṭur there		ori a	'ḡaṭṭige clever
" 'ḡḡabbu " old	,parēbu (ṽ) aged mother	ṇṭṇe (j) father	'ammā father	(j) remaining-while	ippinēḡe

name (j)	ipējs	'malpōlja:		,eljv	'balla:lere		name
we	thus	should-do-indeed		young	prince		our
kelesōgu		'de:verw	'sai buḍōḍy; j̄ḡa:		,kinni		
work-to		god	should-he-not-have-blessed		young		
'balla:lere		berəṇērw		enklū	'na:ḍwḍw	'na:ḍwḍw	
lord		Brahmins		we	having-searched	having-searched	
'so:to:		,sidjv	'balla:lere		name (ṽ)	u:rūgu	'pida:ḍōḍu
weary		young-lord		our	land-to	must-go-back	
,putṭe	'balla:lere:'	ṇtm	,paṇḍrije		'satjēṭe	,ka:lē	
young-lord-thus			cried-out-he		truth-of	time	
'braṃṃṇēkūlēgm		'mo:s-	ampēre		'ḍḥairjv		
Brahmins-to		deceit	making-for		courage		
bar,ṣṭe		'balla:lē	'kannəḍv	'tuḷu bḥa:ṣēlēḍw			
becoming-without		nobleman	Canarese-Tuḷu-languages-in				
'pa:tērje		a:kūle (j)	a:kūle (ṽ)	oḷēji	'gurt-	a:tw	
spoke-he		their-their	inside	acquaintance	having-become		
a:kūlu	'boḷisi (j)	a: (ṽ)	arito (ṽ)	,umpḷnij'e (j)	uṇḍe		
they	that-served	that	rice-of	meal-even	ate		
,oṭṭuge	'pida:ḍwṭw	,batte					
finally	having-started-back	came					

TRANSLATION

The only son of the ruler of that land went away with the Jaina ascetics with a view to becoming an ascetic himself. Nobody could say whither he had gone. The king made all necessary efforts to trace him, dispatched messengers to distant places and made vows to god ; but all was in vain, the prince could not be traced. " If my only son has thus left me for good, of what use to me are my kingdom and my home, life and fortune, honour and respect ? " said the king, who became disgusted with everything. " Old man though I am, I have not even thought of becoming an ascetic ; but my son has renounced all worldly happiness and accomplished what it was my duty to have done. He indeed is a worthy son ! And still I remain without a sense of my duty. No ! I need nothing, I too shall go ! " So saying the king made up his mind to go ; but, thinking that he would, before taking such a step, summon the Brahmins and put to them a question, he sent for them and said : " If anyone among you could trace my only

son and bring him to me, I shall give him half my land and also the expenses of the journey. If my son is not found, I too shall renounce the world like him and go." On hearing this the Brahmins felt great sorrow, and thought that the king must remain happy at all costs. From very early times in the past the Brahmins have been first-class travellers. Even now, they are enterprising in this line. Nothing prevented them from going wherever they liked to go. Even without express permission they used to go to the apartments of queens and to converse with them; and so these Brahmins readily agreed to the king's proposal and some among them immediately started on their journey, saying: "He will give us money, we will have an opportunity for pilgrimage, and have the privilege of fetching back the prince also; the king indeed will be pleased with us."

And they roamed through many a hill and jungle, many a sacred place of pilgrimage, and mingled with many an assemblage of ascetics; but there was no tracing the prince. They did not, however, give up their attempt, but proceeded even as far as Benares. Large bodies of ascetics congregate at Benares, and if the prince were not found there, they thought they had only to return. They began to roam about the Chattras (resting-places) of the Bairagis in search of the prince. One among them roused their suspicion. Such suspicions had occurred to them before at many another place, but to no purpose. On such occasions they had been adopting a device. The prince, while in his native land, was in the habit of eating meals cooked with the rice yielded by a particular field. The meal thus prepared was extraordinarily fragrant, and it used to be a favourite with the prince. They had therefore taken with them as much of that rice as possible. Knowing that the fragrance arising from that rice when cooked would not fail to attract the prince and make him converse with them, they used to cook that rice at all those places where they happened to suspect that the prince might be present. That day, too, they did so; and when the fragrance spread around, a man came to them and started conversing with them by putting the question "Who are you?" Now, these Brahmins understood no other language than Sanskrit, Kannada, Malayalam, and Tulu. During the course of their journey, however, they had managed to pick up a little knowledge of Marathi, which is allied to Sanskrit. They now conversed with him in Marathi. As he voluntarily approached them and conversed with them, and as in appearance he looked like a man of their own native province, their suspicions were strengthened. Yet the secret was not easily divulged,

and they had no mind to give up the idea of probing it further, though all the while they were never bold enough to confront him with his identity straightway. They therefore observed him closely and for a time conversed among themselves in Kannada and Tulu in low tones. A clever Brahmin soon clinched the point by crying out : " O ! young prince, is it proper for one to do thus when one's aged parents are living ? Has not God blessed our attempts now ? We Brahmins have been seeking you for ever so long. It is time for you, young prince, to start back homewards ! " That was a time when truth was supreme ; and the young prince not audacious to practise deception on Brahmins, thereupon spoke to them in Tulu and in Kannada. Recognition followed, and he that day took the meal which they had prepared with his favourite rice and which they now served to him. Finally he returned to his native land.

ANNOTATIONS ¹

The comparative references made to other south Dravidian speeches are in no way exhaustive ; the scope of this essay precludes elaborate comparisons of this type.

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907, 1. *arəsu, king*.—This word, with its immediate relatives found in all the other south Dravidian speeches, is a very early adaptation from Indo-Aryan.

The question of the foreign element in the vocabulary of Tulu is closely bound up with the same problem in connection with the other south Dravidian speeches, particularly Kannada. The question has not yet been tackled at all ; but we may outline here the different sources :—

(a) One of the main foreign sources is Old Indo-Aryan or Sanskrit, which has exercised on the " culture " of Tuluva nāḍu a profound influence from an early past, particularly through the instrumentality of Brahmins ; and loans from this source are of two types :—

(i) Words borrowed without any appreciable modification in structure : these have remained unassimilated by the popular folk-speech.

¹ The annotations given here are aimed at explaining only those features regarding which Brigel's *Grammar of Tulu* fails to afford help to the student.

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(ii) Words "vulgarized" and modified by a process of assimilation.

(b) Words borrowed, or adapted, from that variety of Middle Indo-Aryan which was current in the south of India in or about the first centuries of the Christian era. The Jainas (of whom a large number exist in Tuḷuva nāḍu, speaking Tuḷu as their mother tongue) were chiefly responsible for the introduction and popularization of this group of words which are common to most of the south Dravidian dialects.

(c) Borrowings by Tuḷu (jointly with Kannāḍa) from new Indo-Aryan speeches, particularly the neighbouring Marāṭhi.

(d) Legal terms, of ultimate Persian and Arabic origin, which are the relics of the time when parts of south India were under Moslem rule.

(e) Borrowings by Tuḷu from Kannāḍa, most of which could be distinguished as such by their unique Kannāḍa peculiarities of structure.

In our text quite a number of direct borrowings from Sanskrit could be marked off: *sanjāsi*, *prajetne*, *maṇḍe*, *marjāḍe*, *raḥḥje*, etc.

As for words belonging to Group (b), it is not always easy to distinguish them from "vulgarized" modifications of direct borrowings from Sanskrit. The test to be employed in such cases is to institute a close comparison of such words with MIA. forms current in the south. This work has not yet been taken up by any scholar, though it is important both from the Indo-Āryanist and the Dravidist points of view.

It is probable that the following words in our text are borrowings of MIA. forms. It will be noted that all of them are found to occur not only in Tuḷu, but in many other south Dravidian speeches as well. Exactly when and in what part of the south these words may have been borrowed are matters requiring inquiry.

appaṇe, *permission*, found in all south Dravidian speeches except Malāyaḷam—probably a borrowing of a MIA. representative of OIA. *ājāḍana-* *raṇi* (cf.

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OIA. *rājāni*), *gavudē*, *distance* (cf. Kannada, Telugu *gavudē*, *a league of ten or twelve miles*, Tamil *kaḍam* and OIA. *gavjuṭi*); *ḍḥore*, *master* (cf. OIA. *ḍḥurja*); *moṣe*, *deception* (cf. Tamil, Malayalam *moṣu* and OIA. base *muṣ-*, *to steal*) are all probably similar borrowings from MIA. instead of directly from OIA.

To Group (c) belong the following :—

suddhi, *news, intelligence*, found in Kannada also, but not in the other south Dravidian dialects with this meaning. The particular meaning of *searching, explaining, news*, exists in Marāṭhi.

beḥḡare, *weariness, disgust*, occurs in Tuḷu and Kannada among the Dravidian speeches of the south; cf. Marāṭhi *beḥḡara*, *fatigue*.

sai, *assent, accord*, found in Tuḷu and in Kannada; cf. Marāṭhi *sai*, *assent*.

Words belonging to Group (d) will be found in our third text below.

The following are borrowings by Tuḷu from Kannada :—

keḷesu, *work*, a very old Kannada adaptation from a MIA. form based on OIA. *krija*; cf. Tamil *kirifai*, *work*, Brāhūi *giras*, *work*.

baḥḡe, *baḥ*, *abundant*.—Tuḷu may have borrowed this word from Kannada, or direct from Marāṭhi, which uses *baḥḡa*, *baḥ* with the special meanings *copious, abundant*.

ḥecḥu, *to increase*, is taken from Kannada, as the initial *ḥ* here is typically characteristic of the modern variety of that speech, having been derived from Old and Middle Kannada *p*. Tuḷu sub-dialectally does have initial *ḥ*, but this *ḥ* is connected with *t* and not *p*. This word is cognate with Tamil *peruḡ*, *to increase*, and derived from Old Kannada *peccḥ*, *to increase*.

boḷis, *to serve*, shows the typically Kannada causative affix *-is-* not found in Tuḷu. *boḷesu* or *boḷisu* in Kannada means *to cause to go round, as in serving food to a company of people*.

2. *oṭṭu*, *literally joining (total, addition)-to, i.e. together with*.—The form, originally the dative of *oṭṭu* is a common

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907, 2. post-position now, bringing out clearly the idea of "joining", "merging".
3. *a:varë(ə)ga:tu*, for *becoming*.—Constituted of *a:varë(ə)gu*, the dative of the infinitive of purpose *a:varë* (from *a:p-*, to become), and *a:tu* the past perfect adverbial participle of *a:p-*, to become. *a:tu* in such contexts strengthens the idea of "purpose".
4. *po:je:trije*, went away "for good".—A combination of *po:je*, went and *itrije*, the intensive past third person singular of the intensive base *itr-* formed from *ip-*, to remain.

The intensive is used here for specifically conveying the idea that the prince left his province (and worldly happiness) "for good".

The intensive *itr-* is formed from the ordinary past stem *it-* of *ip-*, to remain, with the addition of the particle *-r-*.

As these intensives are unique in Tulu, being met with nowhere in the other Dravidian speeches with similar structural peculiarities, it would be useful to summarize here the rules governing the formation of the intensive bases:—

(a) Verbs of the first, second, and fifth conjugations (Br. Gr., § 88) are converted into the intensives by the addition of the particle *-r-* to the past stem of the respective verbs. The intensive base so formed is conjugated separately for all tenses and moods in detail, exactly like the ordinary base of the third conjugation [Br. Gr., p. 72].

aptr- is the intensive base from *amp-*, to make of the Brahmins' dialect; in the folk-dialect we have *ma:tr-* corresponding to this *aptr-*.

itr-, *paṇḍr-*, *keṇḍr-*, *getr-*, are similar intensive bases formed respectively with the addition of the particle *-r-* to the respective past stems of *i-p-*, *paṇ-p-*, *keṇ-p-*, *ge-pp-*.

(b) In the case of the other conjugations where the past stem of the ordinary verb-bases does not end in *-t*, but in the vowel *-i-*, the intensive bases are formed usually with the addition of *itr-*, (the regular intensive of *ip-*, to remain) to the base of the verb instead of the past stem.

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Thus *saitr-*, *bu:ḍr-*, *su:tr-* are the intensive bases from *saip-*, *to die*, *bu:ḍ-*, *to fall*, *su:p-*, *to see*.

Normally, then, the intensive base of *po:p-*, *to go* is *po:tr-*, but in the singular tense-forms sometimes the fully conjugated form of the base *po:p-* is combined with *itr-*.

Thus in our text instead of *po:triḥe*, we have *po:je:triḥe*.

The intensives are usually employed in the present and the past tenses only; occasionally we hear of other intensive forms like *ke:ṇḍrōḍu*, *one must listen*, alternating with a strange *ke:ṇḍrōḍu* with the same meaning. I have heard Vaidik Brahmins often plead *ṇṇkū da:ṇe koḷḍrōḍappa*, *gifts should certainly be given to us, my good sir!*

4. *mo:ræ* (j) *atw*, literally *face-having-become*, but used always to mean *in the direction of*.

- 908, 1. *po:je:ṇṭw*.—*po:je*, *he went*, plus the expletive *-ṇṭw* of the Brahmins' dialect corresponding to *-ṇḍmḍw* of the folk-speech. These expletives are old adverbial past participles of the verbs *ṇṇ-p-*, *in-p-*, *to speak*. Their original meaning *having said* is now completely lost through discoloration and they are now used only as expletives. The idea of *having said* is now conveyed by the form *-ṇḍṭw* of the Brahmins' dialect and *-ṇḍmḍw* of the folk-speech.

Corresponding expletives formed from cognate verb-bases with the same meaning, *to speak*, exist with similar functions in most Dravidian dialects.

- bo:ḍa:ji*, literally *to want that became*, i.e. *necessary*.—An old combination used with an adjectival force commonly in both dialects.

- paṇṇa:kḷu*.—A participial noun formed of *paṇḍi*, *that said*, the past relative participle of *paṇp-*, *to say*, plus the hiatus-filler *-n-* plus *a:kḷu*, *they*. Owing to assimilation, *-ṇḍin-* has become *-ṇṇ-* in the Brahmins' dialect.

For other instances of assimilation in the Brahmins' dialect cf. *ke:ṇṇe*, *hear ye!* corresponding to *ke:ṇḷe* of the folk-speech.

2. *iddi*, *not*.—The corresponding form in the folk-speech is *iḍḍi*.

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The construction: participial noun *plus* negative particle instead of a finite verb is characteristic of south Dravidian speeches in general.

apte, he did.—This past form is based upon **amp-**, *to make*, of the Brahmins' dialect corresponding to **malp-** of the folk-speech. I have heard certain Brahmins use the base **mamp-**, *to make*, also, but **amp-** is more common.

4. **paṇḍōṇḍe.**—This is the third person singular past form of the reflexive base **paṇḍon-** based on the ordinary base **paṇp-**, *to say*. The so-called reflexive base in Tulu is usually derived from the past stem of the ordinary verb-base *plus* the particle **-on-**.

Wherever the action of the verb enures in some manner to the subject, the reflexive base is always used in preference to the ordinary base. The *nuance* suggested is often very subtle; all the same the native Tuluva speaker is conscious of it and would regard as unidiomatic any attempt to substitute the ordinary verb-base in such contexts. Cf. in this same text **niḥṣaje(ṣ)apṭōṇḍēṛu**, *they resolved* (line 4, p. 13); **su:pōṇḍēṛu**, *they observed for themselves* (line 8, p. 15).

4. **maḡesuddfi**, literally *son-news*, i.e. *news or information about the son*.

suddfi, *news*, is an old adaptation, in Tulu and Kannaḍa, of the Marāṭhi word **suddfi**, with the meaning restricted specifically to *news*.

4. **ori maḡe (j) itna:jela'**, *one son remained-even-he*. **itna:jela'**, is composed of **itnu**, the third person neuter past of **ip:-**, *to remain*, *plus a:je, he, plus la'*, and, *even*.

itnu of the Brahmins' dialect regularly corresponds to **ittuṇḍu** of the folk-speech.

The use of the neuter form with reference to the subject **maḡe**, *son*, is to be explained as being due to the exceedingly affectionate and intimate terms in which the king refers to the topic; cf. Tamil **oru piḷḷai(j)irūṇḍeḍu | aṇenuṁ po:viṭṭa:ne'**, *a son there was, and he too has gone*, where the neuter **irūṇḍeḍu**, *remained-it*, follows **piḷḷai**, *son, child*.

6. **j̄ḡe:ḡu**, *why?*—An alternative form in the Brahmins' dialect is **j̄ḡa:jḡu**, which corresponds to **da:jḡu** of the

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folk-speech. The base of the latter form, *da:*, occurs in the folk-speech with the meanings *which? what?*

The dative ending *-gu*, as in other south Dravidian speeches implies "purpose".

ojiku, *what for?*—An interrogative found only in the Brahmins' dialect. It is formed on an *o*- basis with the dative ending *-ku* added.

In meaning, while *ḥṣe:gu*, *ḥṣa:jogu*, have the general sense of *why?* this word *ojiku* is associated with the more specific conception : *for what particular purpose?*

10. *ipnəge*, literally *to-remain-while*, i.e. *while (I) remain*.—*ip*- the base meaning *to remain*, plus *-n-*, the hiatus-filler, plus the particle *Age*, *while*.

11. *samsa:raṇṭe*, *of the world*.—The genitive singular of the Sanskrit adaptation *samsa:rām*; the final *-m* of the old noun-base in combination with *-t* of the genitive ending *-te* becomes changed to the dental *ṇ* by assimilation.

maṇṭe, *all*.—The folk-speech shows *ma:te*.

budrije, *left off for ever*.—Third person past singular of the intensive base *budr-* (formed from the ordinary *bud-p-*, *to leave*). The intensive base connotes the idea of *permanent* renunciation on the part of the prince.

12. *ampjə(ə)ragu*, *for making*.—The infinitive of purpose from *amp-*, *to make*, plus the dative ending *-gu* which in such contexts reinforces the idea of purpose.

The sound *-j-* is an excrescent growth connected with the front vowel coming immediately after; this excrescent *-j-* (cf. the form in this text: *tirigjəragu*) is only occasionally heard, the form *ampə(ə)ragu* also being common in the Brahmins' dialect.

The folk-speech never shows this excrescent *-j-*.

14. *bo:tri*, *not wanted*.—Exclusively a Brahmins' form—the folk-speech having *bo:dicēṇi* or *bo:diḥḥi*—cf. other words of this type given above on p. 906.

16. *ke:ṇḍruvə*, *I shall certainly ask*.—First person singular present of the intensive base *ke:ṇḍr-* from *ke:ṇ-*, *to ask*. Note the idea of "certainty" implied in the use of the intensive base.

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908, 17. *oḍipe:rnā:kūlu*.—A group or sub-sect of Tuluva Brahmins who appear to have ruled over certain parts of Tuluva nāḍu in the past.

olepūḍije, he caused to be called.—The folk-speech shows the aphesized form *lepūḍije*.

909, 3. *kolpæ*, I shall give.—*korpæ* is the form in the folk-speech; for other instances of the correspondence of Brahmins' -l- and folk-speech -r- see p. 906 above.

6. *viṣajōntu*, in the matter.—Locative of Sanskrit-borrowed *viṣajem*; the nasal -ṇ- of the locative ending -ntu is due to the influence of final -m of the word. The corresponding locative in the folk-speech is *viṣajōḍu*.

8. *avōḍūṇtu*, literally *must-be-it-so*.—*avōḍu*, it must be, from *av-*, to become (fourth conjugation, cf. Br. Gr., page 93) plus the expletive -ṇtu.

9. *gattige:r^{md}de*, clever people indeed.—The particle *de* confers the idea of *indeed*. (Cf. Br. Gr., § 146, which mentions other emphatic particles. -*de* is very common in the dialect of the Brahmins.)

10. *naṇela*, literally *still-and* i.e. *even now*.—The folk-form shows medially the alveolar -n- instead of the cerebral.

11. *oḍēgu*, wherever.—*oḍe*, where, whither, is common to both dialects.

12. *daptæne*, even without.—*daptæ*, *da:ptæ*, mean *not being*, *without*, *except*; *ne* (Br. Gr., § 146) is an emphatic particle.

daptæ, *da:ptæ*, occurring in both dialects appear to be the aphesized forms of *iddaptæ*, *not being*.

po:tu, having gone.—In both dialects the final vowel of the adverbial past participle is -u when the basal vowel is dorsal and lip-rounded, while if the basal vowel is unrounded the form ends in -u instead of -u e.g. *saitu*, having died, *se:rtu*, having joined, etc.

14. *arəsu paṇṇeikū*, to what the king said.—*paṇṇeikū* is composed of *paṇṇi* [< *paṇḍi*, that said, being the relative past participle from *paṇp-*, to say] plus hiatus-filler -n- plus *ai*, to it, the dative of *ai*, it.

910, 3. *a:je siknə idje*, literally *he to-find not-he* i.e. *he was not to be found*.

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910, 3.

- The use of the infinitive in such constructions where in other Dravidian speeches finite verbs would be normally employed, is characteristic of Tulu. The idea of time has to be inferred from the contexts in such cases. For other illustrations of this use of the infinitive, cf. the following:
- a:je paṇḍini: "e:nuṁ baṛpæ," he said: "I shall come";
i: ḷḷa:næ (j) enəni nernu? why dost thou abuse me?
5. aulla' siknu idjaḍe bettu. pira'ne baṛpuṇḍuttu, literally *there-and to-find not-if, then back-only to-come-so*, i.e. *that they have only to return if he [the prince] were not found there also*. Note the use of the infinitives *siknu* and *baṛpuṇḍu*.
 6. aṇṭōṇḍēruṁ, *they made (for themselves)*.—The reflexive verb is used here to convey the nuance that the resolve was full of importance to them.
 9. samḷej- a:nuṁ, *suspicion became*, i.e. *(they) felt suspicion*.—a:nuṁ corresponds to aṇḍu of the folk-speech.
 10. praja:ḷḷəne a:tri, *use not*, i.e. *there was no use*.—Note the form a:tri, *did not become*, corresponding to a:ttiḷḷi of the folk-dialect; cf. bo:tri, *not wanted* (folk-dialect bo:ḷiḷḷi) mentioned above.
 12. ampe:tēruṁ, *they made often*, i.e. *they used to do*.—This is the third person plural past of the frequentative (cf. Br. Gr., p. 60) base ampe:- from amp-, *to make*. These frequentatives, unique in Tulu, are formed of the simple verb-base plus the particle e: as in the following: bu:le:- from bu:l-, *to fall*; ke:ne: from ke:n-, *to hear*, etc.
 13. -inpi, literally *that says*, this being the present relative participle of inp-, *to say*. This form is commonly used for *named*.
 15. baḷḷəḷe paṛiməḷe; 2. ba:ḷe ruḷi.—ba:ḷe, baḷḷəḷe, are very common words in Kannada and Tulu, meaning *copious, abundant*. None of the other south Dravidian speeches usually show the adjectival usage with this particular meaning; in colloquial Malayalam, for instance, the Sanskrit loan baḷḷəḷam means *noise, crowd*. The use of baḷḷəḷe as an adjective with the meaning *copious* appears in Marāṭhi.
 16. aṇṇita:vəre, *therefore*.—This belongs exclusively to the

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910, 16. Brahmins' dialect, the folk-speech having *anaid^mdu* in its place. The word is an old compound of *a*, *that*, plus *-n-*, the hiatus-filler + *aitu*, the ablative of *ai*, *it*, plus *a:vere*.

ku:ḍuṇa:tu, literally *to mingle-that-much*, i.e. *as much as they could (take with them)*. *ku:ḍuṇe* is the simple infinitive meaning *to be joined, mingled*, and *a:tu* means *that much*.

17. *uppu baipi pariməḷoṅke a:je battutu* . . .—The idea here conveyed is that the prince, attracted by the fragrance of that rice when cooked would come to them (i.e. the Brahmins). *baipi*, *that is cooked* or *that will be cooked* is a relative participle of *baip-*, *to be cooked*; and in this sentence it qualifies the word *pariməḷoṅke*—The construction has a "pregnant" meaning: (*on account of*) *the fragrance arising from the rice when cooked*. Such "pregnant" constructions with the relative participles are not unusual in other Dravidian dialects of the south; cf. Malayāḷam *a: (v̄) ari vaikkūṇṇe maṇottinne*.

Note the meaning *on account of* for the dative ending of *pariməḷoṅke*, and note also that the final *e* is the emphatic particle implying *certainty*.

911, 1. *pa:teruṅte (j̄) ippaḷeṇtu*, literally *conversing-without remain-will-not-so*, i.e. *that he will not fail to converse*.

ippaḷe is the third person singular future negative of *ip-*, *to remain*; the negative particle for the future and the future perfect tenses is *-a-* in both the dialects. (Cf. for the folk-dialect, *Br. Gr.*, p. 106.) The folk-dialect generally uses *upp-* instead of *ipp-*, *to remain*.

8. *ba:pri*, (*iṭ*) *will or does not come*.—This is a popular form of the Brahmins' dialect corresponding to *ba:pij̄ḷi* of the folk-dialect.

18. *j̄ḷabbu, pa:ṇu (v̄) appe* . . .—The prince is a non-Brahmin, and therefore the Brahmin addresses him in the folk-dialect, as shown by the use of the characteristic forms: *ma:polja?* *may it be done?* which in the Brahmins' speech would be *ampōlja*. *berəṇēru* is a popular adaptation in the folk-speech of *bra:mṇaṇēru*. *de:veru sai buḍōḍij̄ḷiḷa?* *should not God have blessed?* contains the folk-form *ij̄ḷi*, *not*.

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912, 5. paṇḍrije, *he cried out*.—Note that the intensive form (base paṇḍr from paṇ-p-, *to say*) is used here to convey the idea of *exclaiming excitedly or crying out*.

6. mo:s-amp̄are, *for practising deception*.—mo:su, as we have already noted, appears to be an old borrowing from Indo-Aryan in the south Dravidian speeches.

II

The following text was composed and dictated to me by my pupil Mr. Gururāya, a Tuḷava Brahmin of Udipi studying at the local college. His enunciation has been verified by two other Tuḷava Brahmins of the locality.

		e:ḍm̄la: c̄jenna:jila			
		<i>Sheep-and wolf-and</i>			
op̄j̄i	dine	'madd̄s̄j̄anna	'demb̄ūḍəgə		tiruṣ̄ə
One	day	noon-sunshine-while			thirst
'j̄go:ra:v̄oḍḍitti	(j)	op̄j̄i	'c̄jenna:ji	't̄ud̄ətt̄u	n̄iru
strong-becoming-that-was	one	wolf		river-at	water
'par̄oḍḍitt̄̄nm̄		ap̄ən̄əga	a:j̄ett̄oḍḍ-'	a:k̄k̄er̄ett̄u	
drinking-was		then	him-from-somewhat-on-the-other-side		
op̄j̄i (j)	e:ḍm̄do	'kip̄p̄ila	n̄ir̄ūḍu (ṅ)	'eḅḍoḍḍitt̄̄nm̄	
one sheep-of young-one-also			water-at	standing-was-he	
auni	s̄utu	c̄jenna:ji	"eḅk̄u	'par̄ij̄əre (j)	
it	having-seen	wolf	"me-to	for-drinking	
(Acc.)					
itti	n̄iru	'j̄ga:n̄ə (j) i:	'ṣ̄a:l̄amp̄ūpa	"p̄tu ke:n̄ḍe	
that-remained	water	why thou	to-spoil	"thus asked	
"ma:ra:ja:	'i:par̄p̄ini:ru	'e:n̄u	'ṣ̄a:l̄amp̄un'	'iddi:de	
"lord	you-drinking-water	I spoil-to-make-not-indeed			
ine	k̄ait̄oḹtu	ip̄c̄j̄ig'etta	n̄ir̄ūḍo	'oj̄il̄uḅ̄tu	's̄u:la "p̄tu
your	direction-from	hither-not	water-of	flow-so	see-you "so
e:ḍm̄	ke:n̄ḍe	"av̄oḍu	ap̄c̄j̄a:n̄ḍe	'k̄ali (ṅ)	'or̄ṣ̄oṅ̄tu
sheep	asked	"let-it-be	yet	last	year-at
'k̄aṅḍa:bat̄te	en̄eni (j) i:	'ner̄n̄u	'oj̄ik̄u	"p̄tu	c̄jenna:ji
irresponsibly	me thou	to-abuse	why	"so	wolf
ke:n̄ḍe		"e:n̄u	'k̄ali (ṅ)	'or̄ṣ̄oṅ̄tu	'puṭ̄ṭ̄ūḍ̄əne
asked		"I	last	year-at	to-have-been-born even
(Present perfect infinitive.)					

'iddi'de		bett-'ojikur		enemittur	'durru paṇṇuṇe
not-indeed		then-why		me-over	accusation-to-say

ma:ra:ja 'ṇtur		ējenna:jeḍe (j)	e:ḍu ke:ṇḍe		" 'i: (j) ,attḍe
great-lord " -so		wolf-to	sheep asked		" thou-not-if

(Comm. case)

ine	(ū)'appæ	(j)	a:vūppu	nernæ-'ṇtur	paṇḍōṇḍu
thy	mother		should-be-it	to-abuse " -so	saying

'kalvæ (j) a:	ējenna:ji		e:ḍuni	'la:jittur	pasūttu
rascally that	wolf		sheep	having-jumped	having-caught

(Acc.)

'kertur	tiṇḍōtu		a:je sa:di,po:je		'duṣṭēkūlēḡu
having-killed	having-taken		went-away		evil-minded-persons-to

'pa:pəṅkūlēni	'dro:fi-ampēre		'j̄ḡa:le	ka:raṇe	'bo:tri.
the-helpless	injury-for-making		any	reasons	not-required

TRANSLATION

One hot afternoon, a wolf overcome with thirst was drinking water from a river. At that time a kid was standing on the other bank somewhat down the river. The wolf eyed the kid and asked : " Why dost thou spoil the water that I am drinking ? " The kid replied : " I am not doing it, great lord ! On the other hand, don't you see that the flow of the water is from you to me." " May be," cried out the wolf, " but why didst thou revile me once last year ? " " I had not even been born last year ; why then, great lord, do you accuse me ? " " If it was not thou it should have been thy mother," said the wolf who jumped upon the kid, ate it up and went its way. The evil-minded oppress the helpless on flimsy pretexts.

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924, 2. *dembudəḡe*, literally *hot sunshine-while*, i.e. *when it was hot*.—

dembu, *sunshine*, appears as *dombu* in the folk-dialect. *dembudəḡe* is formed of *dembudə* the genitive of *dembu* and *əḡe*, the particle meaning *while*.

tiruṣæ j̄ḡo:ra:vōṇḍitti, literally *thirst strong-becoming-that-was*, i.e. *(a wolf) that was very thirsty*.—*j̄ḡo:ru*, plus *a:vōṇḍ-* adverbial present participle of *a:p-*, *to become*, plus *itti*, the relative past participle of *ip-*, *to remain*.

Note the Sanskrit adaptation *tiruṣæ* from *tṛṣa:*.

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924, 4. *parōṇḍitte*, *was drinking*.—The “continuous” tenses are formed of the adverbial present participle combined with the conjugated forms of *ip-*, *to remain*.

apēṇḍu, *then*.—The folk-speech uses *apēṇḍu* or *a:pēṇḍu* only.

5. *eṇḍōṇḍitnu*, *was standing*.—*eṇḍōṇḍ*, *standing*, the adverbial present participle of the Brahmins’ dialect *eṇḍ-*, *to stand*, corresponding to the folk-form *uṇḍ*.

7. *ḥḡa:næ* (ḡ) i: *ḥa:ḷampuvu-ṇtu ke:ṇḍe*, *asked “why dost thou spoil?”*—The use of the infinitive *ḥa:ḷampuvu*, *waste-to-make, to spoil*, instead of the finite verb *ḥa:ḷampuvu dost-spoil-thou*, may be noted. *ḥa:ḷu*, *waste* (cf. old Kannada *pa:ḷu*; Tamil *pa:ḷu*) is a borrowing from new Kannada, which has regularly changed older initial *p* to *ḥ* and older *-ṇ-* to *ḷ*.

The idiomatic use of *ḥḡa:næ*, *what?* for *why?* in this construction is also noteworthy as something characteristic of the Tulu colloquial.

8. *ma:ra:ja:*, *great lord*.—A modified adaptation of the Sanskrit *maḥa: ra:ḡa:*. Other instances of this kind in this text are—

line *tiruṣæ*, *thirst*,

(v) *orṣōṇḍu*, *in the year*,

pa:vēṇḡkūḷēni, *the helpless* (Acc.).

11. *eṇēni* (ḡ) i: *neru o(j)ikṇu*, *why didst thou abuse me?*

12. *e:nu puṭṭūḍūṇu ku:ḍe* (ḡ) *iḍḍide*, *I had not been born even*.

925, 1. *bet-ōikṇu eṇu mittu duru paṇṇuvu*, *why then do you accuse me?*

Note in these the use of the infinitives *neru*, *to abuse*; *puṭṭūḍūṇu*, *to have been born*, *duru paṇṇuvu*, *to accuse*, in the stead of finite verbs.

Other peculiarities of the Brahmins’ dialect observable in this passage, but not referred to above, are:—

e:ḍḍo kippila.—Note the genitive ending *-do* of *e:ḍḍo*. Folk-dialect *ḍe*.

su:tu, *having seen*.—Folk-form *tu:ḍu*.

o(j)ikṇu, *why?*—Folk-form *da:jēḡu*.

-ṇtu, the expletive appearing here and in other places in this text would correspond to *apḍḍu* of the folk-dialect.

beto(j)ikṇu, *then why?*—The folk-form would be *bokke da:jēḡu*.

paṣūtu, *having caught*.—*pattuḍu* of the folk-dialect.

III

The following story is taken from a Tuluva reader printed by the Mangalore Basel Mission. It is composed in the folk-speech. The transcription given below was made by me to the dictation by an educated member of the Baṇṭu community at Kasargode. The transcription has been verified subsequently with the help of other Tuluva non-Brahmins.

ori 'sauka:re		'paṭṭēnu:lūḍe	'piṇḍilēnu		'bokkōṇḍi (j)
One trader		silk-of	bundles		another

,u:rūgu 'sa:ga:vēre		'oṇṭælēnu	'ba:ḍa:ḷigu	,pattije		'pa:ke
place-to for-carrying		camels	hire-to	caught		short

,ga:uḍe po:ji bokke		i: sauka:regu	'ḷḷare battuḍu		
distance having-gone after		this trader-to	fever having-come		

,naḍapēre 'tiruḷḷi		a:pege (j) imbe		oṇṭælēnu
for-walking able-not		then this-man		camels

de:rūna:jēḍe paṇḍini		" i: 'dumbu po:du		ipēṭitti (j)
driving-person-to to-have-said		" thou forward having-gone		thus-being

(Past infinitive)

,u:rūḍu 'kuḷḷū		a:nu	'ḷḷare 'suma:ru	maḷṭōḍu	
place-at remain-thou		I	fever better	having-made	

,sauka:fōḍu bapæ:"	ḷḷe		a:je		'a:vu- ḷḷuḍu
leisure-at come-shall-I	said		he		yes having-said

oṇṭælēnu de:rōḍu po:je		,aḍæ 'mutṭūdu		,pa:ke
camels driving went-he		there having-reached		some

'tiṅḡolu mutṭe,la'		i: sauka:re 'bareḷḷinēḍḍu		a:je
months till-even		this trader not-coming-from		he

'taitu po:je:- ḷḷuḍu		a: paṭṭēnu:lūḍe piṇḍilēnu
having-died went so		that silk-thread-of bundles

'ma:ruḍu		,paḷēvu maḷṭōḍu		'be:ṭ- oṇḷi	,keḷōṇu
having-sold		money making		other one	work

,pattije		,aḍḍu bokke		sauka:re	,aḍægu battuḍu
caught		that-from after		trader	thither having-come

a:ṇu 'na:ḍije		,kaḍæku		oṇḷi ,dinōṭu	'tu:vēre
him searched		finally		one day-at	for-finding

'tikwæge		" enu 'paṭṭēnu:lūḍe	'piṇḍi	'o:ḷuḍu
obtaining-while		" my silk-thread-of	bundles	where-remain

apdudw ke:nde	a:pege	imbe	a:je	'gurte	'da:pti lekku
so asked	then	this-man	his	acquaintance	without-like
małtwdw	"i:	'da:næ pa:pe	'paṭṭēnu:lūds	'piṇḍilēnu	
having-made	"thou	what sayest	silk-of	bundles	
'pinəjæ	ninən ^u 'la	'pinəjæ	a:nw		
I-do-not-at-all-know	thee-even	I-do-not-at-all-know	I		
(ō) ,oṇṭæ de:rūna:jēla' (ō)	'attw "	-pde	a:pege	i:	
camel-driving-person-even	not"	said	then	this	
,sauka:re	a:je mittw	'phirija:di kori:je	'kalēkṭerw dfore		
trader	him over	complaint gave	collector-sahib		
a:jenw	'leppōd ^u d	'vičja:rəne	małpiūegw	a:re	
him	having-sent-for	trial	making-while	him	
,ed ^u r ^u 'wla	"a:nw (j) i:	saṅgetūnw	'pinəjæ	'ini ,muṭṭe	
before-and	"I	this	matter	do-not-at-all-know	to-day-till
a:nw	,oṇṭælēnw	,de:rūdina:jēla' (ō)	'attw "	iṇde	
I	camels	driver-even	not"	said	
a:pege	'dfore sauka:rēds	"imbē'ne nikkw	'mo:sw	małtina:je	
then	sahib trader-to	"this-man thee-to	deception	that-made-he	
-p ^u d ^u d	i: (j)	epčjw	'rujṇvəttw	małpūw "	(j)
thus	thou	in-what-manner	proof	shalt-make-thou "	
innəge	"enəḍōppəla	'e:rla: (j)	'ittw ,jṅērw		
saying-while	"me-with-and	anybody-even	remained-not		
'a:jeḍōppəla	(j)	'e:rla: (j)	'ittw ,jṅērw	enḱūlu (ō)	
him-with-and	anybody-even	remained	not	we	
'irvəre	(j)	ittw ^u d	a:jinawu-	iṇde	a:pege
two-only	having-remained	became-that "	said	then	
'dfore	"nikūlu	'irvərla	'ṣeḍḍērw	nikulēgw	'buddhi (j)
sahib	"you	two-and	dolls	you-to	wisdom
'ijṅi	nikūlu	,muṭtu	'po:le "	(j) iṇdudw	a:kūlēnw
not	you	here-from	go "	having-said	them
'kaḍepūḍijērw	mo:kūlu	'kačče:rūḍw	'jṅattw ^u d	oṇṅiṇipattw	
sent-away	court-from	having-got-down	one-ten		
'marpu ,dure	po:nəge	'kalēkṭer ^u dfore	'kaṇḍi ba:kiludəlpw		
yards distance	having-gone-while	collector-sahib	window-door-from		
(ō) 'uṇṭūdu	"o:	'oṇṭælēnw de:rūna:ja:	opt	iṇčji	
having-stood-up	"o-	camels-driving-person	just	hither	

battudum	'po:le'' (j)	ipdërum		a:pəge		a:je	'pire
having-come	go-thou "	said		then		he	backwards
'mukūḍūdu		'o:(ṽ)apdudum (ṽ)	'o:koṇḍe		aiṭ'e:		
turning		o-having-said	responded		from-that-indeed		
sauka:rəgum	mo:sə	maṭti	'kaḷvə (j)	imbe	niḷḷə'ne'		
trader-to	deception	that-made	rogue	this-man	truly-indeed		
apdudum	'dḥore	terijōḍu		a:jəgum	'ḷḷuluma:nun	maṭtudum	
so	sahib	knowing		him-to	punishment	having-made	
paṭṭənu:lūds	'biləla'		a:	sauka:rəgum	'korpa:jəru.		
silk-of	price-and		that	trader-to	caused-to-give.		

TRANSLATION

A trader hired camels for transporting his silk bundles to another place and accompanied the driver of the camels on the journey. Proceeding a short distance, the trader felt feverish and found himself unable to walk. He thereupon said to the camel-driver: "Go thou in advance and remain at a certain place, I shall come and join thee at leisure when I have recovered from my fever." The camel driver said "yes" and went away driving the camels. Having reached his destination, he waited for the trader for a few months; but not finding him turn up he thought that the trader had died and so he sold away the silk bundles, pocketed the proceeds and changed his profession. Sometime after, the trader came up and made a search for the camel-driver. Finally meeting him one day, the trader demanded his bundles. The camel-driver thereupon, pretending not to know him, said: "What dost thou speak of? I know of no silk bundles, nor am I acquainted with thee, and I have never been a driver of camels!" Then the trader filed a complaint against the fellow. When the Collector Sahib called up the driver and tried the case, he deposed: "I do not know of this affair, and I have never been a camel driver till now." Turning to the trader, the Collector asked, "What proof canst thou give for showing that this fellow deceived thee?" The trader replied: "There was no one with me or with him; we two alone were there." The Collector said: "Both of you are dolts, get away from here," and sent them away. When they had got down the steps of the cutchery and gone a few yards, the Collector stood up at the window and called out: "You camel-driver, come here for a few minutes." The fellow turned back and responded to the call.

Knowing from this that he had really practised deception on the trader, the Collector imposed a penalty on him and made him give the cost of the silk bundles to the trader.

ANNOTATIONS

p. 1.

927, 5. *de:runa:jeḍṣ paṇḍini*, said to the driver.—Note the use of the simple infinitive of the past stem *paṇḍ-* (from *paṇp-*, to say), instead of the finite verb *paṇḍe* (he) said.

928, 3. *pinəjæ*, literally *I shall not know*, but idiomatically used here for *I do not at all know* (cf. Br. Gr., § 111, 3). The form is the first person future negative singular of *pin-p-*, to know.

5. *phirija:di*, complaint.—Persian and Hindustani were the languages used formerly in courts of law in several parts of south India which had come under Moslem rule. These old law-terms are now being gradually replaced by other forms, particularly adaptations of English words; but there still persist a few like *phirija:di*, complaint; *ruḷḷuṣṭu*, proof; *kacēje:ri*, court; *jḷuluma:n*, penalty; all of which occur in this text.

6. *viēja:rəpe*, trial.—An adaptation from Sanskrit. The folk-dialect has numerous such adaptations from Indo-Aryan. Some of these appear to have been directly borrowed from OIA., but others are probably from MIA. (Pali and Jaina Prakrit).

sauka:ḷe and *viēja:rəpe* belong to the former category, while

jḷa:ṛe, fever,

kaṇḍi, window, hole,

mo:ṣu, deception,

are probably from MIA.

A list of the folk-speech peculiarities in this text, as distinguished from the corresponding features in the Brahmīns' dialect, is given below:—

Folk-speech	Brahmins' dialect.
<i>paṭṭənu:lūḍe</i> , of silk-thread (genitive)	<i>paṭṭənu:lūdo</i>
<i>piṇḍilēnu</i> , bundles (Acc.)	<i>piṇḍilēni</i>
<i>bokkōṇjḷi</i> , another	<i>be:tōṇjḷi</i>
<i>tir^mjḷi</i> , (was) not able	<i>tir^mṇu</i> (j) iddi

<i>Folk-speech</i>	<i>Brahmins' dialect.</i>
imbe, <i>this man</i>	imbje
maḷṭōṇḍu, <i>making</i> (reflexive participle)	present
taitu, <i>having died</i>	aṭṭōṇḍu
aiḍṁḍu, ablative of ai, <i>it</i>	saitu
dinōṭu, locative of din, <i>day</i>	aittu
tu:vare tiknagv, <i>happening to see</i>	dinōṇṭu
aṇḍṁḍu, <i>expletive</i>	su:vare siknagv
lekke, <i>like</i>	uṇṭu
koriḷe, <i>he gave</i>	lake
leppūḍṁḍu, <i>having called</i>	kolije
(j)a:nu, <i>I</i>	(ū)oleppūḍṁṭu
ittijjēru, <i>remained not (they)</i>	(j)e:nu
	itne iddjēru or
	itrijēru
kaḷēje:riḍṁḍu, <i>from the cutchery</i>	kaḷēje:rittu
uṇṭūdu, <i>having stood up</i>	eṇḍūtu
korpa:jēru, <i>caused to give</i>	kolpo:jēru

Phonetic Notes on Urdu Records Nos. 6825 AK and 6826 AK

By T. GRAHAME BAILEY

THESE records were made in 1920 to the dictation of a well-known professional story-teller, Bāqir 'Alī, who belonged to Delhi.

A phonetic transcript which has been published is of great value for the study of Urdu sounds. I made the original transcript of both records and had two proofs printed. Professor Daniel Jones, Professor of Phonetics in the University of London, who has to take responsibility for the publication of all transcripts in this series, went over my second proof, made some alterations, and prepared the final proof, which was ultimately printed. He is, therefore, responsible for the transcripts in their present form. I have, however, my proofs before me. The differences between his final print and my proofs are slight, and this article gives our joint views. Where there is any necessity for distinguishing them they are marked with the initials J. for his views and B. for mine.

The importance of these transcripts consists in the fact that the records still exist, and may be heard by any one who wishes to test the statements made. It is one thing to claim to have listened to a particular speaker and taken down his sounds. The speaker disappears, and beyond the author's reputation for accurate recording, there is no certainty that the transcription is correct. It is a very different thing when, as in this case, the speaker cannot disappear, and, what is equally important, cannot alter his pronunciation.

The records afford me much pleasure, for they support, in almost every detail, views which I have long held as to Urdu sounds, and taught my students. They were given ten years ago in the *Bulletin*, Vol. II, iii, 539 ff. Practically all that article expresses my views to-day.

CEREBRAL SOUNDS, called also retroflex. The transcriptions do not indicate the exact point on the palate touched by the tip of the tongue, but the introductory remarks make it clear. "t, d, n, r: point of contact not far behind the teeth ridge, in a few instances on the teeth ridge." This is what we should expect. Similarly Dr. Mohiuddin Qadri in *Hindustani Phonetics* says of t and d: "their point of articulation is just behind the teeth ridge" (p. 73), and of r: "the tip of the tongue strikes against the teeth ridge" (p. 92).

For the benefit of those who wish to study Urdu cerebrals, I indicate here those which in these records are specially far forward. I make the statement on my own responsibility. I have not consulted anyone else. The Nos. refer to page and line.

ṭ in *ciṭṭha* 2.8, *luṭai* 3.18. *ṛ* in *baṛa* 1.1, *larke* 1.6, *thorī* 3.3, *bare* 7.1. *ḍ* in *khaṇḍa* 5.15, *ḍub* 6.4, *buḍḍha* 6.24, 7.2, (but not in 7.3).

In *khatar* for *kaṭar* 5.16, and *latakne* for *laṭakne* 6.12 the *t* is dental. These are mere slips.

In the following instances the *ṛ* is rather fricative:—*baṛa* 1.1, *thorī* 1.5, *doṛa* 3.6, *larke* 3.8, *baṛhaḍ* 3.16, *bare* 7.1, *pakṛa* 7.12.

v is either a faint labio-dental *v* or a *ũ*. J. printed them all as *v* (except one *wo* 5.4, i.e. *ũo*). In my proof I marked several as *w*, meaning *ũ*. It is always safe to advise English speakers to say *v*, and not *w*. An English *w* always sounds wrong.

y between vowels is often *ē*. Thus the ending *āyā* occurs 13 times. B. records *aēa* every time; J. *aēa* 12 times, *aja* once. English people greatly exaggerate the *y* quality of the sound. Similarly the ending *-iyā* occurs 8 times. Both B. and J. transcribed *ia* every time.

'*ain*. I unhesitatingly teach my students to ignore '*ain*, in accordance with the usual practice of educated Delhi men in ordinary conversation. In the records there are eleven words containing '*ain* when written in Urdu script. J. has recorded it in two out of the eleven. I did not consider it strong enough to be worth recording in any. This means that in the records the '*ain* of the grammars does not exist, and all descriptions of how to pronounce it go for nothing. Even in words like *a'māl*, *mu'āf*, '*arṣe*, '*ayyāshī*, where it would be easy to pronounce '*ain* there is no trace of it. The other day a Delhi man, who is himself a lecturer on Urdu, told me that there was no difference at all between *bād*, wind, and *ba'd*, after.

I will, however, add this. I have heard Urdu speakers, when speaking rather self-consciously, pronounce, with a slight restriction of throat muscles, vowels which immediately precede or follow the letter '*ain*.

Hamza, which is only another name for glottal stop, is not recorded at all. It is important to note this in view of statements sometimes made. *Hamza* exists solely in writing.

ṇ is generally not an independent sound, but occurs before *ṭ* and *ḍ*. The word *sādnī* occurs four times, and every time is pronounced *sappī*. *cādnī* is once *cannī* and once *cādnī*.

h is sonant except in the combinations *kh*, *ch*, *th*, *th*, and *ph*. We may consider it under two main headings : (1) *h* initial or immediately following a vowel ; (2) *h* immediately following a consonant, to which it is more or less closely attached. The chief point which concerns us is to what extent is it omitted. In our records we have the following instances. (The word "unpronounced" must be understood as qualified by the addition "or at least inaudible".)

(1) (a) Initial, as *hissa*, *hālat*, *hai*, 56 times pronounced ; 6 unpronounced (in *hai* 4 ; *hū*, *hue*, once each ; *hue* appears as *ūe*, printed *ue*).

(b) After vowel before *cs.* (including the combinations *rah-gae*, *rah-namūnī*, *kah-sunāēā*), e.g. *gunāhgār*, *bahne*, *pahlvān* ; pron. 12, unpron. 0.

(c) After vowel : pron. only in the word *tarāh* 3 times ; unpron. 17 : viz. *yēh je* 14 ; *voh ūo*, *mūh*, *jagah* once each. The *h* of *yēh* is never heard in these records, even though twice it is followed by a vowel. *voh* occurs once and is followed by a vowel, but the *h* is not sounded. The phrase *jagah hai* is pronounced *jaga æ*.

(d) Between vowels : as *kahā*, *mahallat*, *surohī*, *sahāre*, together with the words *shahr*, *rahm*, *qaht*, which like other similar words are invariably dissyllables. *h* pron. 31 ; unpron. 16. All these 16 are in the second record, which is more conversational than the first. They are *kahā* 8, *nahī* 5, *suhānā* 2, *yahd* 1.

(2) *cs.* + *h* : (a) Initial ; examples : *choṭā*, *thoṭā*, *phīrnā*, *jhukā* ; pron. 57 ; unpron. 0.

(b) Between vowels ; either with single *cs.* as *caṛho*, *inhō*, *ādhī*, *dekhā* ; or with double *cs.* as *acchā*, *bicche*, *buḍḍhā*, *samjhā*, *barchī*, *khalkhalāhaṭ* ; pron. 26, unpron. 8 (*muje* 4, all in more solemn first record ; *hātī* 4, all in second).

Of the 26, 17 are with single *cs.* and 9 with double. There is no instance of *h* omitted after double *cs.*

(c) Final ; never pron. ; unpron. 14, viz. *samajh* 3, *mujh* 2, *hāth* 4, *kucch*, *sīdh* 2, *dekh*, *bojh*, *kucch* 1 each. *h* is not pronounced in any of these. In 7 the *h* follows a sonant sound, and in 7 a surd. We should, however, notice that there is no instance of *-th* or *-ph*.

(d) Followed by *cs.* pron. 2, *nikhrī* twice ; unpron. 1, *hathyār*.

VOWELS. The two most interesting vowels are those written in Roman script *-ai* and *-au*. We are almost always told that they are pronounced like *ai* in English *aisle*, and like *-au* in German *Haus* or *auf*, or *ow* in English *how*. Actually they are like *a* in "man" and

au in "maul". In both cases they may be either single vowels or diphthongs. When *ai* is a diphthong the second vowel is a variety of *e* (*e* or *ɛ*), and for *au* the second part is *o*.

The records confirm these statements.

The sound *ai* occurs 52 times and every time both of us have transcribed it *æ* with or without a second *e* or *ɛ*. Actually J. recorded it 26 times as simple *æ*, and 26 as a diphthong *æe* or *æɛ*. B. 28 times as *æ* and 24 as *æe*, *æɛ*. The important point is that neither of us ever recorded the vowel in "aisle".

The following are details:—

ai or *aī* final, as in *hai*, *aī*, *hai*, *maī*, 28, of which 22 are *æe* or *æɛ* and 6 *æ*.

Not final, as in *maidān*, *naiza*, *aisā*, *paidā*, *saif* 6 times. Here B. had a majority of simple *æ* and J. a majority of *æe*.

ai for *-ā* followed by *h*, as in *shahr*, *pahlean*, *bahnā*, *rahm*, *qaht*, *kah*, *rah*. This occurred 18 times, and every time B.J. transcribed *æ*. Therefore stressed *-ah*, final, or followed by *es*., is always pronounced *æ*.

au occurs in *aur* 21 times; *daulat* 2; and once each in *daurā*, *aulād*, *faulādī*, *qaraulī*, *aubāsh*, *muhtāj*. (This last word is often *prn. mohtāj*) 29 altogether. The records show almost always the sound of English *-au* in *maul*. J. records 28 out of 29 as *ɔ* or *ɔɔ*; in the 21 cases of *aur* he has *ɔr* 20 times and *ɔ* once. I have marked one *aur* as *ɔr*, and in other words have twice transcribed the vowel as *ɔ*; elsewhere always with *ɔ* or *ɔɔ*.

In the remaining words J. has *ɔ* 5 times and *ɔɔ* 3 times. Thus, altogether, out of the 29, J. has a simple vowel *ɔ* 25 times, *ɔ* once, and the diphthong 3 times. B. had the diphthong only twice.

Conclusion. The normal *prn.* of the vowel is always either *ɔ* or *ɔɔ*, and the simple *ɔ* is much the commoner of the two.

The vowel *ʌ*, stressed or unstressed, usually tends towards *ə*.

The influence of h on preceding short vowels. I explained this in detail in the article referred to. The records before us confirm the statements there made.

Stressed *-ah*. When *-ah* is either followed by a *es*., or final (and stressed), it is not *ʌfi* but *æfi*. There are 18 instances here, and in every case the vowel is *æ*. There is not a single case of *ʌ*.

It should also be noted that *rahm*, *qaht*, *shahr*, *hukm*, written as monosyllables, of which there are 8 instances, are always disyllables. Students should be made to pronounce them so, and plainly told that to pronounce them as monosyllables is wrong.

'*ahā*, e.g. *rahā*, *kahā* (so too *yahā*, *vahā*), i.e. 'āh followed by *a*, is always 'āhā 'aha.

The preliminary notes say that the first vowel in words like *kahā* (sometimes transcribed *Λ*) is *a*-like. This may be seen also from the transcription. Of words of this type there are 18. J. has the *a* in 13 cases and *Λ* in 5 (it being understood that this *Λ* is *a*-like). B. transcribes it in every case -*a*.

Few examples occur of the other cases mentioned loc. cit., p. 545. 'ih and 'uh final or before *cs.* become *e* and *o*. Here we see it in the word *yih*, which is always *je* and in the one case of *wuh* which is *vo* or *ūo*. 'ah followed by *i*, *o*, *ū* is unchanged, see *kahī*, *kahū*, *nahī*, *naī*.

No conclusion can be drawn from the word *nahī*, for it is unique, with several common pronunciations. One may hear *nahī*, *naī*, *nī*, *nehi*, *nei*, *nahī*, *naī*.

h followed by *o* (not *u*) tends towards *o*, e.g. *bohut*, *pohunca* (in the record the *o* has become absorbed in the *h*).

In connection with the English habit of reducing final unstressed *a* and *e* to *ə*, and *i* to *ɪ* it is worthy of note that in these records we have final unstressed -*a* 168 times, all of which are pure -*a*; final unstressed -*e* 110 times, every time correctly uttered -*e*; final unstressed -*i* 98 times, every time correctly uttered -*i*, never *ɪ*. Bāqir 'Alī, when reciting, was apt to heighten final *e* to *ɪ* or *i*, *o* to *u* or *u*. Thus the word *ki* usually pronounced *ke* or *ki*, is sometimes as high as *kī* in the records, and is rarely *ke*.

The *iẓāfat* occurs 8 times, as in *ulfat e padarī*, *nān e shabīna*. It is always *e*, never *i*. This is the more remarkable in view of the speaker's frequent use of high vowels, but it is correct.

Nasal Vowels. Apart from recognized nasal vowels, there is a tendency to nasalize all vowels in contact with nasal consonants. Thus *ne* may become *nē*, and *gulāmō gulāmō*.

In words usually written with a final *cs.* + *r* there is always a vowel before the final *r*; e.g. *fakhr*, *shahr*, become *faxər*, *šəxər*.

The negative *na* is often joined to the following word and pronounced *na* or *nə*.

The most important conclusions from the records are:—

(1) *ai*, *au* are pronounced *æ* (sometimes *æe*) and *o*; thus *paidā* is *pæda* (or *pæeda*), and *tauba* is *toba*.

(2) The point of contact for the cerebral sounds *t*, *d*, *r* is slightly behind the teeth ridge.

(3) 'ain may be ignored.

(4) *qāf* is very weak, often not distinguishable from *kāf*.

APPENDIX

6794 AK. Prodigal Son

Recited by Maulānā Saifī, of Lucknow, May 16, 1920

Transcribed from the record by T. Grahame Bailey

In order to complete these notes, I add a few remarks on a Lucknow record of the "Prodigal Son". So far as I know, Professor Jones has not heard it. It does not differ much from the two Delhi ones, and for conversation, as distinct from recitation, it is a safer guide. This is specially noticeable in its pronunciation of *au*, *ai*, final *-e*, and final *-o*.

ek jaks ke do larke the ; choṭe ne bap se kaha "Abba jān, mal mata mē mera hissa mujhe de dijiē. us ne apna sarmaēa donō ko bāt dia. thore hi dinō mē choṭa beṭa apni cizē samēṭ samāṭ ek dur daraz maqam par calta hua, or vahā apna mal badeṣni mē o'ra dia. jab vo kul dolat barbad kar cuga, to us mulk mē saxt kal paṛa, or vo nan e jabina ko mohtaṭ ho gea. us vaqt ek ra'is ke darvaze ja paṛa, jis ne use apne khetō par suar carane bhej dia ; faqa kaṣi se je nobat pohnci thi ki jo ki bhusi jo suarō ko di jati æ, agar use koi deta, to osi se baxuji apna peṭ bhar leta ; lekin koi itna bhi ravadar na'tha.

jab vo apne hof mē aēa to socne laga ki mere bap ke kitne hi mazdur bafaragat khate pite hā, koch andaz bhi karte hā, or mē bhukō mar raha hū ; bap si jakar kjū na kohū ki mē xuda ka or ap ka gunahgar hū, ab mē ap ka farzand kēhe jane ke laiq nehī, mujhe apne mazdurō ke zomre mē rakh lijiē. pas uṭkar sidha apne bap ke pas cala. Abhi fasile par tha ki bap ne use ate dekha, dorkar gale laga dia or pjar karne laga. beṭe ne kaha "Abba, mē xudavand e karim ki or ap ki nazarō mē mujrim hū, or ab is kabil nehī ki ap ka beṭa kēhlaū". lekin bap ne apne molazimō ko hukam dia "acchi se acchi pofak, nguṭhi, juta ise pinhao, or ek farbeh bachra lakar kabab lagao ki sab mēze se khaē or xujiā manaē, is lie ki mera beṭa markar zinda hua hā, khokar phir mila hā."

vo log ṭehl pēhl mē masruf hue ; bapa beṭa us vaqt khetō par tha ; palaṭkar jab maka magan ke karib pohnea to raks o farod ki avaz kan mē ai ; ek molazim ko bolakar darjaft kia ki ji kja ho raha hā ?" us ne arz kia "ap ke bhai sab æ hue hā, or ap ke Abba jān ne unē sahi salamat pakar ek farbeh bachre ki kurbani karai hā." je sunkar vo naraz hua or ghar ke andar na gea. us vaqt bap nikla or use manane laga. asna e javab mē bap se us ne kaha "gazab xuda ka, itni muddat se mē ap ki xidmat kar raha hū or kisi vaqt

ap ki hukam oduli nehī ki, lekin kabhi ap ne ek bakri ka bacca bhi mujhe na dia ki mæ apne dostō ki davat karta. magar jab ap ka je laṛka aēa jis ne ap ki dolat ajjaṣi mē ura ḡali to ap ne us ke lie moṭa taza bachra zaba karaēa hæ." us ne kaha "beṭa, tum to hameṣa se mere sat ho, or mere pas jo kuc hi hæ vo sab tomara hæ, lekin jaṣan karne or xoj hone ka jehi mahal hæ, ki tumhara bhai markar zinda hua hæ, khokar phir mila hæ".

Notes

au and *ai* are single vowels *o* and *æ* respectively; thus *daulat* is *dolet* and *maī* is *mæ*.

Final *-e* and *-o* are not so high as in the Delhi records.

ā is almost always *ə*; when very markedly so, it has been transcribed *ə*, otherwise *ʌ*. For this vowel the Delhi records are preferable.

v is nearly always *ū*.

t and *d* have point of contact generally just behind teeth ridge; in a few cases a little further back.

r tends to be fricative; point of contact not far from teeth ridge. In the record it occurs eleven times; of these nine or ten are rather fricative, and only one or two have a real strike. The strike pronunciation is to be recommended.

h is *ɦ* except in *kh*, *th*, *ṭh*, *ch*, *ph*.

'*ain*. Words written with '*ain*' occur five times, but the '*ain*' is never pronounced.

qāf. There are eleven instances of *qāf*. The pronunciation varies from *q* to a back variety of *k*, on the whole nearer *q* than *k*.

§ 1, l. 5. *coga* for *cuka*.

§ 3, l. 2. *maka magan* is a reciter's slip for *makan*.

Early Hindi and Urdu Poetry No. IV

By T. GRAHAME BAILEY

PEN PICTURES BY BANĀRSĪ DĀS AND ZATĀLLĪ

BANĀRSĪ DĀS of Jaunpūr belonged to the Jain community and was born in 1586. The following charming extracts are taken from his most famous work, *Arddh Kathānak*, an autobiography completed in 1641.

His wonderful power of word painting is exemplified in these passages. The first describes the commotion in Jaunpūr when the news of Akbar's death was received in 1605. We feel the spell of the description, and tremble with the frightened populace. This picture should be compared with Zafallī's account of the turmoil after the death of Aurangzeb. (See below.)

The second tells of the Black Death, bubonic plague, in Agra during 1616, the first time the city was visited by that pestilence. Anyone who has been in India during a plague epidemic will realize the force of his words, the rats dying, the spread of the disease among the people, the glandular swellings, the sudden deaths, the mortality among the physicians, the despair and flight of the townsfolk afraid even to partake of food.

The third relates an experience of the author, when he and his friends were caught in torrential rain, the street doors were shut, no one would ask them in, and the caravanserai was full. One woman was prepared to take pity on them, but her husband sternly refused them.

I. THE DEATH OF AKBAR, 1605

1. *Is hī bic nagar mē sor*
2. *Bhayo udangal cārihu or*
3. *Ghar ghar dar dar diye kapūṭ*
4. *Hoṭvānī nahī baiṭhē hāt*
5. *Bhale bastr aru bhūṣan bhale*
6. *Te sab gāre dhartī tule.*
7. *Ghar ghar sabanī visāhe sastr*
8. *Logan pahire moṭe bastr.*
9. *Thārharu kambal athvā khes*
10. *Nārīn pahire moṭe beś.*
11. *Ūc nīc koṭi na pahicān*

12. *Dhanī daridrī bhaye samān.*

13. *Corī dhārī disai kahū nāhī*

14. *Yōhī apabhay log darāhī.*

KAVITĀ KAUMUDĪ, 36

II. PLAGUE IN AGRA, 1616

1. *Is hī samay itī bistarī, parī Āgre pahīlī marī*
2. *Jahā tahā sab bhāge log pargaṭ bhayā gāṭh kā rog.*
3. *Nikasai gāṭhī marai chin māhī, kāhū kī basāy kachu nāhī ;*
4. *Cūhe marai vaidya marī jāhī, bhay so lōg ann nahī khāhī.*

Id., 35

III. THE RAIN

1. *Phirat phirat phāvā bhaye, baiṭho kahai na koi ;*
2. *Talai kīc sō pag bhare, ūpar barsat toi.*
3. *Andhkār rajnī viṣai himrītu agahan mās*
4. *Nāri ek baiṭhan kahyo, puruṣ uṭhyo lai bds.*

Id., 36

I. THE DEATH OF AKBAR

(The news of Akbar's death comes to Jaunpūr)

1. A cry was heard throughout the town :
2. On every side a tumult rose,
3. In every house the doors were locked.
4. No more sat traders in their shops,
5. But garments fine and jewels fine
6. Were buried all beneath the earth.
7. In every house they brought out arms ;
8. Rough were the garments they put on.
9. Men stood in blanket or in shawl ;
10. Women were clad in raiment coarse.
11. Twixt high and low, was difference none,
12. For rich and poor were now the same.
13. Though theft and robbery were not seen,
14. Through causeless fear men were afraid.

II. PLAGUE IN ĀGRA

1. Then spread distress around, plague first on Agra fell.
2. The folk fled forth all ways (the gland-disease had come).
3. The swellings risē, the stricken people helpless die.
4. First rats, then doctors die ; through fear the people fast.

III. THE RAIN

1. Walking, walking, worn and weary ; none invites to sit ;
2. Feet are clothed with mud beneath, overhead the rain descends :
3. In the murkiest night of winter season's black November ;
4. " Pray be seated " said one woman, but her man rose with a staff.

The word *thārhau* in I, 9, means standing. It is used in the Simla hills to-day in the form *thārhū* for a kind of servant, a man who brings wood or water for travellers, and does other unskilled menial jobs.

III, 1, *phāvā* is hard to understand. I connect it with Panjabi *phāvā* "weary".

THE DEATH OF AURANGZEB BY MİR JA'FAR ZATALLĪ 1659-1713

This poem describing the state of things which prevailed after Aurangzeb's death, should be compared with Banārsī Dās's Braj poem written nearly seventy years earlier, in which he tells of the excitement produced among the people of Agra by the receipt of the news of Akbar's death in 1605.

Zatallī was a notorious satirist and jester, sparing no one except the Emperor. Even the princes were not immune. He seems to have had a great respect for Aurangzeb. It is said, but without complete proof, that he was executed by orders of Farrukh Siyar.

THE DEATH OF AURANGZEB

1. *Kahā ab pāiye aisā Shahanshāh*
2. *Mukammal akmal va kāmīl dīl āgāh ?*
3. *Rakat ke d̄sūō jag rotā hai*
4. *Na mūthī nīd koī sotā hai.*
5. *Ṣadā ē top o bandūq ast har sū*
6. *Basar asbāb o bandūq ast har sū*
7. *Davāday har taraf bhāg paṛī hai*
8. *Bacca dar god sar khaṭyū dharī hai.*
9. *Kaṭākattī o laṭālaṭ hast har sū*
10. *Jhaṭā jhaṭṭī o phaṭāphaṭ hast har sū*
11. *Bahar sū mār mār o dhār dhār ast*
12. *Ocalcūl o tabar khaṇjar kaṭār ast*
13. *Az ā A'zam varī sūe Mu'azzam*
14. *Jhaṛā jhaṛṭī o dhaṛādhar har do pāyam*
15. *Bibīnam tā Khudā az kist rāzī*
16. *Bikhvānad khatba bar nām kih qāzī.*

PANJĀB ME URDŪ.

1. Where shall we find so excellent a king,
2. Complete, consummate, perfect, knowing hearts ?
3. The world is weeping tears of blood,
4. And gentle sleep to no one comes.
5. On all sides noise of cannon and of gun
6. Men carrying goods and guns upon their heads.
7. And fleeing here and there on every side,
8. Beds on their heads, and children in their arms.
9. Cutting and smiting on all sides,
10. Wrenching and splitting on all sides,
11. On all sides death and violence.
12. Turmoil, axes, daggers, poniards.
13. That side A'zam, this Mu'azzam,
14. Fighting, struggling, both I find,
15. But let me see whom God approves,
16. For whom the priest on Fridays prays.

The last four lines refer to the internecine war between Aurangzeb's sons A'zam and Mu'azzam. The author wonders whom God will favour and who as Emperor will be mentioned in the Friday prayers. It was Mu'azzam who was successful and came to the throne. He is known to history as Bahādur Shāh.

l. 15 may have two meanings : (1) whom God makes King, and (2) whom God takes to Himself ; in other words who is defeated and dies. In the first case it is parallel to line 16, in the second case 16 is the reverse of 15, the meaning being " let me see which is defeated, and which becomes Emperor ". l. 16 refers to the fact that the ruling sovereign is prayed for in the Friday prayers.

The author freely uses Persian words ; the second, fifth, sixth, thirteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth lines are pure Persian.

l. 9, *laṭālaṭ* might be read *luṭāluṭ* " robbery ".

l. 12, *calcāl* is probably for *calācal* or *calcalāo*.

In l. 14 the *ṛ* of *jhaṛ* is doubled for metrical reasons. This is specially interesting because it is not possible to pronounce a double *ṛ*, and it looks as if the author was satisfied so long as his eye saw a double *ṛ*, even though his tongue could not say it.

For double *ṛ* compare the following sentence from *Mirā Jī Khudā-numā*, c. A.D. 1600, quoted in Urdu, April, 1928, p. 158, *e sab Qur'ān kā chīṛyācā deke vale maqz nahī cākhe*, these all see the husk of the Qur'ān, but do not taste the marrow.

Iranian Studies

By H. W. BAILEY

I. *Suṣṣastān*

IN the *Bahman Yasht*, ii, 49, there is an interesting list of geographical names. The readings of two MSS. of the Pahlavi Text as well as the Pāzand version (unhappily Pāzand far inferior to that of the *Mēnōkē xrat*) are available, the Pahlavi in the facsimile of K 20 (fol. 135 recto, l. 4 et seq.) published by the University of Copenhagen, 1931, and the edition of Dastūr Noshervān Kaikobād Ādarbād, *The Pahlvi Zand i Vōhūman Yasht*, 1899, a copy of a MS. dated 554 A.Y., and the Pāzand in Antia, *Pazend Texts*, p. 339 seq. Translations of ii, 49, have been attempted by West, *SBE.*, v, p. 209, by Dastūr Noshervān in his edition, and also by Markwart in *Caucasica*, vi, I, 54, and in *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Eranshahr*, p. 69, an edition of the *Šahrīhā i Ērān*. But as finality in the translation of Pahlavi texts is hard to attain, yet another attempt is here offered. The text is as follows:—

Pahlavi	Pāzand
<i>xratāyīh ut pātaxšāhīh av An-ērān</i> <i>bē ō Anērā</i>
<i>bandakān rasēt ēgōn Xyōn</i>	[i] <i>bandaga rasiš avā cūn Hayūn</i>
<i>Turk *Hēftar ut Tubūt</i>	<i>Turk *azarut. afš*</i>
<i>ēgōn andarak Kōfdār ut</i>
<i>čēnīk ut Kāpulīk ut</i>	<i>Čīnī *Kāsūrī* u</i>
<i>Suṣṣīk ut Hrōmāyīk ut</i>	<i>Sūdī u</i>
<i>*Karmīr Xyōn Spēt Xyōn</i>	<i>χarmēra Hayūn u Spiš Hayūn</i>
<i>pat Erān dēhān i man</i> <i>sahar</i>
<i>pātaxšāh[yh] bavēnd framān</i>	<i>pādašāhā raβā fraṃa bēnd.</i>
<i>ut kāmāk i avēšān pat</i>	
<i>gēhān raβāk bē bavēt.</i>	

Čēnīk and *Kāpulīk* are written with final *-yh* for *-īk*, a mistake doubtless due to scribes, who confuse *-yk*, *-yh*, and *-y* owing to the changed pronunciation *-ī* for all three. *Andarak* is here spelt **مردلو** in place of the usual **مردل**. The names call for more consideration. I give first a translation. "Kingdom and Sovereignty will pass to slaves who are not Iranians, such as the Khyōn, Turk, Heftal, and Tibetans, who are among the mountain-dwellers, and the Chinese and

in accord with the Persian phrase in the Syriac *hft*. This requires the assumption that the name of the Hephthalites was early corrupted in Pahlavi, and was no longer recognized by the Pāzandist. So in *DkM.*, 438¹². *pat ham šōn' ān ōyōn χ*arr vēhīh andar ōβām ōβām vīčūtākīhā pat mātiyān ham patvand raft ut *Heftar* هفتار *kustakān spōčihēt*.

In the Greater Bundahišn a new form is introduced with *-ā*. Firdausī has هتال. The short vowel in the second syllable is assured for the Sasanian period by Greek, Syriac, and Arabic transcriptions, hence influence from later Persian is probable in *GrBd.*, 215⁷ هتال *Hēstālān* (in *GrBd.*, 215⁹ هتال).

4. *Tubit*. This word written هتوبت is not known to me elsewhere in Pahlavi. But in Arabic writers the *Tubbat* are associated with *Haital* and *Turk*, as by Ṭabarī, ii, ۱۱۵۳, year 85 = 704: خرجت

عليهم الباطلة والتبت والترك, and Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ii, ۵۲۸ in the attack on Rāfi' whose reinforcements were from the East.

جمع رافع واستمال اهل الشاش وفرغانة واهل خجندة واثروسة والصغانيان وبخارا وخوارزم وحتل وغيرها من كور بلخ وطخارستان والسغد وما وراء النهر والترك والخرلخي والتغزغز وجنود التبت وغيرهم

Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh* ۶۴, 7 seq., speaks of settled and nomad *Tubbat*, whom he calls Turkish:—

وهذا الرباط (= بدخشان) ثغر بازاء اجناس من الترك يقال لهم او خان وتبت وأيغان حضر ويدو

There is therefore nothing improbable in the appearance of *Tubit* here in the company of Turks.

5. *Čēgōn andarak kōfdār* "who are among the mountain-dwellers". [For *čēgōn* and *i čēgōn* with relational function, see *BSOS.*, vi, 72, and *GrBd.*, 233²⁻³, 236³, 225³⁻⁴.] *Kōfdār* is found also as the title of the lords of Armāil, see Herzfeld, *AMI.*, 4, 83. Here the Kōhistān beyond Samarkand is probably intended.

¹ هتوبت *šōn* < **šavana*. "way of acting", Paz. *šōn*, هتوبت *šōnīk* "customary", cf. Av. *šyaoθnā*. "act" and Y., 29³. *yā šavaitē ādhrang vracīcānāhō* "how the lofty behave towards the lowly".

6. *Āēnīk*. The Chinese are said to have sent ambassadors to the Court of Khusrau Anōšarvān, *Tabarī*, i, 899 :

ولم يزل مقلقا منصورا تبايه جميع الامم ويحضر بابه من وفودهم عدد
كثير من الترك والصين والحزر ونظر اليهم

Āēnastān "China" is familiar in Pahlavi. In *GrBd.*, 106¹⁴ seq. Avestan *sāinu-* is interpreted by this word : *ān i pat Sēn dēh hast i Āēnastān*. Arm. *čenastān*, *čenk*, *čēnbakur* "Emperor of China", *čēnik*, *HAG.*, 49. It is described in the Pāzand and Pārsī-Persian *Žamāsp-Nāmak* (ed. Modi, p. 76 Pāzand ; ed. West, *Avestan . . . Studies*, p. 104, Pārsī-Persian). From these two texts, both to some extent corrupt, it is possible to restore the Pahlavi somewhat as follows :—

*ut Āēnastān šahrīhā i vazurg vas zarr vas mušk vas gōhr vas an ēiš andar bavēnd. ka *dīl i avē<šān> nē ēimān bārīk vēnišn ēštāt bavēnd but paristēnd. ka mīrēnd druvand hand.*

"And China has large cities, much gold, much musk, many jewels, and many other things. Since their heart has not keen perception of causes, they worship Buddha (or 'idols'). When they die they are *druvand*" (that is, they suffer the fate of the wicked).

China is also introduced into other prophecies of the *Bahman Yašt* (*čēnastān*, iii, 14, **čēnik ēynyh*, iii, 17). Its situation is given in the passage quoted below, *GrBd.*, 198¹⁴. In the old Sogdian letters occurs *čynstn* (Reichelt, *Die soghd. Hands. des Brit. Mus.*, ii, letter ii, 18, 30).

Concerning Sanskrit *Cīna*, *Mahā-Āina*, Arab. *Šīn*, *Māšīn* ; Pers. *Māčīn* ; compare the article of Pelliot in *T'oung Pao*, vol. 13 (1912), p. 727 ff.

7. *Kāpulīk*. *Kāpul* 𐭪𐭥𐭭𐭩 or *Kāvul* 𐭪𐭥𐭭𐭩𐭥 and *Kāvulastān* are often mentioned in Pahlavi books. NPers. *Kābulistān*.

8. *Suβδīk*. This word is the most interesting in the list. It happens that we are particularly well informed about the name of the Sogdians from the sixth century B.C. onwards. It has therefore been often treated, although this form with -βδ- has not been noticed hitherto. The name appears in various dialect forms as follows :—

1. *ugd*, *uγd* : OPers. *s u g^u d*

*s u g^u *d*

s u g d (Hamadān tablet).

Elam. *šú-ug-da*, *šú-uk-taš-be*.

Bab. *su-ug-du*

Greek Σογδοί (Herodotus).

Avestan *Vid.*, 1⁴, *suγδō.šayana-* "dwelling in Suyda"

Yt., 10¹⁴, *suχδəm* (var. II. *saoχδəm*, *sauχδəm*, *suδəm*).

Orkhon Turk. *soγduq*.

Pāzand *soγd IndBd.* (= *GrBd.*, 87¹⁴).

NPers. سغد *suγd*.

Sogd. (Buddh.) *sywδy' n'k* (Reichelt, loc. cit., ii, p. 70), "Sogdian."

(In the old letters) *seydyk*, *seydyk' nw*.

2. *uβδ*. Pahl. 𐭥𐭥𐭥.¹

Arm. Սօղդիք = *Sordik'*.

3. *ūd*, *ūd*: Syr. *sōḏ ܥܡܐ*. Marquart, *Ērānsahr*, p. 88, n. 7, *sōḏiqayē* "Sogdians".

Pahl. 𐭥𐭥𐭥 *GrBd.*, 87¹⁴ *sūd*.

𐭥𐭥𐭥 *GrBd.*, 87¹⁰.

Pāz. *sūdī* here in *Bahman Yašt*, ii, 49, for Pahl.

𐭥𐭥𐭥.

sudā 𐭥𐭥𐭥 *IndBd.* (= *GB.*, 87¹⁰).

4. *ūl*: Pahl, *sūlik GrBd.*, 205¹¹.

GrBd., 86¹¹ 𐭥𐭥𐭥 = *IndBd.* 𐭥𐭥𐭥.

Vid., 1⁴ Pahl. *Comm.*

Chin. *Su-li*.²

Tib. *śu-lik*.

Possibly also Kharoṣṭhī inscription *suliga*, Konow, *Acta Orient.*, x, 74.

The establishing of the reading of 𐭥𐭥𐭥 as *suβδik* has an important consequence. It becomes possible to understand a much

¹ For the voiced spirants indicated by 𐭥𐭥, cf. 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *aβadāt* = Av. *aβwadāti*. "exposure" (*D&M.*, 761¹⁹, etc.); 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, *D&M.*, 434¹², beside 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, *GrBd.*, 236¹¹ = Pāz., 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 "Duyδav"; 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *vayδan*, *D&M.*, 819⁷.

² For other Chinese transcriptions, see Shiratori, "A Study on Su-t'ê 粟特 or Sogdiana," *Mem. Res. Dep. Toyo Bunko*, 1928, No. 2.

misunderstood passage of the Bundahišn in *GrBd.*, 198¹⁴. *DH.* has 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. *TD.*₂ 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. This is *Suβδastān* "Sogdiana" with 𐭥𐭥 = *ā* and 𐭥𐭥 = *βδ*. The Pāzand reading of the *IndBd.* *sāvkavastā* indicates that the word was no longer understood, but mechanically transcribed. But with the reading *Suβδastān*, the whole passage is clear: *Zamīk i Suβδastān pat rūš i hač Turkastān av Čēnastān pat kustak i dūr av apāxtar rōn* "the land of Sogdiana is on the way from Turkestan to China in the region far to the north".

Turning to *GrBd.*, 197⁵, we have the passage of which this one is an amplification: *Ayrēraθ i Pašangān pat zamīk* <*i*> **Suβδastān apī-š Gōpat šāh xʾānēnd* "Ayrēraθ son of Pašang in the land of Sogdiana and him they call Gōpat the King". Here both MSS. are corrupt, *TD.*₂ has 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 and *DH.* 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, but happily the *IndBd.* reads in Avestan letters, as before, *sākvastā*. With this reading, Herzfeld's conjecture *Andarkangistān*, *AMI.*, ii, 59, can be dispensed with. Following from this, it is now possible to discover the meaning of *Gōpat*. *Ayrēraθ* is the chief (*rat*) of Sogdiana. His name is often cited. In the Avesta (*Yašt*, 13, 131, *Yašt*, 9, 18), *Ayraēraθa* is brother of Frābrasyan. In Pahlavi the name is variously spelt: 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

GrBd., 230¹² = *IndBd.*, 79⁴ (in Avestan letters), *agreraθ*; 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *GrBd.*, 197⁵ = *IndBd.* (in Avestan letters), *ayririθ*; *DkM.*, 437¹¹

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. All are transcriptions of the Avestan name. He is here brother of Frāsyāp and *Karsvasp, *IndBd.* (in Avestan letters) Karsevaz, and is slain by Frāsyāp, just as *Ayraēraθa* is *zūrō.jata-* "slain by violence" in the Avesta (*Yašt*, 9¹⁸). In *GrBd.*, 197⁵, *Ayrēraθ* receives the title *Gōpat Šāh*, evidently because he is *rat* of Sogdiana.

The word is variously spelt: *Dd. pursišn*,¹ 89 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, *GrBd.*, 231¹¹

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, *GrBd.*, 197⁵ 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, *Bahman Yašt*, ii, 1 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥,

Mēnōkē xrat, 62³¹ 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, *Rivāyat i Dārāb Hormuzyār*, ii, 70

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 and 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. The spelling with 𐭥𐭥 suggests a name foreign to Pahlavi. If we remember that the abode of *Ayrēraθ* is in

¹ I am indebted to the courtesy of the University of Copenhagen for a photograph of this folio of K. 35.

Sogdiana, it is but natural to explain the word as *gava-pati*¹ "Lord of Gava". This Gava is the "Heart of Sogdiana".

It is twice mentioned in the Avesta. In *Vid.*, i, 4:—

*bitīm asanhamčā šoiθranamčā vahistəm frāθwərəsəm azəm yō Ahurō
Mazdā*

gāum yim suyδō.šayanəm.

The Pahl. Comm. reads: *ditīkar hač givākān rō <to> stākān ham
pahlom frāč brēhēnūt man kē Ohormazd ham* (Avestan letters) *gavā.
i Sūlik-mānišn, ē dašt i Sūlik-mānišn.*

The corresponding commentary of the *GrBd.*, 205¹⁰⁻¹², has: *ditīkar
pahlom dāt dašt i Sūlik-mānišn ku-š sūlik patiš mātēnd. hast baydāt
i bayāndāt.* (Here the assonance has caused confusion with *Sūrāk*
= Syria, as elsewhere.)

The second passage is *Yast.*, 10¹⁴, most recently treated by Herzfeld, *AMI.*, 2, 3 seq. In the vulgata: *mourum hārōyum gaomčā suχδōm
χ^uārizomčā.* Gava survived as *gai* (= *yai*) in the Arabic geographers
and as *Ho* in Chinese (Herzfeld, loc. cit., p. 5, note 1). When the word
was no longer clear *šāh* could be added, as if "King of Gōpat". In
Dd. 89 we find *gōpat būm* "land of the Lord of Gō". This tendency
to pleonasm is well-known. An extreme case is *GrBd.*, 231³, *gar i
Patašχ^uārgar kōf. Kai Vištāsp šāh* is regular. Other cases are the
ayōχ^uust vitāχtak, *GrBd.*, 225¹⁰, and *arišxang i vēh*, *GrBd.*, 14¹⁴.
Kāūs, Av. *Kava Usaša*, receives the addition of *Kai*, in the Greater
Bundahišn: *Kai Kāūs*. It is normal in the later Persian epic.

This has all the appearance of old tradition misinterpreted by
later times. It becomes of importance, therefore, to learn what is
said about Gōpatšāh. It would appear that *GrBd.*, 197⁵, has the
oldest traits, as quoted above: *Ayrēraθ i Pašangān pat zamīk i
Suβdastān api-š Gōpatšāh χ^uānēnd.* Here *gōpatšāh* is simply a title
of *Ayrēraθ*. But in *GrBd.*, 231¹, Gōpatšāh is son of *Ayrēraθ*:
*ut hač Ayrēraθ Gōpatšāh zāt ut ka Frāsyāp Manušēhr apāk Ērānakān
andar gar i Patašχ^uārgar kōf <vi>tār kart sēz ut niyāz apar hist.
Ayrēraθ hač Yazdān āyast χ^uāst api-š ān nēvakih vindāt ku-š ān spāh
ut gund hač an saχtīh bōχt. Frāsyāp pat ān āhōk Ayrēraθ ōzat.
Ayrēraθ pat ān pādāšn frazand ōgōn Gōpatšāh zāt.* "And from
Ayrēraθ was born Gōpatšāh. And when Frāsyāp drove Manušēhr
with the Iranians into the mountains of Patašχ^uārgar, ruin and want
was left. *Ayrēraθ* besought Yazdān for a boon. And he received

¹ Cf. also the Pahl. transcription of Av. *gava* in *ačōv.gava* as *guk*.

this favour that he delivered the army and company from this distress. Frāsyāp slew Ayrēraθ for this crime. To Ayrēraθ as a recompense for this a son was born who was Gōpatšāh."

Here then the title has been turned into the personal name of a son, as happened also with Bēžan in the Shāhnāma, see Herzfeld, *AMI.*, 4, 108.

To this stage of the legend belongs the statement in *DI.* 89, in which is given a list of the immortal chiefs (*rat*): Gōpatšāh *xʾatāyīh apar Gōpat būm* (written 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬎 as often) *ham <v> īmand ī av Ērānv<ē>š pat bār ī Āp ī Dāityā apar nikās dārēt gāv* (Avestan letter) *Haḍayaš kē-š patiš bavēt spurr spurrīh ī hamist martōm*. "Gōpatšāh's rule is over the land of the Gōpat whose frontiers are the same as Ērānvēž on the bank of the River Dāityā. He watches over the ox Haḍayaš, through which is achieved the perfect perfection of all mankind." Here Gōpatšāh has overshadowed Ayrēraθ, but is still probably thought of as a *šāh*. In *Pahl. Riv. DI.*, 164, Gōpatšāh is one of the *fraškart kartār* (producers of Fraškart).

But Gōpatšāh appears elsewhere as a monster, half man and half bull. This aspect of Gōpatšāh has been much discussed, as by Junker, *Bibliothek Warburg*, 1922, Unvala, *BSOS.*, v, 505, Herzfeld, *AMI.*, i, 143, 157, iv, 62, cf. Nyberg, *Glossar* s.v. *Gopat*.

A full description is given in *Mēnōkē xrat*, 62, 11.

Gōpetšāh pat Ērānvēž andar kišvar ī xvaniras. ut haē pād ut tāk nēm tan gāv ut haē nēm tan hačapar martōm ut hamvār pat drayā-bār nišinēt ut īzišn ī Yazdān ham-ē kunēt. "Gōpatšāh is in Ērānvēž in the division of *xʾaniras*. And from foot and to the middle of the body he is an ox, and from the middle of the body above he is a man and he sits ever on the seashore and makes offering to Yazdān."

Can any conclusions be drawn from the geography of this legend? Ayrēraθ is in Sogdiana, as "Lord of Gava", Gōpat. Gōpatšāh rules in the land of Gōpat, which adjoins Ērānvēž. In the later form of the legend Gōpatšāh dwells in Ērānvēž itself. If old traditions have survived here, Sogdiana is represented as adjoining Ērānvēž. On other grounds, Marquart (in *Eranšahr*, p. 155) Andreas, and Herzfeld (*AMI.*, i, 104, note 2; ii, 4) have identified Av. *Airyanām Vaēfō* with Chorasmia. If *hamvīmand ī av Ērānvēž* is trustworthy tradition, this was probably also the view of early Commentators. The later view is expressed in *GrBd.*, 198¹³⁻¹⁴, *Ērānvēž pat kustak ī Āturpūtākān* "Ērānvēž is in the region of Ādarbāijān". Geographical names are exposed to transference. One of the best examples of such transference

is given by the name of the mountain *Upaṛi-saina*, which, as Herzfeld, *AMI.*, i, 84, note 1, has pointed out is found in the Babylonian version *māt pa.ar.ú.pa.ra.e.sa.an.na* (as also probably in the Elamite version, see Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 152) corresponding to OPers. *Gandāra*. In Pahlavi texts this earlier meaning is lost, so that it was even connected with Pārs., cf. *GrBd.*, 79⁷, *kōf i Vas Škift ān i Pārs hač ham kōf i Apursēn*, and *GrBd.*, 80², *hamāk kač Apārsēn kē-š apārīk kōfihā ōsmurt ēstēt rust ēstēt*.

In any case a reminiscence of the situation of Ērānvēž in the north-east is not impossible.

2. *āzāt* and *āzn*

The meaning of Pahlavi *āzāt* 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 "noble, free" can be fully realized only by reference to the Iranian social system. It is the designation of a member of a *vis* 𐭠𐭥𐭥 or "Great House", which has in many Pahlavi passages retained the full meaning of "Princely House", found in the OPers. inscriptions and the Avesta. Av. *vīsō.puθra*, Pahl. *vispuhr*, *vāspuhr* (< **vāispuhr*), MPT. *vispuhr* and *visduxt*, NPers. *visduxtān* (*Vis u Rāmīn*, 77¹²) all express the importance of this relationship. The *ā-zāta*- is one born into such a family with all its social privileges. In the Avesta the word is already more general in the passage, *Yašt*, 5, 127, *hvāzāta arədvē sūra*. But when Hutaosā is called *āzātəm Hutaosəm* in *Yašt*, 9, 26, it clearly describes her as member of a *vis*. Similarly in Pahlavi, *šahrdār kōfdār ut āzāt* "Prince and Mountain Chief and Noble", *Draxt Asōrik*, 45; *Zāmāsp Nāmak* (*BSOS.*, vi, 56, § 15) *āzātān ut vāzurkān*. From "noble, *ēvyerīš*" to "free" is an easy transition already found in Pahlavi, as *anšahrīk* . . . *āzāt bē kart* "he freed the slave". NPers. *āzād* is "free, manumitted", but *āzādagān* "high-born men", *āzāda* "free, excellent, noble". In Avestan *āzāta* is one of the epithets applied to the Daēnā in form of a maiden, *Haδōxt Nask*, 2, 9. In Armenian *azat* is both "free" and "noble", *HAG.*, 91, and in Georgian *azati* "free", *azatoba* "liberty".

The meaning of *ā-zan*- is therefore quite certain in the technical meaning "to be born a member of a princely house, to be born noble, free".¹

It accordingly becomes possible to understand certain other Iranian

¹ If Herzfeld has correctly interpreted the nom. pr. *Dātōšh*, *AMI.*, iii, 86, this meaning may also belong to the uncompounded *zāta*-.

words. In the *Dātastān i Dēnīk*, 36, 17, *āznāvar* گزتاوار *gurtak* are "noble warriors" on the side of the Amahraspands and Ohormazd. Here we have the word which appears in Georgian, to translate οἱ πρῶτοι, Mark vi, 21, *seri umzada mt'avart'a mist'a da at'asist'avt'a mist'a da aznaurt'a Galileast'a* δειπνον ἐποίησεν τοῖς μεγιστᾶσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς Γαλιλαίας. According to Brosset, in his edition of *Vaxušt's Geography*, p. 7, the *aznauri* are the fifth class "de race noble ordinaire". A corresponding word does not occur in Ciackciak's Armenian dictionary and in the Armenian version of Mark vi, 21, τοῖς πρώτοις is rendered by *mecamecac*. Pahlavi *āznāvar* is **āzn* + *ābar*. But *āzn* appears in Armenian in the meaning of "nation, people, generation". Here we probably have **ā-zni-* from Iranian (for the suffix cf. Av. *sti-*), which with the suffix *-va(n)-* gives **ā-znī-va(n)-*, in Armenian *azniu* "noble, great, excellent". So again *ā-zan-* in the sense of "be noble".

It can hardly be doubted in view of Pahlavi *āznāvar* and Arm. *azniu* that Avestan *āсна-* as epithet of *frazanti-* "children", and of *manah-* "mind" has this same meaning of "noble". Thus in the blessing *Yast*, 10, 3: *Āsaonam varuuhīs sūrd spōntā fravašayō daḍāiti āsnam¹ frazaintīm* "The Good Powerful Fravartis givers of increase bestow noble progeny".

The Armenian *azniu* is further useful in supplying the explanation of MPT. *b'mye*, Salemann, *Man. St.*, 554, v. 5:—

murc'n b'mye'n 'vy n'zynd š'dyḥ'

murvān bāmivān ōy nāzend šādihā

"Brilliant birds are there sporting happily."

The word *bāmiv* can be explained as **bāmī-va(n)-* from *bāmi-* "shining", cf. Av. *bāmaniva-* in *vāstrāśca . . . bāmanivā* "and brilliant . . . garments". The long *-ī-* is further supported by the Sanskrit forms (R̥gveda) *śrutiṭvan-*, *arāṭivan-*. With the same suffix we have Av. *āiniva*, *Yast*, 15, 46, where Vayu says: *āiniva nāma ahmī* "I am named *āiniva*". This can be explained as **āni-* (for the form, cf. Old Persian *bāji-* "tribute") with *-van* from *an-* "breathe, blow", cf. Greek *ἀνεμος* "wind", Sanskrit *anila-* "wind". Similarly, Iran. *dam-* means both "breathe" and "blow", NPers. *damīdan* "breathe", Saka *padama* "winds".

¹ Hertel's translation in the Glossary to *Die avest. Herrschafts- und Siegesfeier*, 1931, has not reached beyond an etymology.

The Pahlavi commentators translate *āšnača mand āsaonum* by *ān i 𐭠𐭮𐭮𐭮 mēnišn i ahraβān* (*Visprat*, 11, 3 = Spiegel, 12, 16), and *āsnum frazaintīm* by *𐭠𐭮𐭮𐭮 frazand* in *Yasna*, 62, 5 (= Spiegel, 61, 13). This is *āsnūtak* (*āsnūtak*), adjectival participle to **āsnūtan* which appears in the nomen agentis *āsnūtār*: *DkM.*, 822²², *pareartār ut āsnūtār i driyušān* "nourisher and sustainer of the poor". In *Dāstastān i Dēnik*, 16¹⁰, *pūt*¹ i *pēramōn ast kē pat āsnūtārīh i zivēnāk jān tarr-vaχšišnīk *bavēt* "the flesh around the bone which for the sustenance of the vivifying soul is freshly-growing". Hence *āsnūtak* is probably "sustained, brought up, nourished". *AIW.* s.v. **āsna-* should be altered accordingly.

¹ Cf. Oss. (Dig.) *fīd* "flesh", (Iron) *fīd*: Luke xxiv, 39, *utān fīd āmā nījītā nāi* πνεῦμα σάρκα καὶ ὀστέα οὐκ ἔχει. Pahl. Texts, 145, § 13, *pūt i gārēn* beside *gōāl i gār* in § 14.

Nahhānaḥ Tīttha Maṅgala, The River-bathing Ceremony in Siam¹

By H. G. QUARITCH WALES

ACCORDING to Manu the *samskāras*, or Hindu initiation rites, are twelve in number, but by other early Indian writers the list is variously estimated as from ten to sixteen or even more. In the Siamese Brahmanical books the number laid down is ten, and these rites are known as "the ten auspicious ceremonies" (*bidhī daṣamaṅgala*), but there are in addition some ceremonies in connection with conception and birth which would bring the number up to sixteen or more. The latter remain in force, but of "the ten auspicious ceremonies" most are obsolete and the only ones that are still in general favour are the shaving of the first hair of the newborn, the giving of the first name to the child, and the tonsure; while the ceremony which we are about to consider has been performed up to modern times, but for princes and princesses of the highest (*Cāu Fā*) rank only. With the exception of the tonsure, which was made the subject of a scholarly monograph by the late Colonel Gerini,² none of these ceremonies has ever been seriously studied by European scholars. This is perhaps in the main due to the difficulty of obtaining information on account of their private or domestic nature and the fact that there is little mention of them in Siamese literature. But since the river-bathing ceremony of *Cāu Fās*, like their tonsure, is of a semi-public and very spectacular nature, some interesting official records of it have been preserved.

Nahhānaḥ tīttha maṅgalam (Pāli, *tīttha* = landing-place, *nahānam* = bathing, *maṅgala* = auspicious) is the classic term applied to the river-bathing ceremony in Siam, but the popular form of the ceremony was formerly known as *bidhī maṅgala laṅ dā sōn vāy nām* "auspicious rite of taking the child out to bathe at a river (or sea) landing and teaching him to swim". The name of the popular form of the ceremony is interesting as showing that in former times the ceremony retained its early function of marking a definite stage in the development of the child, an occasion on which it was taught to swim, and after which

¹ The system of transliteration used in this article is that of M. G. Coedès, for which see *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam*, pt. i, p. 10.

² *Chāḍakantamaṅgala*, by Colonel G. E. Gerini, Bangkok, 1895. On pages 2 and 3 the author gives a list of "the ten auspicious ceremonies".

it would be regarded as more independent and capable of taking care of itself. This stage of initiation was immediately antecedent to that marked by the tonsure, after which the initiate was regarded as having definitely bidden farewell to childhood days. The importance of the river-bathing ceremony in the social life of a people like the Siamese, whose welfare largely depended on their being amphibious at an early age, is evident. But like most of the other *samskāras*, probably as a result of the influence of Buddhism, the popular ceremony lost its hold on the people and died out about a hundred years ago, after which the ceremony as performed for *Câu Fả* princes and princesses alone remained in favour. This royal ceremony was performed in the ninth, eleventh, or thirteenth year of age, and is called simply *bidhī lañ srañ* "the bathing ceremony". It will be seen from the account which follows, that the observance has lost its early function and degenerated into a rather meaningless ceremonial bath and *abhiṣeka*, in analogy to many other royal ceremonies.

I am not aware of the existence of any record of the manner in which the popular form of the ceremony was performed, but there is material for a fairly detailed description of the river-bathing ceremony of *Câu Fả*. The following account refers to the first occasion on which the *lañ srañ* was revived at Bangkok, after the destruction in A.D. 1767 of the old capital, Ayudhyā, and it became the model for all future royal ceremonies of the kind.¹

In the year A.D. 1812 the eldest son of King Rāma II by a royal mother attained the age of nine years, and his father reflected that, whereas in the first reign royal tonsures had been performed in the style of those of Ayudhyā, the river-bathing ceremony of *Câu Fả* had not yet been carried out. The older people who had seen this ceremony at Ayudhyā had nearly all died, and the knowledge of the way in which it should be carried out would soon be lost. Accordingly, at the coming of the fourth month (Phālguna), Prince *Câu Fả* Kram Hlvañ Bidakṣa Mantrī and *Câu Brahyā Śrīdharmādhirāja* were appointed superintendents of the arrangements for the river-bathing ceremony of the young prince.

The preparations for the *lañ srañ* resembled those for the *sokāñṭa* (tonsure of *Câu Fả*) except that instead of a Kailāsa mountain being built within the Grand Palace enclosure, a four-sided spire-roofed

¹ My chief authority is *Brah̄ rāja hañṣavah̄tārah̄ Brah̄ rātanakosindra rājakāl dī ṣaṇ* (History of the Second Reign), pp. 144 to 149, by H.R.H. Prince Damrong, who bases his account on the contemporary Bangkok annals by *Câu Brahyā Dībākraṇṣa*, together with the official regulations for the carrying out of the ceremony.

shrine (*maṇḍapa*) was erected on a pontoon, similar to those used for Siamese floating houses. The pontoon was moored at the royal landing, and the *maṇḍapa*, which stood on the central part of the pontoon, was built of figwood (*udumbara*) covered with white cloth, and had carved doors at each of the four sides. Beneath the *maṇḍapa*, the pontoon was cut away to make a bathing pool, with a floor beneath the water-level made of a trellis of strong bamboo laths, protected on the outside by the meshes of a net, while the inside of the floor and walls of the bathing pool was covered with cloth. Thus a safe artificial bathing place was constructed, into which the river water was admitted but from which noxious aquatic animals were excluded. Running round the edge of the bathing pool, at the water-level, was a foot-board on which people could stand, and to which access was obtained from the floor of the pontoon by means of three ladders, a silver one on the north, a gilded one on the south, and a so-called "crystal" one on the eastern side, which was nearest to the landing-place. On the western edge of the pool, within the *maṇḍapa*, was placed a seat of two stages for the *mūrdhābhiṣeka* (anointment of the head), while three artificial prawns, of gold, red-gold, and silver respectively, three fish of similar materials, a pair of gilded coco-nuts, and a pair of silvered ones, were also placed at hand. Possibly the artificial prawns and fish were meant to represent the wonderful aquatic fauna of the Anotatta lake in the Himālayan fairyland, while it may be presumed, on the analogy of the bundle of coco-nuts carried on royal barges in lieu of life-belts, that the gilded and silvered coco-nuts used in this ceremony were intended to be used as floats by the young prince.

The *maṇḍapa* was surrounded by three concentric rows of *rājavāt* fences, decorated with gold, red-gold, and silver umbrellas respectively.¹ At the four corners of the *maṇḍapa* the Brahmans placed tables to support the chank-shell water, and the consecrated water called *nām krat* "sharp or powerful water", for sacrificing for victory. During the ceremony, soldiers armed with lances, the handles of which were wrapped in gold, stood within the middle fence, ten men to each of the three exposed sides. Between the middle and outer fences stood soldiers armed with iron swords, fifteen to each of the three sides. Outside the outer fence there were soldiers armed with

¹ The *rājavāt* fence is made of lattice, with gaps for ingress and egress, and is decorated at intervals with small tiered paper umbrellas. It is erected around the area in which ceremonies are performed, when these take place in the open air, in order to exclude evil influences.

swords, sixteen to each of the three sides, while in the water near to the raft there were soldiers similarly armed, to the number of sixteen on each of the three sides. On the north side of the pontoon, outside the fences, stood soldiers armed with flint-locks. Throne-barges were moored alongside the landing, while monkey barges, garuḍa barges, guard boats, and war barges with figure-heads representing various animals, the paddlers wearing red hats and coats, cast anchor in a circle to the number of thirty-nine boats. There were boats with crocodile figure-heads, and boats casting nets in order to catch any malignant beasts which might enter the protected circle, and endanger the safety of the young prince during the ceremony. Inside the Grand Palace enclosure, a pavilion was erected for the Brahmanic rites and a hallowed circle (*brahḍeṇ maṇḍala*) was prepared in the Tusita Mahā Prāsāda (throne hall) for the recitation of auspicious stanzas by the Buddhist monks. Protective threads (*sāy siṅcana*) of unspun cotton were passed round each of the places at which rites were to be performed in order to preserve them from evil influences, as in the *sokāṇṭa* ceremony.

On Friday, the fourth day of the waxing of the fourth month, the young prince was attired in white in the Baiśāla Dakṣina section of the Royal Residence, whence, in the afternoon, he proceeded in state accompanied by a procession similar to that of *sokāṇṭas*,¹ by a circuitous route partly outside the palace wall, to the Tusita Mahā Prāsāda, where the king, who had gone there by a more direct route, was waiting to assist him from his palanquin. The palace ladies led him by the hand and invited him to have his feet washed by the pages in a silver basin. When this had been done he entered the throne hall, sat down within the hallowed circle, and listened to the recitation of *paritta suttas* (protective stanzas). Afterwards the king entered and lit candles of worship, repeated the *śīla* precepts, and remained to listen to the *paritta* recitations until they were finished. The palace ladies then led the prince to the mounting stairs, and the king assisted him to mount his palanquin, after which he returned with the procession to the Royal Residence. Similarly, on the

¹ The *sokāṇṭa* procession is headed by military units, behind which march pages dressed as *devatā*, and groups of boys dressed in the costumes of various countries, red and green drummers of victory, Brahmins scattering parched rice or playing ceremonial instruments, and damsels bearing peacock standards; then comes the prince's palanquin accompanied by royal umbrella, sunshade, and fan, and the procession is closed by officials impersonating *devas* of the Indra and Brahmā heavens, maids of honour carrying the prince's insignia, and pages leading caparisoned chargers.

following two evenings, the prince went in state to listen to the Buddhist recitations, but this is to be regarded merely as the preparation which is the prelude to most important royal ceremonies.

On Monday, the seventh of the waxing, in the morning, fifteen monks went to recite auspicious stanzas at the bathing place. When the prince arrived in state, the king assisted him from his palanquin, and the palace ladies led him to the landing where he removed his shoes and ornaments. As the auspicious time drew near, the king led the prince by the hand from the landing to the "raft of scented water". Then Prince Bidakṣa Maṇṭri took the young prince by the hand and, following the king, they went to the *maṇḍapa*. The king sat upon a chair within the *rājavāt* fences, and the prince sat on a cushion near the chair. The *Brah Mahā Rāja Gr̥* (High Priest of Śiva) floated the gold, red-gold, and silver prawns and fish, and the two pairs of gilded and silvered coco-nuts in the bathing pool; and the *horā* (astrologer) made an oblation to the water at the auspicious time of 7.18 a.m. Officials beat the Gong of Victory, sounded the conches and other musical instruments, and fired signal guns in the bows of the barges, all at the same time. The king carried the young prince to the "crystal ladder" and Prince Cāṇ Fā Kram Khun Isārānurākṣa received him in his arms and carried him down to the bathing pool. He let him seize the coco-nuts and bathe in the river water in the pool. Then he brought him up and placed him on the anointment seat, where the young prince was sprinkled by the king with water from a dextrose chank. The *Sāṅgharāja* sprinkled him with water which had been consecrated by means of the recitation of Buddhist *mantras*, the senior members of the royal family sprinkled him with water from sacred lotus gourds, and lastly, the Brahmins offered chank-water and *nām krat*. When this bathing in scented waters was finished and the young prince had changed his wet robes and was dressed in Indian style, he was accompanied by Prince Bidakṣa Maṇṭri to the landing, where the procession was already drawn up, and the members of which had now donned red garments. The king having assisted the prince to mount his palanquin, the procession returned in state to the Royal Residence via the circuitous route outside the walls, but the king proceeded to the *Tuṣiṭa Mahā Prāsāda* and made offerings to the monks who had officiated. Later, the prince, having removed his Indian dress and attired himself as usual, went by the short inner route to the *Tuṣiṭa Mahā Prāsāda* and made offerings to the monks, afterwards returning by the same way.

Meanwhile, in the Cākṛabartibimān section of the Royal Residence officials had set up three *pai-śrīs* of gold, silver, and crystal respectively, bearing offerings of food¹; and in front of these they had placed the young prince's throne. In the afternoon, the young *Cau Fā*, dressed in the attire of a prince of the highest rank, went in state procession to the Cākṛabartibimān, where the king received him and escorted him to the golden throne prepared for him. He was now about to relinquish the personal name that had been given him at the naming ceremony a month after birth. At the auspicious time of 2.36 p.m. the ceremonial instruments were sounded, and a golden plate (*subarṇa-pāṭa*) was presented to the prince, on which were inscribed his new style and title, as follows: *Cau Fā Maṅkuṭ Sammutidevāvaṅṣa Baṅṣa Iśraksātriya Khāṭiya Rājakumāra*. Then the taper-waving rite (*vian dian*) was performed by the Brahmans, for the benefit of the prince. This rite, which is a form of *pradakṣiṇa* intended to ward off evil influences, is frequently performed in Siamese ceremonies. The Brahmans and others pass from hand to hand lighted tapers, three of which are fixed in a lenticular holder, around the person or thing it is desired to honour, fanning the smoke towards that person or thing. The final rite of the *lañ srañ*, as of the *sokāṇṭa*, was the *sambhoj*, or feast, in which the young prince partook of a small quantity of coconut milk mixed with food from the *pai-śrīs*, as nourishment for the *kheāñ*, or spirit of the child. This rite was repeated twice again, on the eighth and ninth days of the waxing, being thus performed thrice in all.

It should be remarked that it was more usual and proper in Siam to change the names and titles of persons of the royal family after they had undergone the tonsure, for not only does that ceremony symbolize a more complete break with childhood, but there is also the classical Indian precedent of the god Khandhakumāra, whose name was changed to Mahā Vighneṣa after tonsure.

¹ The *pai-śrī*, of whichever material, consists of superimposed trays on stands (*bān*) of decreasing dimensions, so that the whole has an auspicious tapering appearance.

A Vocabulary of the Language of Marau Sound, Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands

Compiled by W. G. IVENS, M.A., Litt.D., Research Fellow of the
University of Melbourne

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>adj.</i> , adjective.	<i>neg.</i> , negative.
<i>adv.</i> , adverb.	<i>obj.</i> , object.
<i>art.</i> , article.	<i>onomatop.</i> , onomatopoeic.
<i>demonst.</i> , demonstrative.	<i>partic.</i> , participle.
<i>excl.</i> , exclusive (of personal pronouns, excluding the person or persons addressed).	<i>pers.</i> , person.
<i>incl.</i> , inclusive (of personal pronouns, including the person or persons addressed).	<i>pl.</i> , <i>plur.</i> , plural.
<i>interrog.</i> , interrogative.	<i>possess.</i> , possessive pronoun.
(<i>ku</i>) marks a noun as taking the suffixed pronouns <i>ku</i> , <i>mu</i> , <i>na</i> , denoting possession.	<i>sing.</i> , singular.
<i>n.</i> , noun.	<i>subj.</i> , subject.
<i>v.n.</i> , verbal noun.	<i>suff.</i> , suffix, suffixed.
(<i>na</i> , <i>ni</i>) marks a noun as taking the suffixed pronoun <i>na</i> in the third person singular, and the plural suffix <i>ni</i> in the third person plural.	<i>t.</i> , <i>tr.</i> , transitive.
	<i>v.i.</i> , verb intransitive, i.e. a verb to which the pronoun of the object cannot be suffixed.
	<i>v.n.</i> , verbal noun.
	<i>voc.</i> , vocative.
	<i>v.t.</i> , verb transitive, i.e. a verb to which the pronoun of the object may be suffixed.

LANGUAGES QUOTED

<i>Fl.</i> , Florida, Solomon Islands.	<i>Motu</i> , Banks Islands, New Hebrides.
<i>IN.</i> , Indonesia.	<i>Oroha</i> , Little Mala, Solomon Islands.
<i>Langalanga</i> , Mala, Solomon Islands.	<i>Pol.</i> , Polynesia.
<i>Lau</i> , North-East Mala, Solomon Islands.	<i>S.</i> , Sa'a, Little Mala, Solomon Islands.
<i>Malu'u</i> , North Mala, Solomon Islands.	<i>U.</i> , Uiawa, Solomon Islands.

NOTES

1. The use of diæresis over the vowel *a*, e.g. *āi* "sea", denotes the "Umlaut", *ā* changing to *e* after *a* preceding *i* or *u* and with *i* or *u* also following. The Marau Sound people do not always observe this change in the particular words, and also they make the change in an arbitrary fashion.
2. The sign ' denotes a dropped consonant, and in the spoken language there is a break in the pronunciation when such a sign is employed in the written language. The consonants thus dropped are "the Melanesian *y*", *k*, *l*, *n*, *s*, *t*.
3. The accent, if any, falls on the last syllable. There is no movement of the upper lip on the part of the people when speaking, and the speech is thrust forward as it were, the lips being parted but slightly. Little stress is put on the words: there is little rise and fall of sound, and the result is a running and unvaried stream of sound.
4. Words spelt with a hyphen, e.g. *maeba-*, are not used without the suffixed pronouns *ku*, *mu*, *na*, etc., which denote possession.
5. The letters employed are *a*, *e*, *i*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *u*, *w*. The vowels have the Italian sounds. The doubling of a vowel, except where a "break" occurs, indicates a long vowel sound. No nasal sounds occur in the language.

PREFACE

MARAU SOUND lies at the south-east end of the island called Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands. There is no native name for the Sound as a whole, and it received its present name owing to the fact that the island which lies at the eastern entrance to the Sound is called Marau, i.e. Island. Other islands in the Sound are named Peura, Sinamairuka (Sinamailuka), Tawaihi, Marapa. The last-named island, Marapa (Malapa), is the "home of the dead" for the peoples of the South-East Solomons. The local native name for the hill districts above the Sound is Kera. The name which was given both to the Sound, and to the coastal districts of the mainland near, by the first white visitors in modern days, Bishops G. A. Selwyn and J. C. Patteson, is Gera, which is the name used of the Sound by the people of San Cristoval. The people of the Sound are immigrants from Wairokai, Waisisi, Wairoha, and Uhu on the west coast of Big Mala, and their language is closely allied to that of Oroha, Little Mala, and Areare, the language spoken at Wairokai, etc. It is probable that the first migration from Mala to the Sound settled at Marau, the island at the eastern entrance. There is a ghost called Huu ni nima connected with Marau Island, who is said to have led the migration. War and fighting are said to have been the reasons which led to the migration. The present Mala people were already occupying the islands in the Sound at the time of the visit of the Spanish explorers in 1568, as is shown by the fact that they acted as guides and took the Spaniards to the neighbourhood of Wairokai and Waisisi.

Bishop G. A. Selwyn first visited the Sound in 1856, with San Cristoval men as guides. There was regular intercourse between the peoples of the Sound and those of the north-west end of San Cristoval, and Kekeo, the wife of Stephen Taroaniara, the San Cristoval man who was killed in 1871 with Bishop Patteson, came from Peura Island in the Sound. Bishop Patteson obtained men from several of the islands in the Sound, and took them to Kohimarama, Auckland, New Zealand, where one of them, Porasi by name, died. In 1857 the Bishop slept ashore at Peura Island.

At Kohimarama Bishop Patteson compiled and printed grammatical notes of the language of Marau Sound, with a short catechism, a translation of the Apostles' Creed and of the Lord's Prayer, and a list of words. I do not know whether any copy of this is extant, but H. C. von der Gabelentz published some of the material in *Die melanesischen Sprachen*, Leipzig, 1873. The influence of San Cristoval

words and grammar is plainly to be seen in Bishop Patteson's material. Taroaniara probably served as his interpreter, and it is owing to him that *inter alia* "Kauraha" has been used as the equivalent of "God" in the translation of the Creed. Kauraha has been shown by Dr. C. E. Fox to be a female snake ghost belonging to Santa Ana Island off San Cristoval. The local people of Marau Sound were ignorant of Kauraha when I questioned them, and said that Kauraha was a "school ghost" whom Porasi had told them of during the divination of his ghost.

As an instance of the way in which mistakes are made in first translations, even by an experienced scholar like Bishop Patteson, one may quote the word *labegumatai*, used in the Creed as a translation of "suffered". I was puzzled by the word till I split it into two parts, *labegu mata'i* "my body is ill". Evidently the Bishop gave an instance of "suffer" by saying "my body is ill", and was furnished with a literal rendering of this, which then passed into the Creed.

I have been able to verify most of the words which appear in von der Gabelentz, but have failed to find any proof of the use of *ni* as an article, as stated by him. The use of *ni* as an article in Arosi, San Cristoval, is probably the reason for its insertion in the grammar of Marau Sound.

The present vocabulary was compiled from words collected during my stay at Sinamairuka Island, Marau Sound, in October and November, 1927, during the course of my work as Research Fellow for the University of Melbourne. From the materials available I have also compiled a grammar of the language, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution*, Vol. V, Part II, 1929.

VOCABULARY OF THE LANGUAGE OF MARAU SOUND

A

There is an interchange of *a* and *o* in certain words: *paina*, *poina*, big.

a 1, personal article used with all proper names both male and female :
a Mouria ; used to denote specific relatives : *a maamaa*, father, *a teite*, mother ; used with *are*, thing : *a are*, So-and-so ; *ikira a are*, So-and-so and those with him ; *a huka*, Such-and-such a woman ; *a porona*, Such-and-such a man ; *a mareho*, So-and-so ; seen in *atei*, who. S. *a*.

a 2, noun ending : *hatarea*, sea-coast ; *riuriua-maeraa*, epidemic of sickness ; *rorotoa*, darkness. S. *a*.

a 3, personal pronoun 3 sing.; suffixed to verbs and prep. as obj.

S. *ā*.

a 4, passive ending: *napotaa*, broken, *sikihia*.

'*a* 5, article: '*a mera mane inau neena*, that is my boy; '*a taa*, what (thing)? '*a are nau neena*, that is mine; '*a keu*, a cockle; '*a taa noko horoia a'i*, what shall I kill it with? *na* 1.

'*a* 6, adjectival suffix: *porapora'a*, black, dark blue; *mato'a*, earthy.

S. '*a*.

'*ā* 7, possessive stem: '*āku*, etc. S. '*ā*.

'*a* 8, suffix to possessive: '*aku'a*, '*amu'a*, etc. S. '*ā*.

'*a* 9, prefix forming participles: '*apuo*. S. '*ā*.

'*a'a* 1, exclamation of assent.

'*a'a* 2, article, used as plural of '*a* 5: '*a'a are nau neena*, those things are mine.

aapu v.i., to be sacred, holy, to be tabu. Lau *aabu*.

aara v.i., to bite.

aarai v.t. S. *ala*.

'*ae* (ku) n., foot, leg: *tare 'ae*, to begin. S. '*ae*.

aha v.i., to incise.

ahasi v.t. S. *aha*.

ahaa v.i., to be bitter. S. *ahaa*.

ahē v.i., to flow, of current or tide.

ahesi v.t., to carry along in flood. S. *ahē*.

ahi, a woman's waist dress of fibre.

ahu 1, v.i., to wrap up.

ahuni v.t., S. *āhu*.

ahu 2, v.i., to be complete: *awara e ahu*, a full ten.

ahusi v.t., to make a complete round of: *e ahusia hamua*, it has gone all round the country.

ahuta- (ku) n., all: *ahutana taana are*, everything. S. *āhu*.

ai 1: *ai rao*, exclam., oh then! *ai rao i'o 'o hura na*, so it is you who have come! *hai* 5.

'*āi* 2, negative, no, not; used with *e*, it, there is: '*o iria e 'āi*, did you think it wasn't so? *Malu'u 'ai*.

'*āi* 3, a tree: *noko i tohua na 'āi*, I am for chopping a tree; *wawasu 'āi*, tip of tree; *to'o 'erena 'āi*, top of tree. S. '*āi*.

'*āi*, '*ēi* 4, person, thing: '*āi utaa*, what person? *are noo na 'ēi noo*, this one and that. *Malu'u 'ai*.

ā'i 5, adverb, prep., therein, thereat, thereby, thereof, thereon, therewith; *kira piipii e'i*, used for stone-boiling; '*au raai rata*

ā'i 'ana *taa*, how do you name it? 'au *tau sieni e'i*, you have done right therein; *i hiru ā'i*, on top of it; 'ani *hori e'i*, to buy therewith; *hana 'ani ā'i*, for the eating of it; *sisihō ā'i*, to blow on, of wind. S. *āni*; Lau *ani*.

ā'i 6, trans. suff. to verb, partic. : *ha'aratoā'i*; *ponie'i*.

ā'ini trans. suff. to verb : *sihod'ini*. S. *ā'i*.

'ai'ara v.i., to be missing, not found. 'āi 2. 'ei'ara.

'aka poss. pl. 1, ours, for us; used also as obj. of intransitive verb.

'akaikura poss. dual 1; used of things to eat. 'aka; 'ataikura.

'akaoru, 'akaoru'a poss. pl. 1, ours; used of things to eat.

akaro (ku) n., the ghost of ordinary people, soul. hi'ona. S. akalo.

akauri v.i., to be possessed of. S. akauri.

akeake v.i., to be dry. atate.

'āku poss. sing. 1, mine, for me, for me to eat; used also as obj. of intransitive verb : *e hana ta'a 'āku*, he shot and wounded me badly; *kai ui 'eku*, my right hand; *totohu 'āku*, of my own accord.

'āku'a, mine, of things to eat.

'āku'i, as 'āku'a, but used of many things. S. 'āku.

'ama'arua poss. dual 2, yours.

ama'i v.t., to carry on the shoulder.

'amami poss. pl. 1, excl., ours; used also as obj. of intransitive verb, us. S. 'amami.

'ama'auru poss. pl. 2, yours.

amasi 1, v.t., to pity, to be sorry for. S. amasi.

amasi 2, v.i., to eat a relish with vegetable food. S. amadi.

'ameru, 'ameru'a poss. pl. 1, excl., ours, for us.

'ame'eru, 'ame'erua poss. pl. 1, excl., ours.

'ami pers. pron. pl. 1, excl., we, us. U. 'ami.

amire'i v.i., to be startled. S. āsire'i.

'amiu poss. pl. 2, yours; used also as obj. of intransitive verb, you.

'amu poss. sing. 2, yours, for you; used also as obj. of intransitive verb, you.

'amu'i poss. sing. 2, yours, of many things to eat.

'ana 1, poss. sing. 3, his, hers, its, for him, etc. : *kai ui 'ana*, his right hand; *mera 'ana a God*, God's Son; used also as obj. of intransitive verb : *to'o 'ana*, to own it, to hit it. S. ana.

'ana 2, prep., about it, concerning : *taa wou 'ana*, it doesn't matter. 'ana 1.

'ana 3, prep., at, by, about : 'ani to'i 'ana hana, to work at a hana garden ; 'ana taetaena horo'a, at some time ; 'au raai rata ā'i 'ana taa, you call its name after what ? how do you name it ? 'ana au neena, at that clump of bamboos. 'ana 1.

'ana 4, conjunctive, if, when. S. ana.

'ana 5 : tangahuru 'ana, the tenth. S. ana.

'āni 1, in order to, for the purpose of : 'ani to'i 'ana hana, to work at a hana garden ; 'āni hori e'i, to buy with ; kai 'eni ui, hand for throwing, right hand. S. āni.

'ani 2, of : rua mane 'ani kira, two men of them. S. āni.

'ani 3, v.t., to eat : 'ani hanarua, to eat food ; hana 'ani ā'i, for its eating. Lau 'ani.

'ani 4, pron. 3 sing., it : ka to'o i 'ani, hits it. 'ana 1.

ano, garden ground.

ano'a adj., dirty, covered with earth. S. ano.

aorai v.t., to expose a body for burial : aorai lukasi. U. aora.

apa 1, side, part : apa mai, this side ; apa mauri, the weather side of the island ; apa oro, the right side ; i apa ni asi na wou, that part of the sea over there. S. apa.

apa 2, leaf of tree : Apai siri tora raka, a ghost at Marapa. S. apa.

apa 3, v.i., to crouch.

apata'ini v.t., to lie in wait for. S. aapata.

apai niu, 10,000 coconuts. S. id.

āpi (ku) n., beside, alongside, in the house of : horia keni i epina, to buy a wife for him ; i āpi. S. āpi.

'āpu (ku) n., blood.

'apura adj., bloody. S. 'āpu.

'apuo partic., returned ; v.i., to return. puo.

'apuro v.i., partic., as 'apuo. S. 'apulo.

araha n., a chief ; v.i., to be a chief.

arahana v.n., kingdom. S. alaha.

'arahu partic., come apart, of axe-head, etc. S. 'alangu.

arahuu v.i., to talk in a parable.

arahuuta v.n., a parabolic saying. S. alahuu.

ara 1, v.i., to answer.

arami v.t. S. ala.

'ara 2 : 'āi 'ara, to be missing. S. tala.

araka, a coleus. S. asaka.

aratana : i aratana, in the middle.

are, areare 1, n., thing : are inau, my thing ; used of persons, with

or without a personal article : *are na*, a *are*, So-and-so, who do you mean ? *mani are*, a thing ; *rua mani are*, two things ; *are mora'i*, only things ; may be replaced by 'āi 4 ; *are noo na 'ei noo*, this and that.

are 2, v.t., to call upon, to summon to one's aid : *are hā'ona*, to pray, to invoke a ghost. S. *are*.

Areare, the name of a people occupying the south end of Big Mala from whence the Marau Sound people came. *are* 1.

ari : *ari noro*, to hear ; *ari ponosi*, to forget.

ārina (*ku*) n., ear. S. *ālinge*.

arisi v.t., to awake. U. *tālisi*.

arite, a sea journey. S. *ālide*.

aro, taro. Lau *alo*.

aru 1, v.i., to become, to turn into : *nia aru pa'ewa*, he turned into a shark. U. *alu*.

aru, *arua* 2, pers. pron. dual 2, you two ; used as subject.

arurāe, *aruarurāe* v.i., to think, to meditate upon. *aru* 1. S. *ālusae*.

'*aru'a*, black magic. S. *sāru'e*.

āsi 1, sea : *wai esi*, at sea. S. *āsi*.

asi (*ku*) 2, brother, sister, ortho-cousin. S. *āsi*.

asi 3, v.t., to throw down, to throw away : *ui asi*, to throw down, a tabu, a leaf thrown at the root of a tree. S. *asi*.

asi'a adv., very, used of a superlative : *icarita no'o asi'a*, long ago. S. *asi'e*.

'*asihe* v.i., onomatop., to sneeze. S. 'āsihe.

asisi v.i., to be lost, to wander.

asu, *asuasu* 1, v.i., to shake, to quake, to be moved.

asuasu n., earthquake.

asui v.t. S. *āsu*.

asu 2, v.i., to make a thing, to build a canoe.

asumi v.t. S. *ādu*.

asuhe, rat. S. *āsuhe*.

ata 1, n., specific numeral, ten : *atai niu*, ten coconuts. S. *ada*.

'*ata* 2, poss. pl. 3, their : *reho 'ata*, their words ; used also as obj. of intransitive verb, them. S. *ada*.

'*ataikura*, see 'akaikura.

atara v.i., to be odd in number, to be over ten : *awara kai atara moa*, haply more than ten. S. *daadala*.

'*atarua* poss. pl. 3, theirs.

'*atauru* poss. pl. 3, theirs, of limited number of people.

ate n., different, another : *ate mani iri d'i ro'u*, another way of saying it. S. *eta*, one.

ateate v.i., to be dry. *akeake*.

'ato v.i., to be difficult, scarce. Lau *'ato*.

atowaa, broad day : *pui eni atowaa*, broad day to-day, 10 a.m.—2 p.m. S. *atowaa*.

au 1, bamboo : *pe au*, bamboo water-carrier. S. *du*.

'au 2, pers. pron. pl. 2, you ; used as subject : *'au tau sieni e'i*, you have done right in that.

'auru pers. pron. pl. 2, us ; suff. to verbs and prep. as obj., or used as subj., we.

awa, *awawaa* v.i., to roar, to buzz : *sime ko awawaa i erinaka*, mosquitoes buzz in our ears.

awai v.t., to draw in the breath.

awasi v.t., to affect a person, of ghostly action : *hau ni awasi*, the rock at the ghost's landing-place at Marapa. S. *awa*.

awaa v.i., to be convalescent after an attack of malaria, to be in good health. S. *awaa*.

awara 1, v.i., to cry out, to yell. S. *awara*.

awara 2, n., ten, used of a full ten, not used in counting a series : *awara mana rua*, twelve. S. *awala*.

E

e 1, pers. pron. sing. 3, he, she, it ; follows the noun as a second subject, or is used by itself as subject ; used with a collective noun : *tani e makata*, the daylight lightened, it is daylight ; *e dani no'o*, it is daylight ; *e mai komu i'ami*, it is not in our country ; *uhi e pito, hasi raona mato*, the yam has sprouted, plant it in the ground ; follows *neia*, he : *neia e ruaia*, he knows it. S. *e*.

e 2, used before numerals : *e rua*, two ; *e hita*, how many ? S. *e*.

'e 3, particle expressing purpose : *kura kai rae 'e waiwa*, let us two go for a walk. U. *'e*.

'ei 1, a person, a thing : *'ei mai ha'ini'o*, is no one with you ? *'ei utaa*, what person ? what one ? *'a 'ei*, the person ; *taa'i rua 'ei*, *taa'i olu 'ei*, two or three things ; *haru 'ei e una*, some things are like that ; *are noo na 'ei noo*, this and that ; *'ei iwera*, many things ; *'ei nei e uriha'inia 'ei nei*, this one is like that. *'ai* 4.

'ei 2, negative, no, not. *'ai* 2.

e'ini tr. suff. to verb. *a'ini*.

'ei'ara, see *'ai'ara*.

eni demonstr., this: *pui eni*, this day, to-day; *tei* (*kai*, *kei*)
eni, here. *nei*.

eno, *enoeno* v.i., to lie down. S. *eno*.

eo exclam. of assent, yes! Fl. *eo*.

'ere, *'ere'ere* (*na*, *ni*) n., tip: *'arena 'ai*, the top of a tree; *to'o 'arena*,
its tip; *'ere'ere ni Mara*, the tip of Mala, south cape. S. *'ele*.

'ere'ere v.i., to be round, of moon at full. S. *'ere*.

eru pers. pron. pl. 1 incl., we, of limited number; used as subj. by
itself, or follows *ieru*.

erua pers. pron. dual 1 excl., us two; suff. to verbs and prep. as obj.

eta numeral, one; used in a series.

etana n., first. *ta* 3, *taa'i*.

ewa, *ewaewa*, *eva*, *evaeva* 1, v.i., to walk about: *noko rae ewaewa*, I
am going for a walk. *waiwa*.

'ewa, *'e'ewa* 2, v.i., to be tall, long. *tewa*.

H

In certain words *h* is heard only indistinctly: *i hiru*, *i huru*;
mahusi.

ha 1, ending of verbal noun: *rae*, *racha*; *mauru*, *mauruha*; *suuha*.
S. *hā*.

ha-(*ku*) 2, n., to, for; *haku*, to me, for me; *hakaoru*, to us; *noru*
haku, listen to me; *mane i sii haku*, my elder brother.

ha'a causative prefix, used with verbs or nouns. S. *ha'a*.

ha'aenohi v.t., to lay down, to cause to recline. *eno*.

haahi prep., about, concerning, round about; adv., around.
S. *haahi*.

ha'ahuta v.t., to generate. *huta*.

haa'i v.t., to call, to name. S. *saa'i*.

ha'akarahini v.t., to cause to come near. *karahini*.

ha'amae v.t., to pound in a mortar. *mae*.

ha'amakata v.t., to make light, to enlighten. *makata*.

ha'amasi v.t., to laugh at. *masi*.

ha'anoro v.t., to cause to hear. *noru*.

ha'aoho v.i., to make an offering to an ancestral ghost after returning
from overseas. U. *ha'aoho*.

ha'apuo v.t., to restore. *puo*.

ha'arato v.i., to expose to the sun's rays, to dry.

ha'aratoa'i v.t. *rato*.

ha'asieni v.t., to make good, to rectify. *sieni*.

ha'asiko v.t., to finish. *siko*.

ha'ata'i v.i., to appear; used with poss. 'aku, etc.: *hi'ona e ha'ata'i 'ana*, a ghost appeared to him.

ha'ata'ini v.t., to show. S. *ha'ata'i*.

ha'atanora v.t., to enable, to confer spiritual power on. *tanora*.

ha'ateke v.i., to drop crumbs when eating. *teke*.

ha'atoto v.t., to bury a corpse at sea. *toto*.

ha'ausuri v.t., to teach, to instruct. *usuri*.

haha v.t., to carry a person on one's back. S. *haha*.

hahi, *haihahi* v.t., to cook in an oven; *hahi poo*, to roast a pig.

hahina v.n., roasting. S. *hahi*.

haho (ku) n., on, above; used with loc. *i*: *i hahona*, above it.

hahoi v.t.: *horo'a hahoi na poni*, two days ago. S. *haho*.

hahune-(ku) n., brother, sister.

hahunena n.: *rua mai hahunena*, two brothers, two sisters.

hai 1, numeral, four: *e hai*; *poni hai*, the fourth day.

haina n., fourth. S. *hai*.

hai 2, v.t., to weed. S. *hāi*, to scratch the ground.

hai 3, v.i., to rise, of moon.

hai 4, reflexive prefix to verbs: *hairiu*. S. *hāi*.

hai 5, exclamation: *hai una*, that's the way! thus! *ai* 1.

hai 6, for *hau* *i*: *hai nima*, in the house.

hai, *hei* 7, article, a: *hai horo'a*, a day; *hai rato*, a spell of sunshine;

rua hai li poni, *rua hai rato*, two days. S. *hāi*.

ha'i 8, a man's sister: *kei ha'i nau*, my sister.

ha'i 9, suffix to verb: *uriha'i*. S. *hā'i*.

ha'ini 1, trans. suff. to verb: *kokoroha'ini*.

ha'ini 2, prep., with: *ha'ini'o*, with thee. S. *pe'ini*.

haiore v.i., to be quick; exclam., quick! hurry!

hairoa, to spoil.

hairuka v.i., to expose a body for burial. *ruka*.

hairiu adv.: *raa hairiu*, to walk about. *riu*.

haisoe v.i., to question: *haisoe 'ohi*, to question about. *soe*.

haite'e v.i., to be whole-skinned: *niu haite'e*. *te'e*.

haka, ship. S. *haka*.

hana 1, prep., for; expresses purpose: *hana taa*, what for? why?

hana 'oko i ta, for you to do it; *hana huahina*, for cooking.

ha- 2.

hana 2, to it: *nau siho mai hana i huaa*, I came down to the ground.

ha- 2.

hana 3, a yam with a prickly vine. S. *hana*.

hana, *hanahana* 4, v.i., to eat: *e hana ta'a 'aku*, it eats bad for me.

hanaraa v.n., vegetable food: '*ani hanaraa*, to eat food; *te*

hanarua, one meal. Mota *gana*; Lau *fanga*.

hane, *hanchane* v.i., to climb, to jump, of bonito. S. *hane*.

hani, pron., for them, pl. of things only: *kuki niu hani tapaiso*, to make copra for tobacco. *ha*-2.

hanua, land, island, people: *hanua i are*, such-and-such a place;

hanua to'o, the mainland; *ikira hanua*, the people; *e iucera*

hanua, a crowd of people; *waru hanua*, all the islands. S.

hānue.

hanuhanua n., people.

haoru adj., new, clean; *raanau haoru*, young man, unmarried man.

U. *haolu*.

hara, *hahara* n., fruit, a growing coconut, the fruit of *barringtonia edulis*; v.i., to sprout, of coconut.

hare, hut: *to'o i hare*, to be in separation, of women. *pisi*.

harisi, yam, crop, grass, a year (late use). S. *hālisi*.

haro adv., consequent upon, thereupon; precedes verb: *e haro iria*, thereupon he said; *noko haro simouka ka'u*, when I have had a smoke; gently: '*oko haro raa*, go gently. *raro*. S. *haro*.

haru 1, n., some: *haru i 'ei e una*, some things are like that. S. *hālu*.

haru 2: *rau i haru*, ten thousand, of coconuts. *rau*. S. *hālu*.

hasi v.t., to plant.

hasina v.n. S. *hāsi*.

hata: *suri hata*, forty, of dogs' teeth. *suri*. S. *hata*.

hatare- (a) prep., alongside, beside.

hatare v.i., to coast along.

hatarea v.n., coast. S. *hatale*.

hau 1, rock: *hau ni auxasi*. S. *hāu*.

hau 2, adv., of direction, down, north: *hai (hau i) nima*, in the house.

hou. S. *hou*.

ha'u 3, pandanus, pandanus mat. S. *hā'u*.

hauhau (na) n., the shell beads which serve as money. S. *hāuhāu*.

hausuu, a pudding made of pounded taro or hana with coconut cream added. U. *hausuu*.

he'a v.i., to defecate.

he'asi v.t., to dirt upon.

he'ata'ini v.t., to pass in the faeces. S. *he'a*.

he'eta adv., alone, entirely: *inau mora he'eta*. Cf. Lau *fala'ete*.

heheo v.i., to be silly, foolish. *peo*.

hei n., place of: *ihei*, where? *Mota vea*.

hena, a gourd, lime box, lime for eating. S. *hena*.

heoheo (na) n., cuttle-fish bone, sepia.

herohero v.i., to be weak.

hi trans. suff. to verb: *sikihi*. S. *hi*.

hiina'ini v.t., to feel, to perceive. S. *hiinge'ini*.

hike- (na) n., of, from among: *hikemiū*, of you. S. *hike*.

hina interrogative, is that so?

hinasu (ku) n., flesh. S. *hinesu*.

hi'olo, *hi'oro* v.i., to be hungry.

hi'oloa v.n., hunger. S. *hi'olo*.

hi'ona, the ghost of an important person: *tara ni hi'ona*, the ghost track at Marapa. *akaro*. U. *hi'ona*.

hiru, *hiruhiru* 1, v.i., to revolve, to be tangled. *taihiruhiru*. S. *hiru*.

hiru 2, up, on top; used with loc. *i*: *i hiru*; *na'ia i hiru*, put it on top. *huru* 2.

hita 1, interrog. adv., how many? used with *e* 2: *e hita*? *Lau fita*.

hita, *hitahita* 2, v.i., to hit: *rourou e hita*, it thundered. S. *hite*.

hiu numeral, seven: *poni hiu*, seven days hence.

hiuna n., seventh. S. *hiu*.

hiute'ini v.t., to move in a circle about: *kari hiute'ini*, to encircle. S. *hiute'i*.

ho'asi v.t., to worship: *ho'asi hi'ona*, to worship ghosts. S. *ho'asi*.

hoe v.t., to call: *rua mai hoe*, grandparent and grandchild, the two who bear the same name. U. *soe*.

hohoro v.i., to barter. S. *holoholo*.

hoke v.i., to be torn. S. *hoka*, to burst.

hoko, a bundle, a faggot: *hoko i rao*, a bundle of sago palm leaves.

holi, *holiholi* v.t., to buy. S. *holi*.

hono: *rerehono* v.i., to disturb by chattering.

honosi v.t., to be against. S. *honosi*; Pol. *fono*.

honu 1, a turtle. S. *honu*.

honu 2, v.i., to be full.

honuraa v.n., a feast. S. *honu*.

horo 1, v.i., to kill.

horoi v.t. S. *horo*.

horo 2, v.i., to be across, cross-wise : 'āi *horo*, a cross. S. *holo*.

horo 3 : see *mahorohoro*.

horo'a 1, adj. used as noun, a day : *horo'a hahoia na poni*, the day before yesterday. S. *holo*.

horo'a 2, occasion, time ; used as multiplicative : *taa'i horo'a*, once ; *rua horo'a*, twice. *horo'a* 1.

hote v.i., to paddle.

hotena v.n. S. *hote*.

hou 1, v.i., to be famous, renowned : *Hou i Marapa*, name of a *hi'ona*.

houraa v.n., a feast. S. *hou* ; Pol. *sau*, high chief.

hou 2, adv. of direction, north. *hau* 2. S. *hou*.

ho'u 3, v.t., to bring, to take.

houhou, a stage, a platform. S. *houhou*, bier.

hua 1, noun used as plural : *hua ni keni na*, *hua ni mane na*, *hua ni haka na*, women, men, ships.

hu'a 2, wife, lady : *Hu'a toru i hau ni awasi* ; *hu'a inau*, my wife.

hu'ahu'a v.i., to be wife to. *huka*. S. *hu'e*.

huaa, ground, earth : *i huaa*, on the ground ; *nau siho mai hana i huaa*, I descended to the ground.

huasa, a crocodile. S. *huasa*.

huka, woman, wife : *a huka*, such-and-such a woman. *hu'a* 2.

huna v.i., to anchor a canoe. S. *hune*.

huni : *liihuni*, *raihuni*, to hide. Lau *hau-fini* ; S. *mumuni*.

huno (*ku*) n., relatives-at-law.

hunona n. : *rua mai hunona*, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, etc. S. *hungao*.

hura, *hurahura* 1, v.i., to arrive, to reach. S. *hule*.

hura 2, moon, month. Mota *vula*.

huri, bedplace. U. *huli*.

huru, *huruhuru* 1, v.i., to run. S. *huru*.

huru 2, up, on top ; used with loc. *i* : *i huru*, on top. *hiru* 2.

huta, *hutahuta* v.i., to be born : *mane huta i sii*, elder brother ; *huta i taa'i*, born of the same parents.

hutahutana v.n., a generation of men. S. *hute*.

huu 1, v.i., to fall down. Mota *sus*.

huu 2, a tree, *barringtonia*. S. *huu*.

huu 3, real, permanent : *to'ohuu*, to be real ; *Huu ni nima*, Founder of the house. S. *huu*.

hu'u 4, v.i., to cough : *hu'u poepoe*, to have a racking cough ; n., cough. S. *hu'u*.

I

- i 1, locative, at : *i Marau*, Marau Sound. S. i.
- i 2, genitive, of : *huta i taa'i*, born of the same parents ; *mane i sii*, eldest son ; *pera i niu*, a thousand coconuts ; *uku i raia*, line of putty ; *uari i niu*, a coconut. ni. S. i.
- i 3, expresses purpose : *hana 'oko i ta*, for you to do it ; *noko i tohua na 'ai*, I am going to chop a tree ; *ieru taunaha'i eru i raais i'o*, we want to know you. S. i.
- i 4, prefix to pronouns : *inau*, etc. S. i.
- i 5, trans. suff. to verbs : *horo*, *horoi*. S. i.
- i 6, suffix used of place or position added to nouns : *i marui*, underneath ; *i matorai*, in amongst ; *i raoi*, by the side of.
- i 7, prefix forming nouns : *kau* to hook ; *ikau*, a crook. S. i.
- i, 'i i 8, plural suffix, used of things only : *are mora'i*, ordinary things ; *are i'o'i ni nei*, these are yours ; *are i'o'i'i nei*, these are yours ; *na taa'i*, what things ? ni 4. S. 'i.
- 'i 9, suffixed to poss., used of many things to eat : *are 'aku'i*, things for me to eat. 'i 8.
- ia (ku)* 1, n., womb. S. ie.
- i'a* 2, fish : *na i'a*, a fish. S. i'e.
- i api-* (ku) n., in the house of, beside. *api*.
- i'ami* pron. pl. 1, excl., we, us, ours. U. *i'ami*.
- i'amu* pron. pl. 2, you, yours. U. *i'amu*.
- i aratana*, in the middle.
- iarua* pron. dual 2, you, yours.
- iauru* pron. pl. 2, you, yours.
- ieru* pron. dual 1, excl., we, our.
- ierua* pron. dual 2, excl., you two, yours.
- i haho*, on top, above. *haho*.
- ihei* adv., where, whence : *'o ike ihei*, where have you come from ? U. *ihei*.
- ihi*, tapa cloth. Fl. *tivi*.
- i huru*, above, on the top of. *huru*.
- 'i'i*, a bird, the land kingfisher.
- ia* exclamation of doubt or ignorance, I can't say, I don't know. U. *iao*.
- ikau* n., a crook. *kau*.
- ikara* pron. dual 2, incl., we two, ours. *ikura*.
- ike*, adv. of motion, from, out of. U. *kei*.
- ikia* pron. pl. 1 incl., we, ours. U. *ikia*.

- ikira* pron. pl. 3, they, theirs; used as plural article, of people only :
ikira a are, So-and-so and those with him; *ikira hanua*, the people; *ikira Sa'a*, the Sa'a people. U. *ikira*.
- ikiraoru* pron. pl. 3, they, theirs.
- ikoru* pron. pl. 1, incl., we, ours; used of limited number.
- ikura* pron. dual 1, incl., we two, ours. *ikaru*.
- ilu* v.t., to sup: *ilu piina*, to sup vegetable soup. U. *ilu*.
- i maru-* (*ku*) n., underneath, under, in the shadow of.
i marui, under them, of things. *maru*.
- i matora-* (*ka*) n., amongst.
i matorai, amongst them, in the middle of, of things. *matora*.
- imo* v.t., to deceive.
- imoha* v.n., deceit.
- inaia* pers. pron. sing. 3, he, his. U. *inge'ia*.
- inanae* v.i., to be an orphan. S. *inemae*.
- inanita* interrogative, when? *nanita*.
- inau* pron. sing. 1, I, mine. U. *inau*.
- ine* 1, v.i., to have a pitted sore under the foot: '*aeku ka ine*; n., a pitted sore under the foot. S. *ine*.
- ine* (*na*) 2, n., seed, kernel. U. *ine*.
- ini* 1, transitive suffix to verb: *nanamaini*. S. *ini*.
- 'ini*, *'ini'ini* 2, v.t., to pinch with the fingers, to pluck leaves: *ini rau*, to pluck leaves for cooking. S. *'ini*.
- inoni*, man, a man. S. *inoni*.
- i'o* pers. pron. sing. 2, thou, thy. S. *i'oe*.
- iora*, a canoe. S. *iola*.
- ipora* v.i., to be black, blue. *pora*.
- i raoi*, *i raoni*, inside them, of things. *rao*.
- ire*, a polished stone adze, a steel axe. S. *ile*.
- ire suna* v.i., to make fire with a fire-plough.
ire sunaa v.n., fire-making with a fire-plough. S. *ile*.
- iri* v.t., to say, to think, to assume: '*o iria e ā'i*, did you think it wasn't so? *ate mani iri ā'i ro'u*, a different way of saying it.
- iro*, *iroiro* 1, v.t., to look for, to search.
irohi v.t., to search for. S. *iro*.
- iro* 2, a mangrove oyster. The *r* of *iro* is heard almost as *d*.
S. *iilo*.
- iru*, wind; v.i., to blow, of the wind. S. *iru*.
- i sihani*, outside. S. *i sihana*.
- i si'o-* (*ku*) n., following, after, along. *i* 1.

isu v.i., to count, to enumerate.

isumi v.t.

isuna v.n., numeration. S. *idu*. The ordinary decimal numeration is *eta*, *rua*, *oru*, *hai*, *nima*, *ono*, *hiu*, *waru*, *sinwa*, *tanahuru*. A system invented by a Marau *hi'ona* is as follows: *etaa'i*, *ruka'i*, *toru'i*, *waka'i*, *relesia*, *taa'i* *tavi*, *ro* *pui*, *tari* *mai*, *siki* *pani*, *tumasi*.

isu *tate* v.i., to be numerous, beyond count. *tate*.

i *upuna*, the waist, in the middle of. *upu*.

icera, all; generally follows the noun or pronoun, but may precede: *e icera hanua*, a crowd of people; *hanua ka icera*, many people.

K

ka 1, pronoun pl. 1, incl., our; suff. to nouns and to certain prepositions.

ka 2, verbal particle, used of indefinite time; not used with *no*, 'o, pers. pron. 1 and 2 pers. sing.: *ka totoria raurahi kira si kukia*, it will wait till evening and then they will cook it; *kura ka raa*, let us two go! *kai*. U. 'a.

kae v.i., to deceive, to lie.

kaesi v.t. U. *kae*.

kai 1, verbal particle, used of a definite future: *mane kai miz*, men will die. *ka* 2. S. *kei*.

kai 2, place: *kai eni*, here. *kei*; *tei*.

kai, *kaikai* (*ku*) 3 n., hand, arm, fingers: *kai 'eni ui*, the throwing hand, right hand.

kaka'i, superlative, very: *kaka'i no'o*, too much! an exclamation of wonder.

kakake, wild, swamp, taro.

kakaru, a well of water. S. *kakalu*.

kako v.t., to husk coconuts.

kami, the sheath of the coconut flower. S. *kāmu*.

kamu v.i., to eat the betel-mixture.

kamuha v.n.: *maa ni kamuha*, one eating of the betel-mixture.

Lau *kamu*.

kaokao, a half-shell of the coconut. S. *kaokao*.

kapi, tongs made of bamboo.

kapisi v.t., to grasp with the tongs. S. *āpisi*, to hold under the arm.

kara pron. dual 1, incl., we two, ours. U. *kara*.

karahini v.t., to be near; adv., near. S. *karaini*.

karai adv., nearly; precedes verb: *nau karai mae*, I nearly died
S. *karai*.

karaini v.t., to be near; adv., near.

kare (*ku*) n., son, daughter, child; *mane*, male, *keni*, female, are added to distinguish sex. S. *kale*.

kari, *karikari* v.t., to go round, to encircle. S. *kali*.

kari awara, a shell-money of ten strings each a fathom long. S. *kali awala*.

kari hiute'ini v.t., to encircle.

karu v.i., to grasp with the hand: *karu pasi*, to take a bow to shoot.
S. *kāru*.

karu arurue v.i., to meditate. *arurue*.

karuru, the coconut-crab, *Birgus latro*. S. *ūsusu*.

kasia exclamation, wait a bit! one minute!

kasu v.i., to be rotten. S. *kāsu*.

kau 1, v.t., to grasp with a hook or tentacle. *ikau*. S. *kāu*.

ka'u 2, adv., denotes a preterite, follows verb; makes the speech less abrupt. S. *kā'u*.

ke adj., little; precedes noun: *ke mēra* (*mamate*), a little child; adv., a little: *e ke nara'i*, the rain is lifting a little; *uta ka ke mimi'i*, it is raining a little.

ke'e, *ke'eke'e* 1, v.i., to bite: *e ke'eke'e 'amu*, it bit you.

ke'e 2, a bivalve, the shell used for making money discs. Lau *ke*.

kei 1, woman: *kei ta'a*, poor lady! *kei ha'i nau*, my sister; *a keina*, the woman, such-and-such a woman. *teite*. S. *kei*.

kei 2, place: *kei eni*, here. *kai*, *tei*.

keni, woman, wife; used with nouns to denote gender. S. *keni*.

Kera, the hill district at the south end of Guadalcanal. S. *Kela*.

ke'u, a mud cockle, edible.

kia pers. pron. pl. 1, we, us. *nikia*. S. *kie*.

kihi, hat. ? English "cap".

ki'iki'i (*ku*) n., arm. S. *ki'iki'i*, finger.

kira pron. pl. 3, they, theirs; used as plural article with persons only: *kira Sa'a*, the Sa'a people; *bokus kira waiti mani*, white men's boxes; used to form passive. U. *kira*.

kirautei interrog. pron. pl. 3, who?

kiraoru pron. pl. 3, they, theirs; used of limited number.

kirarua pers. pron. dual 3, them.

kiru (*na*) n., hole; v.t. to make a hole for: *kirua aro*, to plant taro in a hole. S. *kilu*.

ko verbal particle of indefinite time ; used only with personal pronouns

no, 'o : *noko*, 'oko ; *nokoi*, 'okoí. S. *ko*.

koe 1 : *maamaa koe*, intestinal worm. U. *koe*.

koe 2 : *ua'i koe*, to make fun, to joke. U. *koe*.

koilo, a tree, *Calophyllum inophyllum*. Lau. *koilo*.

koka, a sore, an ulcer.

koko'o, old man. Lau *ko'o*.

kokoro 1, the coenobite crab : *pota kokoro*, crack the *kokoro*, a bird, curlew. S. *kokolo*.

kokoro 2, v.i., to be deep.

kokoroha'ini v.t., to sink, to cover up deep. S. *kokoro*.

kolu 1, a variant of *koru*, we, us, our : *noko haro sinouka ka'u kolu si raa*. S. *kolu*.

kolu (*ku*) 2, n., back. S. *kolu*.

komu, village. S. *komu*, family ; Lau *komukomua*.

koni v.t., to collect, to gather, to adopt a child : *konía mera*, to mind a child ; 'oni *koni*, to dwell together. S. *koni*.

ko'o, grandparent, grandchild. *koko'o*. Lau *ko'o* ; Mota *tupui*.

kora, ashes. S. *ora*.

kore, *korekore* v.i., to sweep with a broom ; n., a broom. U. *kore*.

kori 1, v.i., to be lazy : *kori raramea*, very lazy.

kori 2, v.t., to scrape : *kori niu*, to scrape and eat a coconut. S. *kori*.

korokoro v.t., to be ignorant of. U. *kolokolo*.

koru 1, pron. pl. 1, incl., we, us, our. *kolu*.

koru 2, v.t., to heap up.

korua v.n., a crowd : *korua ni inoni*. S. *koru*.

kou v.i., to drink.

kouhi v.t. Lau *gwou*.

koukoura v.i., to be short in stature. S. *koukoule*.

kua, the domestic fowl : *kua keni*, hen ; *kua mane*, cock. U. *kua*.

kui, *kukui*, a dog. Lau *kui*.

kumu 1, v.i., to be blunt, of axe. S. *komu*.

kumu 2, v.i., to punch : *kumu tekera'ini*, to hit with the hand and knock down. S. *kumu*.

kura 1, v.t., to heal by magic. S. *kure*.

kura 2, pron. dual 1, incl., we two, us two, ours : *kura*, come on, let us go ! S. *kure*.

kuru, a canoe decorated with cone-shell.

kuru'a adj., heavy, enceinte. Lau *gulua*.

L

In certain words *l* and *r* are used interchangeably and the people know no difference in the two sounds in these particular words and use them indifferently.

lae 1, v.i., to go. *raa*. S. *lae*.

lae, *rae* 2, v.t., to make an oration : *laea wara*, to make a speech.

laeli v.t. : *laeli wara*. S. *laeli*.

lai, *rai* plural article, precedes noun ; used with the nouns *inoni*, man, *keni*, woman, *mang*, male, *mera*, child : *lai mera*, children.

Fl. *lei* ; S. *alei*.

lale, *rare* v.t., to singe with coconut leaf, to roast : *lale poo*, to roast, to sacrifice pigs. S. *rare*.

lalisi, morning, 7-9 a.m. : *puieni lalisi*, this morning.

lape (*ku*), *rape* (*ku*) n., body. S. *sape*.

lapi v.i., to change into, to become incarnate in : *e lapi 'ana pa'eica*, he turned into a shark. S. *lapi*.

laru, *raru*, a tree, the casuarina. S. *sālu*.

lasu, *rasu* n., smoke of fire ; v.i., to smoke. S. *sasu*.

lata, climbing fern. S. *sata*.

lato, *rato*, sun : *lato rete'a*, *lato tanora*, strong sunlight.

lato'a, *rato'a* adj., used as n., day : *hai rato'a*, a day.

latoa'i v.t., to dry in the sun. S. *sato*.

lau, *rau* 1, leaf : *'ini lau*, to pluck edible leaves. S. *rau*.

lahuta- (*na*) n. : *lahutana mausu*, the leaves of forest trees. *rahuta*.

lau 2, v.t., to wrest. S. *lāu* 1.

laurahi, *raurahi* n., evening : *i laurahi*, in the evening ; *puieni laurahi*, this evening. S. *sāulchi*.

leho v.i., to speak ; *leho* (*ku*) n., speech, word. *reho*.

li, genitive : *hai li poni*, a day. *ni*. S. *li*.

liihuni v.t., to hide ; to be hidden. *raihuni*.

lio v.i., to see, to look.

lio- (*na*) n., appearance.

liohi v.t., to look at. S. *lio*.

li'oa n. : *li'oa ni mae*, a war ghost. S. *li'oa*.

loko v.t., to gather up ; v.i., to be gathered together. S. *loko*.

loosi v.t., to await, to expect. U. *loosi*.

lopo, deep water inside a lagoon. S. *lopo*.

loto v.i., to bathe.

lotohi v.t., to bathe, to wash oneself. S. *loto*.

lui v.t., to forbid, to grudge. U. *lui*.

luka 1, v.i., to open the oven when the food is cooked.

luka, ruka 2, v.i., to leave.

lukasi v.t., to leave behind : *aorai lukasi*, to expose a dead body.

Lau *luka*.

M

ma 1, prefix of reciprocity, used with *rua*, two : *rua maasina*, two brothers. S. *mua*.

ma 2, adjectival prefix : *mahorohoro*. S. *ma*.

maa (*ku*) 1, n., eye, face. S. *maa*.

maa 2, n., one, a, piece ; used with genit. *i, ni* ; *maa ni kamuha*, one eating of the betel-mixture ; *maanitaua*, a landing-place ; *rua maani are*, two things ; *maai misi*, the rib of the coconut-leaf ; *maai rade*, a reed ; *maai tapaiso*, a piece of tobacco.
maa 1.

maa 3, snake. S. *muaa*.

maa 4, v.i., to be dried in the smoke, of canarium almonds : *nari maa*. S. *maa*.

ma'a 5, v.i., to be extinct, gone out, of fire or torch. S. *mua'a*.

maakure adv., merely, for no reason. S. *muaakule*.

maamaa 1, worm : *maamaa koc*, intestinal worm. S. *muaamuaa*.

ma'ama'a (*ku*) 2, n., father : *a ma'ama'a*, father, used of a specific person ; used as voc. of parent or child. S. *mama'a*.

maani 1, prep., from : *paina maania*, bigger than it. S. *muaani*.

maania prep., with, and.

maanitaua, a landing-place. *taua*. S. *maolitaua*.

maaru, maarua pron. dual 2, your ; suffixed to nouns and prepositions.

ma'asi v.t., to be unwilling to do : *nau ma'asi rau*, I don't want to go ;
nau ma'asia ani'i, I don't want to eat them.

ma'asite'ini v.t.

maasina : *rua maasina, rua mai maasina*, two brothers, two sisters, brother and sister. *asi* 2.

mauru pron. pl. 2, your ; suffixed to nouns and prepositions.

mae 1, v.i., to die.

maeraa v.n., sickness.

maeta- (*ku*) n., death feast : *'ania maetana a are*, to eat So-and-so's death feast. *mae* 1.

mae 2, war : *tau mae*, to make war. S. *mae*.

mae 3, man, male person : *mae noo*, that person, you, voc. S. *muae*.

maca v.i., to be sacred, holy. U. *maca*.

maero v.i., to be ripe, of fruits. S. *maelo*.

mahorohoro v.i., to appear from time to time, to visit, to appear.

horo 2. S. *mahoro*.

mahusi v.i., to be broken; *pai mahusi* v.t., to break.

mai 1, adv., hither, here: *raa mai*, come here. S. *māi*.

mai 2, negative, no, not, used with verbs.

mai 3, v.i., to ebb, of tide; n., the ebb. S. *māi*.

mai 4, prefix of reciprocity. *ma* 1.

mana 1, the unit above ten: *awara mana rua*, twelve.

mana 2, dehortative, don't.

manata (ku) n., thought, mind, intention.

manatai v.i., to know.

manataini v.t., to think, to have sense, to be taught. *malai* 1. S.

manataini.

mane 1, male; added to nouns to denote sex: *mane i sū*, elder son;

mane i puri, younger son; *mane i tou*, second son, of three;

ro mane, rua mane, exclam. of surprise or wonder. S. *micane*.

mane 2, adv., lest: *mai reesia mane ka wa'inia mane moru mane kira*

mae siko, no man was found who could deliver men from death.

S. *micane*.

mani 1, article, a: *mani are*, a thing; *rua mani are*, two things;

mani wara, a word, a saying; *mani rehona e uri'i*, his words

were to this effect; *ate mani iri ā'i ro'u*, another way of saying

it. U. *mani*.

mani 2: *waiti mani*, white man; English words.

mano, manomano v.i., to breathe: *mano poe*, to gasp.

mano (ku) n., breath. S. *mango*.

manora v.i., to be clear, free from impurity: *wai manora*, fresh water.

S. *manola*.

manore, a fish, the large garfish. S. *mwanole*.

manu 1, bird. S. *mānu*.

manu 2, v.i., to float. S. *mānu*.

mao 1, v.i., no, negative: *mao, e mao neena*, no, it's not so.

mao, maomao 2, v.i., to dance. S. *mao*.

mara 1, v.i., to be ashamed. S. *masa*.

mara 2, adv., as, like, as if, just as. S. *mala*.

Mara 3, Mala Island: *Mara masike*; *Mara paina*. S. *Micala*.

maraa- (ku) n., alone, self: *inau maraaku*, I by myself. S. *maraa-*.

maraha, sweat. S. *madara'a*.

marahu-, malahu- (ku) n., friend, namesake.

- marahunu* n. : *rua mai marahunu*, grandparent and grandchild, *mane* and *keni* being added to distinguish sex. S. *malahu*.
- mara ohonai* v.i., to attempt, to try, to tempt; *mara ohonaina* v.n. S. *ohongai*.
- Marapa*, the island of the dead, Hades, in Marau Sound. S. *Malapa*.
- marau* 1, island.
- marau* 2, v.i., to be easy, soft, pliable. S. *mcadau*.
- marauca* v.i., to be raw, uncooked; used of an unmarried lad. S. *arauca*.
- marcho* : *a marcho*, So-and-so; probably a San Cristoval word.
- mari'a* adj., cooked. S. *māli'e*.
- marimari* v.i., to be sweet. S. *mālimeli*.
- maru*, *marumaru* v.i., to shade, to cast a shade.
- maru-* (na) n., used with loc. *i* : *i maruna*, underneath it.
- marui* : *i marui*, underneath. S. *mālu*.
- masi* v.i., to laugh. S. *mwāsi*.
- masi'e* adj., little : *masike*.
- masike* adj., little : *Mara masike*, Little Mala. *masi'e*.
- matai*, *matei* 1, v.t., to know. S. *manata'i*. Lau. *haitama*.
- mata'i* 2, v.i., to have an attack of malaria, to be ill.
- mata'iha* v.n., malaria, sickness. S. *mata'i*.
- matawa*, the open sea : *i matawa*. S. *matawa*.
- mato*, the ground, earth, dirt : *i mato*, on the ground; *uhi e pito*, *hasi raona mato*, the yam has sprouted, plant it in the ground.
- mato'a* adj., covered with earth, dirty. U. *mwado*.
- matora-* (na) n., midst, among; used with loc. *i*; *i matoraka*, in the midst of us; *i matora-*. S. *matola*.
- mau*, *maumau* v.i., to fear.
- mauni* v.t., to be in fear of. *mou*. S. *mā'u*.
- mauri* v.i., to live.
- mauria* v.n., life, salvation.
- maurisi* v.t., to survive a thing. *mouri*. S. *māuri*.
- mauru* v.i., to sleep : *mauru suri*, to employ magic sleep in order to find out about a thing.
- maurua* v.n., sleep.
- maurusu* v.t., to dream of. U. *mauru*.
- mausu*, forest : *rahutana mauusu*, leaves of the forest. U. *mausu*.
- mauta'a* v.i., to be hard, firm, not soft. S. *māuta'a*.
- mea* (ku) n., tongue : *raramea*. S. *mea*.
- me'e* : *me'etani*, night; *i me'etani*, in the night; *pui eni me'etani*, to-night. *tani*.

meeru, *meerua* pron. dual 1, excl., our; suffixed to nouns and prepositions.

mera, *meramera* 1, v.i., to be red.

memera'a, *meramera'a* adj., red. Lau. *mela*.

mera 2, child: *mera keni*, girl, unmarried girl; *mera mane*, boy; *mera uiivii* (*viivii*), baby; *memera*, pl., children. S. *mucla*.

meru pron. pl. 1, excl., our; suffixed to nouns and prepositions.

mimi v.i., to urinate. S. *mimi*.

mimi'i v.i., to drizzle, of rain: *uta ka ke mimi'i*, it is drizzling. *mimi*.

misi, midrib of coconut leaf: *maai misi*. S. *muvidi*.

moa, *momoa* 1, v.i., to vomit, to be seasick. S. *moa*.

moa 2, adv., haply, perhaps; introduces doubt; placed at end of sentence: *ka raa tori moa*, haply it is going north.

moi v.t., to scratch the body.

momota v.i., to have a rash on the body. S. *mota*.

mora 1, adv., only, merely, for no reason; follows the word qualified. S. *mola*.

mora 2, ten thousand, numerous; denotes totality: *mora ni mane*, many men; *waru mora ni are*, countless numbers of things.

moramora n., numerous: *moramora ni are*, very many things. S. *mola*.

mora na, *mora neena*, now, immediately. S. *molana*.

moru, *morumoru* v.i., to be small, unimportant, of people. S. *moru*.

mou 1, v.i., to be broken: *mou no'o*, broken.

moute'i partic., one only. S. *mou*.

mou, *moumou* 2, v.i., to fear.

mouni v.t., *mau*.

mouri, *moumouri* v.i., to live, to be alive.

mouriha v.n., life, salvation. *mauri*.

mu pron. sing. 2, thy; suffixed to nouns and prepositions.

muu 1, v.i., to be broken. *mou*. Lau *muu*.

muu 2, boy: *muu na*, you boy there! S. *mura'u*.

muumu 1, v.i., to make inarticulate sounds.

Muumuu 2, a fabulous people living in holes and caves on the south end of Guadalcanal, at war with the ordinary people.

N

na 1, article, demonstrative, a, the: *na 'ai*, a tree; *na mora ni mane*, a thousand men; *na poni*, yesterday; *na taa'i*, what things?

'a 5. Lau *na*.

- na* 2, pers. pron. sing. 1, I; used as subject of verb: *na suu'i raa*, I won't go. U. *na*.
- na* 3, demonstrative, this, here, that, there: *inau na mai to'o are*, as for me I have nothing; *i apani asi na wou*, in that part of the sea over there; *mane wouna*, that man there; *a keina*, the woman; *a porona*, the man, So-and-so; *na noo*, there it is! *naia na*, that's it! *ai rao i'o 'o hura na*, it is you, then, that have come! *are na*, the person, So-and-so; *mora na*, now immediately; *muu na*, you boy there! *neena*. S. *na*.
- na* 4, suff. pron. sing. 3, his, hers, its; suff. to nouns: *pauna*, his head; *i apina*, beside him. S. *nā*.
- na* 5, copulative, and: *are noo na 'e'i noo*, this and that; used in numeration: *hua ni keni na*, *hua ni mane na*, women and, men and.
- na* 6, ending of verbal noun: *hahi*, to roast, *hahina*, roasting; *waiaasi*, to go fishing, *waiasina*, fishing. S. *nga*.
- na* 7, noun ending added to names of relationship: *hahunena*; *maasina*. S. *nā*.
- na* 8, prefix to verb: *pota*, *napotari*.
- naanau*, see *raanau*.
- nahu*, *naunahu* v.i., to speak; an Oroha, Mala, word.
- na'i* v.t., to put, to place, to bury. S. *ne'i*.
- naia* pers. pron. sing. 3, he, she, it. *neia*. S. *nge'ie*.
- na'ini* trans. suff. to verb: *hiina'ini*. S. *na'ini*.
- naku* v.i., to sit, to be seated.
- nakuha* v.n. U. *naku*.
- nanama* v.i., to be magically powerful.
- nanamaini* v.t., to empower, of ghostly action. *tanora*. U. *nanama*.
- nanita* interrogative, when? *i nanita*. S. *ngānite*.
- na'o*, *na'ona'o* v.i., to lead.
- na'o* (*ku*) n., front; *i na'oku*, in front of me. S. *na'o*.
- na'otara* (*ku*) n., forehead. *tara*.
- napotaa* passive, broken, smashed: *pauna e napotaa*, his head is broken.
- napotari* v.t., to break. *pota*.
- nara*, *naranara* v.i., to cry. S. *ngara*.
- nara'i* v.i., to lift, of rain: *e ke nara'i*, the rain is lifting a little.
- nari*, the canarium nut. S. *ngāli*.
- nasi* v.i., to be hard in texture, tough: *e nasi ni tohua*, it is hard to chop. S. *ngāsi*.

nato v.i., to fall out, of teeth, to be toothless.

nau pron. sing. 1, I, me, mine. *inau*.

ne pers. pron. sing. 3, he; used with personal article *a*: *nea are*, So-and-so.

nee demonstrative: *nee na*, this, that, those.

uri'i nee na, that's the way! *neia neena*, that's it; *nee nei*, this, that. S. *ngee-na*.

nei demonstrative, this, these; *ni nei*, this; *are nau ni nei*, this is mine; *'ei nei*, this thing, these things; *'ei nei e uriha'inia 'ei nei*, this is like this. *eni*.

neia pers. pron. sing. 3, he, she, it: *neia ka raa*, he is going; *neia e raasia*, he knows. *nei* 2.

ni 1, genitive, of: *hau ni awasi*, the rock of spiritual power; *poro ni haka*, man of the ship, a white man; *oha ni iora*, canoe-house. S. *ni*.

ni 2, expresses purpose: *nasi ni tohua*, hard to chop. S. *ni*.

ni 3, demonstrative, precedes *nei*, *noo*: *ni nei*, this, these; *ni noo*, that, those; *are i'o'i ni nei*, these are yours. U. *ni*.

ni 4, plural, used of things only: *'a'a are nau ni*, these, those, things of mine; *ku'u ni 'ameru*, we have colds; added to *ha*-2: *kuki niu hani tapaiso*, cook coconuts for tobacco; used of situation: *i raoni*, beside. *'i* 8.

ni 5, transitive suffix to verb: *suu, suuni*. S. *ni*.

ni 6, to set out, to incline: *ni rau*; *ni toli*. S. *ni*.

nike (*ku*) n., mother, aunt, etc. S. *nike*.

nikia voc., mother. *Lau ni*, feminine article.

nima 1, numeral, five.

nimana n., fifth. U. *lima*.

nima 2, house, married quarters: *nima nau*, my house; *hai nima, tei nima*, in the house. *oha*. U. *nima*.

nini, nodule, round object: *nini pua*, an areca nut. U. *nini*.

ni rau v.i., to ornament the body with shell ornaments. *rau*.

ni toli v.i., to be head downwards, to descend. S. *ni toli*.

niu, coconut: *pera i niu*, one thousand coconuts. S. *niu*.

niui (*na*) n., nest: *tora niui*, to build a nest. S. *niui*.

no pers. pron. sing. 1, I; used as subject followed by *ko*: *noko raa*, I am going; *noko mai raa*, I am not going; *i* 3 may be added to *noko*: *nokoi tohua na 'ai*, I am chopping a tree. S. *no*.

nonoro, swamp. S. *lolongo*.

noo 1, demonstrative, this, these, that, thus: *ni noo*, this; *uri'i*

- noo*, like this ! *mae noo*, that man, voc. you ! *are noo uarita*, formerly ; *kaka'i noo*, what a monster of a thing !
no'o 2, mark of preterite : *e sike no'o*, it is finished ; *taa wou 'ana*, *e siena no'o*, it makes no difference, that will do.
nora, *noranora*, cape, point of land. S. *ngorangora*.
nororo, *nonoro* v.t., to hear, to obey : *nororo haku*, listen to, obey, me ;
ari nororo, to hear, to obey. S. *rongo*.
numu (*ku*) n., shadow, soul, ghost of person : *numuku e tatare*, my soul journeys. *akaro*. S. *numu*.

O

- 'o* 1, pers. pron. sing. 2, thou ; used as subject by itself or following
i'o : *'o ike ihei*, where have you come from ? used with the
particle *ko* : *'oko raa ihei*, where are you going ? S. *'o*.
'o 2, as *'o* 1, but suffixed to verbs and prep. as obj.
'oa, *'o'oa* v.i., to be in agreement, to be level. S. *'oa*.
oha 1, canoe house on beach, men's club : *oha ni iora*. S. *taoha*.
oha 2, betel pepper. S. *oha*.
'ohi prep., after, about, to fetch : *raa 'ohia*, go and fetch it ; *haisoe*
'ohi, to ask about. S. *'ohi*.
oho 1, v.i., to fight.
ohota v.n., a fight. S. *ooho*.
oho 2 : *ha'aoho*, to make an offering to a ghost on returning from a
voyage. U. *ha'aoho*.
ohonai v.i., to attempt : *mara ohonai*, to try, to tempt ; *mara ohonaina*
v.n. S. *ohonga*.
oka, *okaoka* v.i., to eat raw. S. *oka*.
oke v.t., to drag, to pull. S. *oke*.
oku, the palolo worm : *tarusi oku*, to catch *oku* with a net. S. *ooku*.
olia n., return. *ori*. S. *oli*.
omo, arrow. S. *omo*.
'oni, *'oni'oni* v.i., to dwell, to stay, to be, to live : *'oni 'ana*, to live
in it ; *'oni koni*, to dwell in harmony.
'onite'ini v.t., to dwell in. S. *oni*.
ono, numeral, six : *poni ono*, the sixth day on.
onona n., sixth. S. *ono*.
ono 2, mangrove. S. *ongo*.
ooto, arrow with human bone. Mota *toto*.
ootomi v.t., to transfix, to pierce. S. *ootomi*.
opa (*ku*) n., belly. S. *opica*.

- ore* 1, v.t., to scrape, of food. S. *ole*.
ore 2, v.i., to be left, to be a remainder.
oreta- (*na*) n., remainder. S. *ore*.
ori v.i., to return.
orisi v.t., to replace. *olia*. S. *oli*.
oro 1, v.i., to come to land, of canoe. S. *olo*.
oro 2, right hand : *apa oro*, the right hand ; *kaina i oro*, his right hand.
Lau *aolo*.
oro, orooro v.i., to swim. S. *olo*.
oru, numeral, three : *poni oru*, the third day on.
oruna n., third. S. *olu*.
osi v.t., to cut, to score.
osiosi'a adj., striped. S. *osi*.
ota, wild areca nut palm. Lau *'ota*, areca nut palm.
oto, ototoo v.i., to be straight : *na'ia raa i siona tara oto*, he went along the straight track.
otoi v.t., to meet. S. *odo*.

P

- paa* v.i., to rise, of moon. S. *pucaa*.
paapaa (*ku*) n., grandparents, grandchildren, *mane* or *keni* is added to distinguish the sex. S. *puapapaa*, grandmother, etc.
paarahe v.t., to sing the praises of a place, to apostrophize. S. *paalahe*.
pa'ewa, shark. S. *pa'ewa*.
pai 1, to hit : *pai mahusi*, to break in pieces. Lau *kawai*.
pai 2, v.t., to prise. S. *puai*.
paina, paipaina, paina, poiipaina v.i., to be big. S. *paime*.
pana, bark cloth, English cloth. S. *puana*.
pano (*ku*) n., nose, mucus.
pano'a adj. S. *puango*.
papaa v.i., to hold one's tongue, to be quiet. S. *puanguu*, dumb.
papare'a adj., clean. Lau *kwakwafarere'a*.
para v.i., to fence ; n., a fence. S. *para*.
parapara (*na*) n., a sign, a portent. S. *palapala*.
pari n., side, back, of things or places. Lau *bali*.
paru, a large sea-going canoe. Lau *baru*.
pasa, the stern hook for bonito fishing. S. *pasa*.
pasi, bow : *tau pasi*, to divine with a bow. S. *pa'si*.
pasu v.t., to tie, to fasten. S. *pu'su*.
pata, shell money. S. *ha'a* ; Langalanga, *bata*.

pau (*ku*) n., head ; *pau ni wara*, to consent, to take counsel. S. *picāu*.
pau roiroi, larva of mosquito. *pau*.

pautou v.i., to bend, to bow, to incline. S. *picāutou*.

pe au, bamboo water-carrier. *au*.

peo v.i., to be silly, foolish. *heheo*. S. *picēu*.

pera specific numeral, one thousand, of coconuts or taro : *pera ni niu*. S. *picēla*.

pe'u 1, v.i., to be uninhabited, empty, of village site. ? Mota *wou*.

pe'u 2, spider. S. *pe'u*.

pia 1, v.i., to well out, of water from a rock ; n., a cascade. S. *pie*.

pi'a 2, v.i., to be fat. S. *piw'e*.

piata v.i., to be calm at sea ; n., a calm. Inakona, Guadalcanal, *beata*. ? Mota *icia*, S. *diana*, good.

pīi v.i., to boil with hot stones.

piina n., yam vegetable or soup. S. *pīi*.

pīri v.i., to be dirty.

pīri'a, *pīripīri'a* adj., dirty. Lau *bili*.

pīru v.t., to thread beads, etc., for ornaments : *pīru kui*, a necklet of dogs' teeth. S. *pīru*.

pīrupīru, a burial place at sea consecrated to shark ghosts. S. *pīrupīru*.

pisi v.i., to be in separation, of women. Lau *bisi*.

pito v.i., to sprout, of yams. S. *picito*.

poe 1, an altar on the beach.

poe 2 : *mano poe*, to gasp. S. *poe*.

poi : *poi rua*, the second day on. U. *poi dani ta'e*, next morning.

poni, day : *na poni*, yesterday ; *horo'a hahōia na poni*, the day before yesterday ; *poni oru*, third day on ; *poni hai*, *poni nima*, *poni ono*, *poni hūu*, *poni waru*, *poni siwa*, *poni tanakuru*, fourth day on, etc.

ponie'i partic. ; now and again ; *nau mata'i ponie'i*, I was agueish on intermittent days. Mota *qong*.

pono v.t., to be closed over, overgrown.

ponosi v.t. : *ari ponosi*, to forget. S. *pono*.

poo 1, a pig. S. *poo*.

po'o 2, side, of position : *po'o mai*, on this side ; *po'o wau*, on that side. S. *po'o*.

pōra, *pōrapōra* 1, v.i., to jump. S. *pōla*.

pōra 2, v.i., to be black.

pōrapōra'a adj. *ipōra*. Lau *bōra*.

pōre : *mauru pōre*, to dream. S. *picole*.

poro, a male, husband : *poro ni haka*, man of the ship, a white man ;
a *porona*, So-and-so. S. *poro*.

pota v.i., to break with a blow : *pota niu*, to crack a coconut ; *pota kokoro*, the curlew.

potali, *potari* v.t. *napotari*, to break. S. *pota*.

pua 1, areca palm, areca nut : *wari i pua*, an areca nut. 'ota. U. *pua*.

pua 2, v.i., to rise, of the sun : *rato e pua*. Lau *buara*, to rise.

pui, day : *pui eni*, *pui noo*, this day, to-day ; *pui eni lalisi*, this morning ; *pui eni rato'a*, midday to-day ; *pui eni laurahi*, this evening ; *pui eni me'etani*, to-night.

punu v.i., to be deaf. S. *pungu*.

puo v.i., to turn back.

ha'apuo v.i., to return. S. *puo*.

puri v.i., to be behind, after : *mane i puri*, younger son.

puri (*ku*) n., back, behind : *i purina hanua*, in the rear of the island. S. *puri*.

purui v.t., to caulk a canoe with *raia*, putty nut. U. *pului*.

purupuru, star. Lau *bubulu*.

puu, *puupuu* v.i., to tread.

puuri v.t. S. *puu*.

R

In several words *r* is heard as *n*, and at first it is hard to distinguish between the two : e.g. *raanau*, *naanau*, youth ; *tonu*, *toru*. In *iro*, mangrove oyster, the *r* was heard as *d*.

ra adj. suff. : *apu*, *apura*. S. *la*.

raa, *raaraa* 1, v.i., to go, to come : *noko raa wou*, I am going ; *raa mai*, come here. S. *la*.

raa 2, noun ending : *konu*, *homuraa* ; *hou*, *hourua*. Lau *laa*.

raahure, to-morrow : *i raahure*. U. *ha'ahulce*.

raai v.t., to know. S. *saai*.

raanau, young man, unmarried man : *raanau haoru*. *naanau*. S. *saanau*.

rae (*ku*) 1, n., corpse. S. *rae*.

rae (*ku*) 2, n., heart, mind : *arurae* v.i., to meditate, think. S. *sae*.

rae, *raerae* 3, v.i., to come, to go : *rae mai*, *rae wou*.

racha v.n., journey : *racha naia kai hura a'i*, the trip on which he will arrive. S. *lae*.

rae 4, v.t. : *raea weara*, to make an oration. *lae* 2.

raha adj., big. S. *laha*.

rahi, *rairahi* v.i., to lay eggs. S. *lāhi*.

rahuta, leaves of trees : 'ini *rahuta*, to pluck edible leaves.

rahuta- (na) n. : *rahutana māusu*, leaves of the forest. *lau* 1, *rau* 3.
S. *rāhute*.

rai, *lai* 1, pl. article, precedes noun ; used with the nouns *inoni* man, *keni*, women, *mane*, male, *mera*, child : *rai mane*, the men.
Fl. *lei* ; S. *alei*.

ra'i, *ra'ini* 2, verbal suffix. *sikira'ini*, *ukura'i*.

raia, the putty nut, *Parinarium laurinum*. *purui*. U. *saia*.

raihuni v.i., to be hidden. *liihuni*.

raka, *rakaraka* v.i., to be hot, of fire, pungent, of leaves, etc. : *tora raka*, to be magically powerful ; *Apai siri tora raka*, a *hi'ona* living on Marapa. S. *raka*.

rami v.i., to spawn, of crabs. S. *lāmi*.

rani n., sky : *i rani*. S. *langi*.

rao 1, the sago palm : *tapa rao*, to cut sago leaves for thatch ; *ura rao*, to sew sago leaves for thatch ; *hoko i rao*, a bundle of sago leaves. S. *sao*.

rao (na, ni) 2, n., inside : *i raona*, the inside ; *i raoi*, *i raoni*, inside, within them, of things. S. *rao*.

rape (ku) n., body : *rape wa'inea'i*, to suffer. *lape*. S. *sape*.

rapu v.i., to hit, to strike.

rapusi v.t.

rapute'i, *rapute'ini* v.t., to hit and knock down. S. *rāpu*.

rara v.i., to be hot, of condiments : *raramea*, to burn the tongue, of condiments. S. *rara*.

raramea, too much, excess : *kori raramea*, very lazy. *rara* 1.

rarahu'a adj., old, worn out. S. *lāhu*.

raramoa, a person killed by violence. S. *lalamoa*.

raraawa v.i., to be lazy, unwilling. S. *lalawa*.

rare 1, dry coconut leaf ; v.i., to singe with a coconut leaf : *rare poo*, to sacrifice pigs. *lale*. S. *rare*.

rare 2, v.t., to outline, to draw.

rarihe, a centipede. S. *ālihe*.

raro 1, the sky : *i raro*. S. *salo*.

raro 2, adv., precedes verb, to do gently. *hara*. S. *raro*.

raroa, used of indefinite future time, for the future : *raroa*, for ever ; may be reduplicated.

raru, a tree, casuarina. *laru*. S. *sālu*.

rasu v.i., to smoke, of fire ; n. smoke. *lasu*.

rata (ku) n., name. S. *sata*.

rato, sun. *lato*. S. *sato*.

rato'a, a day: *hai rato'a*. *lato'a*.

rau 1, the bonito. S. *sau*.

rau 2, v.i., to kill: *rau mane*, to commit homicide.

rauni v.t. S. *sāu*.

rau 3, leaf: *'ini rau*, to pluck edible leaves. S. *rāu*.

rau 4: *rau i haru*, ten thousand, of coconuts. S. *rau i helu*.

rau 5, body ornaments: *ni rau*, to put one's ornaments on. S. *lāuni*.

rau 6, v.i., to get shell fish and crabs.

rauhi v.t. U. *rau*.

rauma'ini v.t., to make, to manufacture. L. *haungeini*.

raua, fibre for lines and nets. S. *lawā* 2.

reesi v.t., to see. S. *leesi*.

reho, *recho* v.i., to speak; *reho tare*, to speak to.

reho (ku) n., speech: *mani rehona e uri'i*, this is what he said;

reho'ata, their speech. *leho*.

reko, the edible hibiscus, native cabbage. S. *reko*.

rerehono v.i., to chatter, disturb with chattering: *mana 'o rerehono*, don't make a disturbance by chattering.

rerehonosi v.t. *hono*.

reteā adj., strong, powerful: *lato reteā*, strong sunlight.

ri trans. suff. to verb: *tapa, tapari*. S. *ri*.

rihu n., place. Lau *lifu*.

rihue'ini v.t., to carry about, to disperse. S. *lihue'ini*.

rii demonstrative, used in questions or in exclamations: *'a taa 'oko*

reesia rii, what is it then you can see?

rikimaana, certainly, assuredly. S. *likimaana*.

riri kari v.t., all round, encircling. S. *lili keli*.

riri'i v.i., to be far off.

riu, *riuriu* v.i., to travel about.

riuriua v.n.: *riuriua maeraa*, an epidemic. *hairiu*. S. *liu*.

ro numeral, two: only used in the exclamation *ro mane*. *rua*.

roho, *roroho* v.i., to fly. S. *loho*.

roiroi: *pau roiroi*, mosquito larvæ.

roohi v.t., to search for. S. *loohi*.

roroto v.i., to be dark, to be night, to be overcast.

rorotoa n., darkness. S. *rorodo'a*.

ro'u, also, again. S. *lo'u*.

rourou, thunder: *rourou e hita*, thunder-clap. S. *loulou*.

- ru* 1, numeral, two, added to the pron. to form dual and pl. *rua*.
ru 2, numeral, two: *ru mai hoe*, two namesakes, grandparent and grandchild; *ru mani ae*, two things.
rua 1, numeral, two; *rua auara*, twenty; used of pairs of relatives: *rua maasina*; *rua mai maasina*; *rua mai ulana*, etc.; used in the exclamation, *rua mane*; added to pron. to form dual.
ruana n., second. U. *rua*.
rua 2, v.i., to flow, of tide; n., flood tide. U. *lua*.
ruha v.i., to loose. *takaruha*. S. *luhe*.
ruka v.i., to leave, let go. *hairuka*. Lau *luka*.
rumu, moss. S. *lumu*.
ruru v.t., to gather together: *rurua suna*, to make a fire. S. *ruru*.
ruta v.i., to carry as cargo: *haka ruta niu*, a copra ship.
rutani v.t. U. *luda*.

S

- sahu* n., lime used in enchantments and in magic. *hena*. S. *sāhu*.
sapiri v.t., to trade.
sapiria v.n., trade, market. Fl. *sambiri*.
sara v.i., to run aground, of a canoe.
sasa (ku) n., name. *rata*.
si 1, illative: *kolu si raa*, thereupon we went; *noko haro simouka ka'u kolu si raa*, when I have had a smoke we shall go. S. *si*.
si 2, trans. suff. to verb: *rapu, rapusi*. S. *si*.
sieni, siena v.i., to be good: *sieni no'o*, that will do! adj. good: *mane sieni*.
sienina v.n. U. *diena*.
sihani: *i sihani*, outside, out of doors. S. *sihemi*.
siho, sisiho v.i., to go down, descend.
sihoa'ini v.t., to descend upon: *iru ka sihoa'ini kia*, the wind blows on us.
sisihoa'i v.t., to descend upon. S. *siho*.
sii, elder, first; used with *i* 2: *huta i sii*, to be the elder by birth; *mane i sii haku*, my elder brother; adv. first: *tare'ae e'i sii*, to be the first to do.
siini v.i., to smell.
siki v.i., to be clear of, to be detached from.
sikiki v.t.
sikihia passive, clear: *e sikihia*, the sky is clear, the rain is over.
sikira'ini v.t., of distance, as far away as. S. *siki*.

siko, *sisiko* v.i., to be finished : *e siko n'o*, it is finished, that is all.

sime, mosquito, sandfly. *wo'u*. Lau *sime*.

simouka, to smoke tobacco. English "smoke".

sinora, thousand ; used of people, of yams and taros. S. *sinola*.

sio- (na) 1, n. ; with loc. i : *i siona*, along, following ; *naia raa i siona tara oto*, he went along the ghost track. U. *sia-*, S. *sie-*.

si'o 2, v.i., to collect, to pick up ; to practise black magic. S. *si'o*.

si'okoni v.t., to gather up, to collect. *koni*.

siri 1, v.i., to enter. S. *sili*.

siri 2, dracena : *Apai siri tora raka*, Dracena leaf working powerfully, a *hi'ona* on Marapa. S. *dili*.

sisiho, breeze, rain, wet.

sisiki (ku) n., finger nail, toe nail.

siu v.t., to break : *siua niu neena 'aku'a*, break that coconut for me to eat.

siusiu'a adj., cold.

siwa 1, blood-money. U. *siwa*.

siwa 2, numeral, nine : *e siwa* ; *poni siwa*, the ninth day on.

siwana n., ninth. U. *siwa*.

soohi v.t., to pick up, to find by chance. S. *soohi*.

suka, *susuka* v.t., to ask for. U. *suka*.

suna, fire : *ire suna*, to make fire with a fire-plough ; *ire sunaa* v.n. U. *dunga*.

sura v.t., to roast on the coals. U. *sula*.

suri, *susuri* (ku) 1, n., a bone. S. *suli*.

suri 2, v.t., to follow : *raa suria*, follow him ; *suria wai*, *suria su'u*, along the stream, along the harbour ; *mauru suri*, to divine by sleep. S. *suli*.

suri hata, a specific numeral, forty, of dogs' teeth : *suri hata ni kui*. S. *suli hata*.

suru (na) 1, n., coconut oil. S. *sulu*, liquid.

suru 2, v.i., to lift. S. *sulu*.

suruta'e v.i., to rise up, to depart, to remove. U. *suluta'e*.

susu 1, v.i., to set, of moon. S. *susu*.

susu 2, v.i., to be fixed, to be firm. S. *susu*.

susurua, a generation of men.

susuto'o v.i., to be firmly fixed : *'oni susuto'o*, to dwell permanently. *susu* 2.

suu 1, v.i., to set, of sun, of moon in dark sphere, to sink : *rato e suu*, the sun has set.

suuha v.n., setting of sun. S. *suu*.

suu, *suusu* 2, v.i., to burn.

suuni v.t., to roast on the coals. U. *suu*.

su'u 3, harbour, bay, passage, passage in mangroves. S. *su'u*.

suu'i dehortative, don't! used of strong negative, certainly not:

na suu'i rae, I won't go. S. *su'uri*.

su'usu'u (*ku*) n., elbow.

su'usu'ua n., corner. S. *su'usu'u*.

T

ta 1, ending of verbal noun: *arahuu*, *arahuuta*; *ahu*, *ahuta*.

ta 2, pron. pl. 3, them, suff. to verbs and prep. as obj. Lau *da*.

ta 3, v.i., to give, to do: *ta mai*, give it to me; *hana 'okoi ta*, for you to do. U. *ta*.

taa 1, numeral, one: *taa wou 'ana*, it is one and the same, it is no matter. *eta*; *taa'i* 2.

taa 2, interrog. pron., what? 'a *taa*, what thing? what? *hana taa*, what for? S. *taa*.

ta'a 3, v.i., to be bad: *e hana ta'a 'aku*, I don't like it to eat.

ta'araa v.n., evil. S. *ta'a*.

ta'a 4, adversative, but. U. *ta'a*.

taa'i 1, what, pl. neut. interrog.: *na taa'i*, what things? *taa* 1. 'i 8.

taa'i 2, numeral, one, only: *taa'i hanua*, one village; *taa'i are mouta'i*, one thing only; *taa'i rua 'ei*, *taa'i olu are*, two or three things; *taa'i ono are*, only six things; *taa'i horo'a*, "one time," once; *aware mana taa'i*, eleven; *ta'a taa'i*, a one-man canoe. *eta*, *taa* 1. S. *taa'i*.

ta'ana 1, adv., certainly, assuredly, follows verb. S. *ta'ans*.

taa- (*na*) n. 2, every: *ahutuna taana are*, all and sundry things. *taataana*.

ta'aru, shoal water. S. *ta'alu*.

taasi v.t., to throw away: *taasi'i*, throw them away. S. *taasi*.

taataa- (*na*) n., every: *taataana hanua*, every village. *taana*.

ta'au adv. of direction, east, south. S. *ta'au*.

tahera'i v.i., to thatch a house.

tahera'ini v.t. S. *tahera'i*.

ta'e 1, v.i., to get up: *ta'e ro'u*, to rise again; v.t., to lift up. S. *ta'e*.

ta'e 2, v.i., to go on board: *ta'e taa'i*, one-man canoe; *ta'e oru*, three-man canoe.

ta'eri v.t.: *ta'eria iora*, to go on board a canoe. S. *ta'e*.

taetae- (na) n., one, some: '*ana taetaena horo'a*, at some time. S. *taetae*.

taha v.i., out, open: '*warutaha*. S. *taka*.

tahana, fathom. S. *tahanga*.

tahi v.i., to flee.

tahina v.n., flight. S. *tāhi*.

tai 1, v.t., to sew. Lau *tai*.

tai 2, adjectival prefix: '*taihiruhiru*.

ta'i 3, the bow hook for bonito. S. *te'i*.

tā'i 4, participial ending: '*moute'i*.

taihiruhiru adj., tangled, revolving. S. *tāihiruhiru*.

tā'ini transitive suffix to verb: '*maasit'eini*. S. *tā'ini*.

takomai v.i., to collect: '*takomai hanaraa*, to get food-stuffs.

takomaini v.t. Lau *tago*.

taka adjectival prefix. S. *taka*.

takaruru adj., unloosed, undone. S. *takaluhe*.

tamatama rere, a boat; old-fashioned name for boat.

tanahuru numeral, ten, used of a series: '*poni tanahuru*, the tenth day on; '*tanahuru 'ana*, the tenth. *awara*. S. *tangahulu*.

tanarau numeral, one hundred. S. *tangalau*.

tani 1, v.i., to be daylight: '*e tani paina no'o*, it is broad day.

S. *dangi*.

tani 2: '*me'e tani*, night. U. *dani*, day.

tanora v.i., to be powerful, to be strong, of magical power.

tapa v.i., to cut with a blow.

tapali, *tapari* v.t. S. *tapa*.

tapaiso, tobacco: '*maai tapaiso*, a piece of tobacco. English "tobacco".

tapi, *tapitapi* v.t., to chop.

tapo v.i., to catch hold.

tapori v.t. S. *tapo*.

tara 1, path: '*tara oto*, '*tara ni hi'ona*, the ghost track on the island of Marapa.

tara v.t., to lead, to take a person. S. *tala*.

tara 2, forehead: '*naotara*. S. *dara*.

taraha, regularly: '*hura taraha*, to keep coming regularly.

tarama'ini v.t., to light a torch.

taraure'i partic., constantly. S. *id*.

tare- (a), *tale* (a), to, towards: '*reho tarea*, speak to him. U. *tale*.

tare'ae v.i., to begin: '*tare 'ae e'i sii*, to be the first to do. S. *tala'ae*.

tari 1, for no reason, anyhow, just; precedes verb: *ka tari raaraa raona asi*, just goes about in the sea. S. *tale'i*.

tari 2, hand net, a net on two cross-sticks for catching *bunza* fish.

taro v.i., to spread, of news.

tataroha v.n., news. S. *talo*.

taru, tautaru v.i., to bail, to dip out: *taru oku*, to catch the palolo worm.

tarusi v.t.: *tarusi oku*. S. *dānu*.

tarua pron. dual 3, their; suffixed to nouns and prepositions.

tasi, taitesi v.t., to remove the skin in strips, to husk: *karuru ka taitesia niu*, the coconut crab strips off the skin of a coconut. S. *tāsi*.

tatare v.i., to travel, to walk about: *nunuku e tatare*, my soul journeys.

U. *tatale*; Mota *tatale*.

tate: *isu tate*, to be beyond count.

tau, tatau v.i., to do: *ka tau 'ohi rihu*, he is looking for a place; *tau ma*, to make war; *tau pasi*, to divine with a bow; *tau uri'i*, to speak thus, of reported speech. U. *tau*.

taukai, a coconut scraper. S. *saukai*.

tauna v.i., to want.

taunaha'i v.t., to want, to like.

tauru pron. pl. 3, their; suffixed to nouns and prepositions.

te, numeral, one, a: *te aro*, one taro; *te hanaraa*, one meal. Lau *te*.

te'e, te'ete'e (ku) n., skin: *haite'e*, unskinned, with whole skin. S. *te'e*.

tei 1, place: *tei eni*, this place, here; *tei na*, that place, there; *tei nima*, in the house. *kai* 2.

te'i 2, numeral, one, a.

teite voc., mother: *a teite*, mother, of a specific person. S. *teitei*.

teitora adj., mixed. *tora*.

teke v.i., to fall down; to drop.

tekela'ini, tekera'ini v.t.; *kumu tekela'ini*, to punch and knock down. *ha'aleke*. U. *teke*.

tete, a stone fence. S. *tete*.

tewa v.i., to be long, tall. *'ewa* 2. S. *tewa*.

to- (ku) n., mate, companion, address used to a child: *'o raa mai, toku*, come here, mate. Mota *ta-k*, etc.

tohu specific numeral, ten, of shell-moneys: *tohu ni pata*.

to'i v.t., to work at, of work in gardens: *to'i 'ana hana*, to work at a *hana* garden.

to'iha, toina v.n.

toli, tori, adv. of direction, down, west: *ni toli*, to descend, to be head downwards. S. *toli*.

to'o (*ku*) 1, v.t., to come into contact with, to hit; used with loc. *i*:
to'o i pau, to hit one's head; *ka to'o i 'ani*, hits it; *uta ka to'o*
mora, the rain keeps on. S. *to'o*.

to'o 2, distributive, at a time: *to'o oru are*, three things at a time.
 S. *to'o*.

to'o 3: *to'o 'erena 'ai*, the tops of the tree. S. *to'o 'elena*.

to'ohuu v.i., to be real. S. *to'ohuu*.

to'oni 1, v.i., to store, to pack. S. *to'oni*.

to'oni 2, clothes. S. *to'oni*.

to'oru v.i., to sit.

to'orua v.n.

tora 1, v.i., to affect, to come upon, of sickness; *tora niui*, to build a nest.

torahi v.t. S. *tola*.

tora 2, v.i., to be mixed, various: *teitora*.

torari v.t., among, mixed. S. *dola*.

tore, tole v.t., to take, to chase, to drive. S. *tole*.

tori, toli v.i., to divide food, to distribute food. S. *tolingi*.

toro (*na*) 1, n., hill: *torona hanua*, the hill country. S. *tolo*.

toro 2, lady, of person of distinction, used of female ghosts. S. *toro*.

toru v.t., to carry: *Hu'a toru i Kera*, a Marapa ghost. Lau *tolu*.

toto v.i., to sink. *ha'atoto*. S. *dodo*.

totohu n., of own accord: *totohu 'aku*, of my own accord. S. *tohu*.

totono v.i., to smart. S. *totongo*.

totori v.t., to wait for.

totorisi v.t. U. *totori*.

tou (*na*) n., middle, used with loc. *i*: *mane i tou*, the younger brother;

i touna hanua, in the middle of the island. U. *tou*.

U

ua 1, adv., yet, still: *e mao ua*, not yet. S. *ue*.

ua 2, of old: *are ua warita*, a thing of old time. Mota *tuai*.

'u'a 3, a sand crab. S. *'u'e*.

uhi 1, yam: *uhi e pito*, the yam has sprouted. S. *uhi*.

uhi 2, v.t., to blow with the mouth: *uhi uu*, to blow a conch. S. *uhi*.

uku 1, v.t., to draw, drag.

ukura'i v.t., to draw, to deliver.

uku 2, line, row: *uku i reia*, a line of putty. S. *uku*.

ui v.t., to throw: *ui asi*, to throw away; *kai 'eni ui*, the throwing
 hand, right hand.

uile'ini v.t. S. *ui*.

uma v.i., to work at a yam garden. Mota *umua*.

umu, oven. S. *umu*.

una adv., thus: *hai una*, that's the way! *haru 'ei e una*, some are like that. Malu'u *una*.

unusi v.t., to come loose.

upu v.i., to swell.

upu (*ku*) n., waist: *i upuna*. S. *upu*.

ura-, *ula-* (*ku*) 1, n., cross-cousin.

urana n.: *rua mai urana*, two cross-cousins. U. *ula-*, brother, sister.

ura, *uraura* 2, v.i., to stand. U. *ura*.

ura 3, v.i. to sew: *ura rao*, to sew thatch. S. *use*.

uraura (*ku*) n., skin. S. *uleule*, muscle, vein.

uri adv., thus, in the compounds: *uriha'i*, etc. *uri'i*. S. *uri*.

uri'i adv., thus; used of reported speech; the demonstratives *na*, *ni*, *neena*, *noo*, are added: *uri'i na*, *uri'i ni*, *uri'i neena*, *uri'i noo*. Lau *urii*, Malu'u *uri'i*.

uriha'i v.i., to be as if.

uriha'ini v.t.: *'ei nei e uriha'inia 'ei nei*, this one is like this one.

urihana, like: *e urihana taa*, what is it like? S. *urihana*.

uritaa interrog. adv., how, like what? *e uritaa*? S. *uritaa*.

uru 1, v.i., to be old, to be getting soft, of taro. S. *ulu*.

uru 2, v.i., to wade. S. *ulu*.

uru 3, cloud. S. *uru*.

uruha n., relatives by birth, the bilateral family: *uruha ni inoni ieru*, our family.

usu v.i., to wipe.

usuri v.t. S. *usu*.

usuri v.t., to follow. S. *usuli*.

uta 1, rain; v.i., to rain. Lau *uta*.

uta 2, v.t., to rub-on stones. S. *ute*.

utaa interrogative adv., how? *e utaa*, how is it? what's the matter? *'ei utaa*, which person? what thing? Lau *utaa*.

utu, *utuutu* v.i., to drip.

utuhi v.t., to drip on. S. *udu*.

uu 1, a shell conch.

'u'u (*ku*) 2, n., finger.

uaa, exclam. of assent, that is so! yes! Lau *uaa*.

uunu, *uunuunu* 1, v.t., to tell, to recount.

uunuunuha v.n., folk-lore story, an account. S. *uunu*.

uunu 2, a torch of coconut leaves. Lau *uunu*.

uuru, *uuruuru* v.i., to thread.

uuruhi v.t. Lau *usu*.

W

In one or two words *w* changes to *v*: *weewee*, *veevee*.

waa'i v.t., to pay. S. *waa'i*.

waara'o, a strong creeper used for tying canoe planks, a nail. S. *waara'o*.

wa'ari'iri'i n., lightning. S. *wa'ari'iri'i*.

waato, a digging stick. S. *waato*.

waawaa v.i., to have holes in, of solids. S. *waawaa*.

wai 1, water. S. *wai*.

wai 2, a compound of *wau* i: *wai esi*, at sea.

wa'i, *wa'wa'i* 3, v.i., to pull, to drag, to pain; *rape wa'wa'i*, to suffer.

wa'ini v.t., to pull, to deliver. S. *wai'i*.

waiesi, *waiwaiesi* v.i., to go fishing.

waiasina v.n., fishing. S. *weesi*.

waiwa, contraction for *wau i eua*: *noko raa waiea*, I am going for a walk.

wapu, virgin forest. S. *wapu*.

wara (*ku*) n., word: *mani wara*, a word; *laea wara*, to make an oration; *pau ni wara*, to consult. S. *wala*.

waraimori v.i., to be true; exclam., true, it is so. U. *walaimoli*.

warauhu (*ku*) n., hair. U. *warauhu*.

wari (*ku*) 1, n., mother's brother or sister's son.

warina n.: *rua mai warina*, mother's brother and sister's son. S. *weli*.

wari 2, used of things spherical in shape, fruit, stones: *wari i hau*, a ceremonial club with a nodule of iron pyrites on top, worn hanging from neck between the shoulders; *wari i niu*, a coconut.

wari 3, v.t., to cut.

warita, adv., formerly of old time: *i warita*, formerly; *warita no'o*, in past days; *are noo warita*, it was from of old. S. *wāite*, *wālite*.

waro, a creeper, rope. S. *walo*.

waru 1, numeral, eight: *poni waru*, the eighth day on; used of an indefinite number: *waru hanua*, all the lands; with *mora*: *waru mora ni hanua*, every land.

waru 2, v.i., to burn. S. *wāru*.

waruna n.; eighth. S. *walu*.

warutaha v.i., to emerge. U. *warutaha*.

wasi v.i., to be wild, of pigs, to be unowned, of ghosts. S. *wāsi*.

wasu, a bird whose nest is stolen by the land kingfisher, 'i'i. S. *wadu*.

wate v.t., to distribute, to apportion food, to give. S. *wate*.

wau adv. of direction, there: *po'o wau*, *po'o mai*, over there, over here;

wai (*wau i*) *esi*, out at sea. *wou*. S. *wāu*.

wawasu (na) n., tip: *wawasu 'āi*, tip of leaf. S. *wadu*.

weewee, *veevee*, a baby. S. *weewee*.

wete, *weteiwete* v.t., to come into contact with, to strike: *e weteiwete 'ana*, it struck him. S. *wete*.

wiūwii, *viūvii*, a baby: *mera wiūwii*. *weewee*.

wou 1, adv. of direction, there, away, onwards: *raa wou*, go on;

e apa ni asi na wou, it was in the sea over there; *taa wou ana*,

it is all one and the same; the demonstrative *na* may be added:

mane wouna, that man there. *wau*.

wo'u, *wa'u* onomatop., 2, a mosquito.

wowo (*ku*) n., mouth. S. *wawa*.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

AN ARAB-SYRIAN GENTLEMAN AND WARRIOR IN THE PERIOD OF THE CRUSADES : THE MEMOIRS OF USĀMAH IBN-MUNQIDH. Translated by PHILIP K. HITTI. pp. xii + 265. New York : Columbia University Press, 1929. \$4.50.

The Memoirs of Usāma form, to the Western reader, probably the most fascinating book in Arabic literature, and it is instructive to recall that, but for a battered manuscript in Spain, its existence might scarcely have been known. To Derenbourg belongs the honour of having re-discovered and identified this work, of having undertaken with a very substantial measure of success the labour of rendering the ill-written and often unpointed text into a readable form, and of having not only translated but also analysed and annotated it with a precision derived from a thorough grasp of the historical background. That misreadings and errors of detail should have remained was inevitable, and it was to be hoped that subsequent revisers would gradually reduce their number and clear up the rather numerous points of obscurity. Unfortunately, neither the German translation issued by Schumann in 1905 nor Dr. Potter's English translation issued in 1929 have in any way fulfilled this hope, since the former is in reality, and the latter confessedly, translated from Derenbourg. It is to this task that Dr. Hitti has applied himself, after a substantial previous experience of translation and publication. His new version, under the rather clumsy title at the head of this review, rests upon a thorough and independent examination of a photostat of the manuscript, and the revised text on which it is based was issued by the Princeton University Press in 1930.

It can be said at once that both text and translation show a very great improvement upon Derenbourg's editions. In dealing with a Syrian author, the Syrian scholar has a natural advantage, of which Dr. Hitti has made the most. Though we are still very far from a perfect text, he has smoothed out many knots, and has given us a foretaste of the progress which should be realized in oriental studies when such a combination of direct knowledge with modern method becomes more general among scholars from the Eastern lands themselves. His appreciation of Derenbourg's work in the introduction to the translation sounds, perhaps, a little curt after the lengthy analysis

of his mistakes; fortunately, however, in the introduction to the Arabic text he speaks more warmly of his predecessor and acknowledges his debt to him in both text and translation, and, it may be added, annotation.

The introduction contains a brief, but on the whole sufficient, account of the author and his literary activities. Possibly the character-sketch may be criticized as a little superficial; Dr. Hitti stresses his hero's chivalry, and rightly, yet this is clearly not the whole truth. There is a danger, which he has not escaped, of blurring some of the differences between medieval and modern standards to which we apply the same label. So in the case of Usāma, it is the complexity of his character, not its uniformity, that makes him so interesting a problem. "The wholesome atmosphere of gallant and aristocratic behaviour" in which he was brought up had its limitations, and nothing is served by turning a blind eye to them. The man who can relate unemotionally and without a word of comment how, as a boy of ten, he stabbed and killed one of his father's retainers for a mere nothing (p. 174), had evidently more than a common share of hardness in his make-up. But while this may be explained by the manners of the time, it is impossible to overlook the fact that to his contemporaries Usāma was known chiefly as an inveterate intriguer. There are hints of this even in his own narratives, as, for example, his mission to the wazir Rudwān (p. 56). It can scarcely have been merely his "intrepidity", as Dr. Hitti suggests, that led his uncle to desire his absence from Shaizar. However that may have been, Usāma himself makes it clear (pp. 27-8) that his service with his next master, Zankī, ended in 1138 in circumstances which made it necessary for him to seek a refuge at Damascus. Here he was received with high honours, but was forced to leave six years later. In this case we have the direct evidence of an eye-witness. Ibn al-Qalānisi (ed. Amedroz, pp. 277-8) relates that in 1144 the *ra'īs* of Damascus retired to Ṣarkhad on account of the intrigues of Usāma and the wazir, and refused to return until the ruler of the city, Mu'in al-Dīn Unur, had them removed to Egypt. Usāma's own account of his departure (p. 28) has the look of an attempt to exculpate himself, but even so he confesses that the bulk of the population was hostile to him.

The apologetic note is still more perceptible in his account of the intrigues in which he played a part in Egypt. Here, too, we possess a full narrative in the work of Jamāl al-Dīn 'Alī b. Zāfir al-Ḥalabī

(B.M. Or. 3685, foll. 85^b ff.; Gotha Ar. 1555, foll. 169^a ff.), who, though not himself a contemporary, was born in Egypt in 1170 and educated there, and so had access to contemporary local tradition. Ibn Zāfir not only charges him with the blame in bringing about the murder of his patron Ibn al-Sallār, but also with instigating the subsequent murder of the Caliph al-Zāfir, owing to the latter's hostility towards him. Even if the details of this story are to be discounted, it is certain at all events that Usāma was so deeply compromised that he found it necessary (in spite of the assurances which he claims to have received from the Caliph's avenger Ibn Ruzzīk) to fly from Egypt with the partisans of the chief conspirator 'Abbās. Finally, that Saladin as well, after befriending him, fell out with him, seems to show that even in his extreme old age Usāma was still something of a mischief-maker. Even if the reason, as suggested by Dr. Hitti, was that Usāma retained some sort of sympathy with the Shi'ite cause (and this is perhaps borne out by Ibn Zāfir's statement that it was the Sunnī party which led the opposition to him in Egypt), it must not be forgotten that the nursing of Shi'ite sympathies implied not merely a platonic attachment to certain doctrines, but involved also an active political partisanship.

The fascination of Usāma's book lies mainly, no doubt, in the human appeal and intimacy of its contents, but to the student of Arabic it is given additional charm by its vivacious and informal style, which it owes largely to that very colloquialism that Dr. Hitti (with true Arab pedantry) seeks to excuse in the author, or to lay somewhat gratuitously to the charge of a copyist. Had Usāma himself written down these recollections, he would certainly have clothed them in more conventional literary garb; but we have every cause to be grateful to the scribe who so faithfully recorded those clipped and "ungrammatical" sentences that we can actually hear the man talking. There is nothing else quite so vivid or so lifelike in medieval Arabic literature. But what a task for the translator to present Usāma in a manner that retains anything of the flavour of the original! It is no reflection upon Dr. Hitti that precisely the same factors which give him exceptional qualifications as an editor of the text render him but an indifferent translator of it. To steer as happily and as surely as Usāma does between the stilted and the slangy demands a trained ear for English and a pen that instinctively recoils from such sentences as "I told thee that there wasn't a thing I could do for thee".

These details apart, however, Dr. Hitti has rendered a service to scholarship which it would be ungrateful to deny. It need hardly be stressed after these many years that Usāma's memoirs are the most valuable single source we possess for the social history of Syria at the time of the early Crusades, and this translation will long remain the standard English version. For this reason, and in view of the importance of the work to students of the Crusades, it has seemed worth while to make a fairly full list of corrections and suggestions, omitting minor details. If the list seems a long one, let those who are without sin cast the first stone—and in justice to Dr. Hitti there ought to be a second (and much longer) list of passages in which, with rare patience and skill, he has brought order out of chaos, and sense out of nonsense. It should be said that these suggestions are based chiefly on the text as it stands, since, though many passages are obviously corrupt, it would be hazardous to attempt any extensive emendations without access to the manuscript and to a local knowledge equal to that of the editor.

p. 25: "the massacre" read "the number of the killed", and below "On the other hand, a great host of the Franks were killed".

p. 26: Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, i.e. al-Yāghīsiyānī, not the famous Saladin.

p. 27: The more natural meaning seems to be that when Usāma went to Shaizar, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn seized all his possessions, etc. There is no mention of "the enemy", i.e. the Greeks, as the cause of the calamity, and it links on to the following sentence (p. 28) explaining why Usāma fled to Damascus.

p. 28: "In this another calamity befel me in my possessions," read "and what I lost on my estates amounted to a second catastrophe". Note 2: Mu'in al-Dīn was not wazīr, but commander-in-chief and atābek.

p. 30: Add after "carpets, furniture", "a great reception-room".

p. 32: "foiling the enemy", read either (with Derenbourg) "the night of their surprise attack" or "the night when they deserted him".

p. 34: "counterfeit official signatures", read "issue forged documents" (for *tawāqif* cf. below, p. 206). After "fixes the hour of death" add "In this rising a number of Egyptians and Sudanese were killed".

p. 35: "certain members of the caravan", read "some travelling merchants".

p. 40: "greeted our eyes", read "made an attack on us".

p. 41: Bait Jibril (Jibelin) was twelve miles from Ascalon.

p. 42: The castle of Yubnā (Ibelin) was built between 1140 and 1143.

p. 43: "curiosity", read "distraction".

p. 49: "saddle mules", read "baggage mules".

p. 56: Read "Amīn al-Dawlah Gumushtagīn al-Atābaki". "But he counted on me" is not in the text (though also in Derenbourg's translation).

p. 57: "He will send thee before him", read "He will make much parade of thee". Note 91: The term '*azīz miṣr*' "the mighty one of Egypt", is a traditional phrase derived from Qur'ān xii, 30, and has no connection with the Caliph al-'Azīz.

p. 58: "When I returned to Cairo", read "My arrival in Cairo happened at the time when . . ."

p. 60: "Thou wert so glad . . . that thou didst hardly believe", Usāma's use of *mā ṣaddaḡta* (*ḥattā*) is almost equivalent to "You have scarcely" (cf. p. 87, etc.). "with the cross on it", perhaps "on the oath of the cross" or read possibly *waṣalibīyīhi* "and his crusaders".

pp. 60-1: This episode is to be dated in the autumn of 1155, during a truce between Nūr al-Dīn and Baldwin III.

p. 64: "at the head of", read "among".

p. 68: "The Franks raised a violent uproar", read "They (the Muslim plunderers) were greatly alarmed".

p. 69: "a green mare", al-Khaḍrā', either "the iron-grey mare" or else a proper name.

p. 72: These incidents are probably to be dated about 1136.

p. 74: "without a visor", read "without a lower piece (protecting the neck)". "a jagged arrow," *kashmā* (?) here and on p. 227 seems to imply that the arrow hit sideways.

p. 76: After "three ribs on his left side" add "and three on his right side".

p. 77: "If only thou wilt keep to thy mosque . . . as long as thou keepest to thy mosque", the meaning is rather "Cleave to your mosque (i.e. give up active military service) . . . and nevertheless you shall receive . . ."

p. 78: "I was rejuvenated", read "I dealt it as though I were in the vigour of youth".

p. 82: "put him in jail", read "kept him in confinement".

p. 86: "The castle stood on an elevation", read "(the road) which overlooked".

p. 89: "Bāsahrā", in the text the reading "Bāshamrā" is

adopted. After "flown at a francolin" add "and dashed into the coverts".

p. 90: "displaying his colours", perhaps "conspicuously dressed" (cf. p. 76 at foot).

p. 91: "the footman recovered", read "the foot-soldiers took (as booty)".

p. 92: "By thy benevolence", *al-ṣanī'ah* seems to mean "(I put myself under) thy protection"; cf. *taṣṭam'unī*, text, p. 66, l. 7.

p. 97: "to deal successive blows", read "to drive home the thrust".

p. 105: "and whose army was dispersed", read "and the army (operating under Bursuq) dispersed". Note 199: Lu'lu' ruled Aleppo from the time of Ruḍwān's death in December, 1113, as atabek of his sons Alp-Arslān and Sulṭān-Shāh, till his murder in April, 1118.

p. 107: "al-Khirbah", read "al-Kharibah" (Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, pp. 145-7).

p. 108, n. 116: The correct date is 1130.

p. 110, n. 124: The dates given are those of Jamāl al-Dīn; Tāj al-Mulūk Būrī reigned 1128-32.

p. 112: "who was in charge of the register", read "who was in receipt of a *dīwān*", i.e. enrolled in the army. Note 130: To be dated probably between 1163 and 1167.

p. 115: "what he wishes to do, etc.", read "what he is about to do and the risks which he is about to encounter". "a band of robbers", granted; but *ḥarāmīyah* seems often to have the technical sense of "irregulars".

p. 119, n. 155: To be dated probably in 1120 or 1121.

p. 120: "When the days are over", read "When the allotted time comes to an end".

p. 123: "'Abdallāh al-Mushrif", read "'Abdallāh the intendant", and on the following page "This man was an intendant of . . .".

p. 125: Fakhr al-Mulk succeeded to Tripoli about 1100 and occupied Jabala in 1101.

p. 128: "The infantry of the enemy are in battle formation", read "Our foot-soldiers are all over the place". "No cavaliers of our company remained, etc.", read "There was not a single horseman outside . . . Some (of our foot-soldiers) fled into the city, thinking it a certainty that they would be captured, others were walking beside my stirrup". "march behind them stealthily", read "cautiously" (cf. p. 93, l. 1: "kept at some distance behind them"). "and took

possession of the town", read "and had taken possession of the town. Fighting was then going on between them and his brother". "He entered al-Raqqah with the horse", read "The horse carried him into al-R."

p. 129: "mount and meet the enemy", read "ride out to meet Jamāl al-Dīn". Note 184: The correct date is 529 = 1135.

p. 143: After "toppled over" add "and turned upside down".

p. 144, n. 2: This relates to the expedition against Damascus under Baldwin II in 1129. Kafr-Tāb had been captured by Bohemond II of Antioch in 1127.

p. 146: "belts of the horses", read "saddle-straps". After "the Franks" add "(may God Most High forsake them)". Note 9: The correct date is 1114. The date 1109 is due to an error in Ibn al-Athīr.

p. 147: "The sword cut through the outfit, the silver sandal, etc.", read "The (blade of the) sword cut through the scabbard and its silver shoe". For *jahāz* = "scabbard" cf. below, p. 154 (text, p. 125, l. 2.)

p. 148, n. 13: *al-bruns* = "the prince" is unlikely, as Baldwin does not seem to have been called by this title. In Ibn al-Qalānisi, ed. Amedroz, the word is written *al-ru'ayyis* "the lesser chief."

p. 152: "Taking up my sword, etc.", read "I put down my sword, etc."

p. 153: "May Allah do this and that with thee" (*fa'ala'llāhu bika wafa'ala*) is curiously reminiscent of the Hebrew "May God do so to thee and more also". Note 28: See above, on p. 146, n. 9.

p. 154: "joined her", read "climbed up".

p. 156: "almsgiving". The text (p. 126, last line) has *dīqqah*, which is probably to be read *riqqah*, "piety."

p. 157: "used to rise", read "used to go out raiding". "two spotted horses", read perhaps *mu'abbayāni* "loaded up" or "caparisoned".

p. 167: "discussion of their treatment of the orifices of the body" is rather far-fetched; read probably *makhāzihim* "their disgraceful customs".

p. 169: "pierced his eyeballs", read "blinded him". The operation did not involve any actual bodily injury, see Dozy, s.v. *kahala*.

p. 172: "without letting them go through", read probably "without fastening them firmly". Note 2: Sawār was governor of Ḥamāh for Tāj al-Mulūk Būrī of Damascus in 1128-9.

p. 174: "to the ditch below", read "to the surface of the ground".

p. 176: "became so old", read "grew so stout".

p. 179: "everyone he met every day", omit "every day".

p. 182: "on the hill", read "at the Pass", i.e. 'Aqabat Dummār, north-west of the city (Dussaud, *Topographie*, p. 291). "After we got tired of searching", read "Shortly before noon". "Sūnūj", read "Sawīnj".

p. 186: "Abū Bakr made him an officer, bestowed on him a robe of honour, etc.", read "Abū Bakr presented him (before Zankī) who bestowed, etc." There is no evidence that a subordinate officer could bestow a *khil'a*, nor had he a corps of *Jandāriya*. Note 30: Zankī besieged and captured Ba'rin in 1137.

p. 187: "although he had committed no crime except that he was insistent", read "Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had no fault but obstinacy".

p. 188: "Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn after that came to the door, etc.", read "Qafjaq then came . . . along with a troop of his men, and Ṣ. al-D. captured him and gave him into the keeping of". "the watchman of the castle", read "the intendant".

p. 193: After "this is a ruse" add "As if a raid were made during the night!"

p. 206: "What is this building material?" in the text (p. 174, l. 2) *ḥaḍrah*. The rendering "building material" smacks of the lexicon: one would expect rather something on the lines of "residence" or "manifestation" ("Is not this the . . .?"), but I find it difficult to assign a precise meaning to the word in this context. "I once more approached him", read "I tried to gain his goodwill". "Written by al-Muqtafi", Derenbourg's version: "in the handwriting of al-Muqtafi, 'Had he demanded more . . .'", seems preferable.

p. 207: "with a green robe", read "with a jurist's hood (*tailasān*)".

p. 210: "forgive him [and me] our sins", the text has only "forgive him", the rest being anticipated from p. 212.

p. 216: "the tiresome weight", perhaps "the suffocating heat".

p. 218: "We reverse his exterior form", rather "We invert him in form". In the text (p. 187, ll. 1-2) the quotation from the Qur'ān is wrongly vocalized.

p. 222: "satisfaction of his curiosity", read "enjoyment".

p. 225: "the fords of the Nile", perhaps "watercourses derived from the Nile".

p. 226: "cannot live except in a pool", read "are always to be found in a pool".

p. 228: "took special pains", perhaps "used to spend a great deal in sending". . ." (cf. p. 222, at the beginning).

p. 229: "Most of the falcons Ghanā'im would order . . .", read "He (my father) used to send for and buy most of the falcons".

p. 230: "masters of hounds", properly "whippers-in" (according to p. 252 they were unmounted).

p. 231: Tarūs is the Rūpenid Thoros I, prince of Cilicia. "accumulated", read "had with us at one and the same time".

p. 232: "with the rest of the falcons as they attack", omit the last three words and read (p. 203, l. 12) *biljumlati*.

p. 233: "a large wooden perch", read "a wooden perch in the shape of a large hawking-glove".

p. 236: "tamed it", perhaps "taught it to fetch".

p. 238: "The latter's system of calligraphy, etc.", probably "He was a calligrapher of the school of Ibn al-Bawwāb and separated from the master by no more than one or two generations of pupils".

pp. 238-9: "because he possessed so many of them and could select . . . and most rapacious", read "as may be seen from the fact that he had a good many, though the skilful hunter is not often found amongst them".

p. 250: "peashooter", read "blowpipe".

p. 251: "tumbled it over", add "and threw her rider". "pursued the bull", the groom's remark at the end of the incident (p. 252) shows that it was the boar which was pursued.

It should be added that the dates provisionally assigned to many minor events are uncertain.

H. A. R. GIBB.

BEITRÄGE ZUR ARABISCHEN LITERATURGESCHICHTE. By OTTO SPIES, pp. x + 126. (Abh. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes, herausg. v. d. D. M. G., xix Band, No. 3.) Leipzig, 1932. RM. 10.

Following in the footsteps of Horowitz, and more recently of Schacht and others, Dr. Spies has made a search through the still only half-known manuscript collections at Stambul for works of Arabic biography and history, the results of which are published in this pamphlet. Of particular interest are some rare or missing early biographies of the Imāms of Islamic jurisprudence, including

aṣ-Ṣaimarī's (d. 436) *Manāqib Abī Hanīfa*, Baihaqī's (d. 478) *Manāqib ash-Shāfi'ī*, and a fragment of al-Āburī's (d. 363) earlier work on the same imām, as well as a copy of a third (*al-Wāḍih an-Nafīs*) hitherto attributed to Ibn Kathīr, but which proves to be the work of a certain 'Abd al-Muḥsin b. 'Othmān in the fifth century. The historical works cited are of the sixth century or later, among them being complete series of Ibn al-Jauzī's *Muntaẓam*, Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī's *Uyūn at-Tawārīkh*, no fewer than three complete sets of Ibn 'Asākir's *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, and a large quantity of MSS. of al-'Ainī's *Iqd al-Jumān*. In the third section are listed MSS. of al-Maqdisī's *Kamāl fī ma'rifat ar-rijāl* and its numerous abridgments, supplements, and rivals. Except for the mention in a footnote on p. 49 of a *risāla* (*K. muḥāsabat an-nafs*) of Ibn Abī Dunyā, Dr. Spies has confined himself to these three sections of Arabic literature, to each of which he supplies a compact technical introduction. Both for the data furnished by his researches and for the admirable manner of their presentation, his brochure is of considerable value to all students of Arabic literature and jurisprudence.

H. A. R. G.

CATALOGUE OF THE ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE. Vol. II, i. Qur'anic Literature. By C. A. STOREY. pp. iv + 95. Oxford University Press, 1930. 12s. 6d.

The immense volume of the Arabic literature dealing with the Qur'ān, its interpretation, variant readings, orthography, recitation, obscurities, etc., is familiar to every student of Islām, and it is not surprising to find no fewer than 167 entries on these departments of study listed in this Catalogue. A large proportion of the entries are treatises by Indian scholars, many of them autographs, but interesting though they may be as a survey of Indian Qur'anic study, it could hardly be expected that much new material of any special value should come to light amongst them. The most important item in the Catalogue is probably the MS. of the first half of an early (fourth century) Shi'ite Commentary (No. 1076) by as-Sulamī, better known as al-'Ayyāshī, of which, though copies are known to exist in India, no other copy has found its way into western libraries. Among other interesting MSS. are two fragmentary commentaries ascribed to al-Ghazālī (Nos. 1086 and 1087), commentaries on Sūra cxii and Sura x, 90, by Jalāl ad-Dīn ad-Dawānī (Nos. 1145 and 1146), a treatise

by Ibn al-'Arabī (No. 1216), of which only one other copy is known, and an autograph of Muḥibb ad-Dīn al-Ḥamawī (No. 1101). A curiosity is a volume of selections from the Qur'ān, with a Chinese translation (No. 1062), from Amoy. On the technical side, Mr. Storey's cataloguing is beyond criticism; not only the description of the manuscripts themselves, but also the biographical and bibliographical notes which he appends to each are models of thorough and exact scholarship.

H. A. R. G.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES ISLAMIKUES. Publiée sous la direction de
L. MASSIGNON. Tome III (Année 1929), 4 cahiers, pp. 676.
Tome IV (Année 1930), 4 cahiers, pp. 610. Paris: Geuthner.
Subscription price 100 francs per annum.

Under Professor Massignon's inspiring direction, the *Revue des Études Islamiques* has now definitely established itself as the leading journal in modern Islamic sociology. It would be difficult in a short space to do justice to each contribution in these two volumes individually, and a brief analysis of their contents will suffice to show the range of interests which they cover.

About seven-eighths of the whole is taken up by a variety of studies on social questions. Achille Sékaly Bey contributes a lengthy series of articles (1929, i, 75-126; ii, 277-337; iii, 395-454; iv, 601-59) on the difficult economic problem posed by the multiplication of private or family Waqfs in Egypt, including translations of the controversy recently engaged on this subject by Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha and Shaikh Muḥammad Bakhīt, and of the rescripts, laws, and parliamentary debates relating to it. M. Castagné deals with the family customary-law of the Circassians (1929, ii, 245-75) and magical practices among the Eastern Turks (1930, i, 53-156). M. Paul Marty has three articles, one on the efforts of the Makhzen to control the *zāwiya*s in Morocco during recent years (1929, iv, 575-600), another on the institutions of the Jews of Morocco (1930, iii, 297-332), while the third and most important, in a field which he has made peculiarly his own, summarizes the present situation of Islām among the Niger tribes (1930, iii, 333-432). The *tifāqāt* or "unanimous decisions" of the Jama'a of the Berbers of the M'zab are reproduced and translated by MM. Milliot and Jacobetti (1930, ii, 171-230). Following on Sékaly Bey's study on the educational reforms in al-Azhar, published

in the two preceding volumes, "al-Mushrif" describes the stages by which a similar reform has been brought about in the Zaitūniya at Tunis (1930, iv, 441-515). Most interesting of all is the editor's short survey of the distribution and social conditions of the immigrant Kabyle workers in the district of Paris (1930, ii, 161-70), which supplements the earlier study of Lieut.-Colonel Justinard on the settlement of Shluḥ workers from south-east Morocco.

Three articles are devoted to the women of North Africa and the East. Mlle A. M. Goichon writes on the women of the "moyenne bourgeoisie" of Fez (1929, i, 1-74), and supplements her earlier book on *La vie féminine au Mzab* with a series of additional notes and observations (1930, ii, 231-87; iv, 517-95), while M. Castagné gives details of the emancipation movement among the women of Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, and Central Asia (1929, ii, 162-226).

Of the remaining articles, the sole historical contribution, "L'œuvre des étrangers dans l'empire soudanais du Mali" (1929, ii, 227-35), by M. C. Monteil, contains an appreciation of the influence exerted by Muslim immigrants on the mediaeval Sudanic civilization. Literature is represented by an investigation into the popularity enjoyed by the poetry of al-Mutanabbī in the Islamic West (1929, i, 127-35), by M. R. Blachère, and a useful collection of Moroccan proverbs in text and translation by M. J. Beyries (1930, i, 1-51). M. R. Tresse supplies a valuable technical account of the irrigation system of the Ghūṭa of Damascus (1929, iv, 459-573), together with a full description of the local customs and legislation relating to its utilization.

The shorter articles relating to current events include a translation of the recent Egyptian decree-laws on personal status (1929, i, 137-53), an account of the "Eastern League" (*ar-Rābiṭa ash-Sharqīya*), founded in Cairo in 1921, and its journal of the same name (1930, iii, 289-96), and an analytical list of school books published in Kurdish (1930, i, 157-60), contributed by M. Minorsky, who omits however, the very interesting attempt to produce a Kurdish grammar in a reformed Arabic script made by Tawfiq Wahbī (ده ستوری) (توفیق وهبی by رمائی کوردی - جیزی به کرم) and published at Baghdad in 1929.

Finally, Professor Massignon continues to furnish his invaluable *Abstracta Islamica* (1929, iii, 341-94) of recent publications in all fields of Islamic studies, which, it may safely be asserted, is the most

widely appreciated feature of the *Revue des Études Islamiques*. The burdens imposed upon him by his other duties doubtless explain its absence in the fourth volume, but one may express the hope that he will find it possible to resume a series for which all students of Islamic subjects owe him a special debt of gratitude.

H. A. R. G.

HISTORY OF PALESTINE AND SYRIA TO THE MACEDONIAN CONQUEST.

By A. T. OLMSTEAD. pp. xxxiv + 664, map. New York and London: Scribner's, 1931. 30s.

PALESTINE IN GENERAL HISTORY. By T. H. ROBINSON, J. W.

HUNKIN, and F. C. BURKITT. (Schweich Lectures, 1926.) pp. viii + 106. London: Milford, 1929. 6s.

PÉTRA ET LA NABATÈNE. By A. KAMMERER. Vol. i: Texte,

pp. xiv + 630, maps. Vol. ii: Atlas, 152 plates. Paris: Geuthner, 1929-30. 300 francs.

HISTORY OF PALESTINE. By A. S. RAPPOPORT. pp. 368. London:

Allen and Unwin, 1931. 12s. 6d.

Professor Olmstead's handsome volume is uniform with the series of historical textbooks issued under the general direction of Professor Breasted at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, to which the author has already contributed the *History of Assyria*. It represents a stupendous undertaking—nothing less than the attempt to present a complete survey of the provisional results of modern archæology and research in so far as they bear on Palestine and Syria from the earliest ages. This is not to say that it is mere compilation; on the contrary, for Professor Olmstead has passed all his material through the crucible of his own judgment, and asserts his own conclusions with confidence, even where they disagree with more generally accepted views. Yet in a sense it is a collection of historical materials rather than a history. To a great extent, the actual sources, including not only written records, but also monuments, architectural remains, pottery, burial customs, and the like, are set out in summarized form, and left to tell their own story with the briefest possible linking up and exposition. The method has undoubted advantages, but sometimes entangles the reader in a bewildering maze of detail, which he is left to sort out as best he may (for example, in the abstract of the Tell el-Amarna letters, summarized in chapter xii). Strict adherence to chronological order also involves a good deal of jumping about and

sandwiching of paragraphs of Samaria, say, between others about Phœnicia, Moab, Assyria, and the rest. The result is a book that is not easy to read, but that most emphatically ought to be read, and carefully, by all students of western Asiatic and more especially Old Testament history. It will not please the conservatives and fundamentalists, nor all the "advanced" critics, but by placing the Hebrews in their proper setting it throws much valuable light on their development, and on such difficult problems as their establishment in Palestine and the growth of Judaism. Some questions are left unanswered—the historical basis of Genesis xiv, for instance, and the relations between the deity Jacob and the "hero" Abraham, and how Jacob's tomb came to be shown at Hebron—and there are very many statements and conclusions which will not be accepted without discussion. There are, however, few omissions to be detected; the most surprising is the absence of any reference to the Scythian invasion of 626, even in a footnote, since, even if it is argued that the opening chapters of Jeremiah do not refer to this, it played none the less a part in the fortunes of Syria and Palestine.

The first two of the Schweich Lectures for 1926 cover the same ground in outline as Professor Olmstead's book; Professor Robinson carries the story to the fall of Nineveh, and Mr. Hunkin from that point to Titus. The two books supplement one another admirably, since the lectures not only clarify the detail of the sources summarized in the larger work, but also, where they conflict with it, enable the reader who is not familiar with the technical literature to appreciate the main divergencies in critical opinion. Mr. Hunkin's narrative of the Hellenistic and Roman periods is especially welcome, in view of the few critical accounts available for the general reader, although the extensions of the Maccabean dominions attributed by the map on p. 75 to John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannæus are a little generous. The third lecture, by Professor Burkitt, begins with a lucid explanation of the importance of Palestine as a centre of land communications before passing on to sketch the history of the two Arab states of Petra and Palmyra.

Professor Burkitt's subject is rehandled in much fuller detail in M. Kammerer's work, which bears much the same relation to the latter half of the second and the third of the Schweich Lectures that Professor Olmstead's book bears to the first part. Though the author in this case has admittedly compiled his material from secondary sources, he has nevertheless succeeded in putting together a most

valuable piece of work, supplemented by a very fine "atlas" of plates. The greater part of his book is naturally devoted to the Nabateans, but it traces also the history of Petra from Israelitish times and down through Palmyra and the Ghassanids to the Muslim and Crusading periods. In these outlying portions of his task, M. Kammerer is less at home with his material and his detail is not so good. The Jewish legends regarding the Exodus can naturally be utilized only with due attention to the results of critical study, which he largely ignores; for the later periods he is somewhat at sea with the Kinda (for whom he suggests a Nabatean origin, connecting the name of Hujr with al-Hijr) and with the Muslims generally. As far as the main part of the work is concerned, however, his exposition is not likely to be bettered until fresh discoveries and investigations bring a material increase in our sources of information. The weakest section is that on the religion of the Nabateans, for which direct evidence is as yet relatively scanty. Both Professor Burkitt and M. Kammerer have overlooked the fact that the worship of Dhu'l-Sharā continued in Arabia down to the time of Muḥammad (Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², 48-51), and that the name has as little connection with the supposed name of the mountain of Petra (being in fact only a vague appellation meaning "Lord of the Holy Place") as that of his *Ka'abū* has with Mecca.

Dr. Rappoport's book is also a compilation from secondary sources, but has been too hurriedly and unevenly put together to have much value, except as a brief summary for those who wish to know something, but not too much, of the chequered fortunes of Palestine.

H. A. R. GIBB.

THE LEGACY OF ISLAM. Edited by the late Sir THOMAS ARNOLD and A. GUILLAUME. pp. 416. Clarendon Press, 1931. 10s. net.

It has taken thirteen men to write this book so one cannot be expected to review it adequately. Indeed, the English language tends to divide into "jargons" which are only understood of the initiate. The sentence, "We Europeans conceive music vertically whilst the Arabs apprehend it horizontally," was double Dutch till it was explained to mean that Arab music is built up of single sounds and European of groups. One of the writers says that the word legacy in the title is hardly suitable, and suggests annuity; this is better, for Christendom might still learn much from Islam. Where all is good

"comparisons are odorous", but probably the sections on the Minor Arts, the Crusades, and Spain and Portugal will most attract the general reader. The illustrations must not be forgotten; one only, a drawing in the text of a glass lamp, seems quite unworthy of its subject.

Methods vary. The chapter on the Crusades says very little about the wars, but is a survey of their effects on Europe; they encouraged trade, found employment for younger sons, foreshadowed the League of Nations, started taxes on personal property, and furthered the study of Eastern languages. Their share in helping the transfer of land to the Church is only hinted at. The chapter on literature also says nothing about the Arabs, but tells of queer, mixed products in Spain, hints at influence on the troubadours, and puts famous books like *Vathek* in their right place. One wants to complain of the omission of Ernest Bramah; for, though Kai Lung came from China, he is a descendant of Sheherezade, and a bosom friend of al Hariri.

The chapters on geography and commerce and on theology and philosophy are elaborate statements of Arab knowledge and achievement. In his sketch of philosophy Mr. Guillaume was handicapped because a chapter on the same subject is in the *Legacy of Israel*; without undue repetition he has given an admirable summary of Muslim thought with its repercussions on Europe in general and Thomas of Aquinas in particular. The file might have been used with advantage at times; the phrase "paid for their opinions with their lives or the loss of their liberty" is three words too long. The paragraph about the Mu'tazila on p. 264 is unfortunately worded; it suggests that they invented the doctrine of the uncreated Koran, whereas they found it already existing and condemned it.

In the chapter on domestic arts, letterpress and pictures bring out clearly the unity of Muslim design; with slight changes the same scheme will decorate a jug or a wall. The interactions of East and West are strange; the Near East exported pigments to China and passed Chinese fabrics on to the West. Craftsmen in Italy and Spain copied Muslim processes and stirred up their teachers to new triumphs. It is a glaring injustice not to say anything about the articles on mysticism and society, but a reviewer is confined within narrower limits than an Eastern scholar.

Misprints are commoner than is expected in a book published by the Clarendon Press. One man appears as Fulcher and Fülcher; note C on p. 175 should be Soletto in south, instead of Spoleto in

central, Italy. Where so many hands are at work some repetition is to be expected; once it is funny, when Avicenna shares the fate of Herbert Spencer, the scientist admiring his philosophy and the philosopher his science. A few statements provoke questions. Surely "niches carved in the semblance of a scallop shell" are older than Islam; do they not occur in the great temple at Baalbek? Is there no truth in the story that the architect of Ibn Tūlūn's mosque was a Christian and apparently an Egyptian? One wonders if the early mosques were as plain as they are made out to have been. We read in the *Sahih* of Bukhārī that Muslims decorated their mosques as the Jews and Christians did their churches and synagogues. While most of this book will appeal to anyone, parts can be understood only by specialists. Many of the suggested conclusions are far from certain; in some chapters one wonders that the printer did not run out of the words "may be".

A. S. T.

SUMMA PHILOSOPHIÆ. AL-SHAHRASTANI. Edited by A. GUILLAUME.
Part I. pp. 320. Oxford. 30s.

It is not easy to review this book, as the first part ends in the middle of a chapter, and the promised summary translation is still to come. Considering that it had to be printed in Beirout the misprints are remarkably few. The text is based on three manuscripts, and the editor, following distinguished leading, has not corrected them where they wander slightly from the straight path of grammatical rectitude. That being so, it is not necessary to record the variations of the manuscripts on matters where the text is not consistent. The arrangement of the notes is clumsy, presumably due to the conditions of printing. In some places one would like a little more editing. A paragraph may contain the statement of a doctrine, an argument for it, and a criticism of it, and the unfortunate reader is left to disentangle the muddle for himself. The editor has sorted out the mess once, and should pass on the fruits of his labour by marking the breaks in the sense. To give one example: on p. 249 a paragraph ends:

The will gives individuality to existence and is related to fresh phenomena. The connection of the will of the eternal with two contraries at once.

The second sentence belongs to the following section.

The author begins by arguing that the world and all in it is created, using the classical arguments to prove that infinite bodies and numbers

cannot exist. He then treats of the unity of God, his unlikeness to all else, and the existence of his attributes. He discusses universal ideas and whether the non-existent is a thing. Next he deals with the divine knowledge, will, and word or speech. He is careful to say that in his treatment of this question he departs from the traditional arrangement. His method is to define the problem, set forth the opinions of the various schools, answer them or propound their objections to one another, and end with an exposition of his own view. It is a hard book to read, but in his summing up the author becomes at times almost eloquent. The end of the chapter on universals is a fair sample of his method and standpoint.

The truth in this question is that man finds an image of things, universal, general, absolute, apart from the consideration of words and individuals; he also finds intellectual relations to one thing. These might be reduced to defined words—but we have proved that they cannot, or to existing individuals—but we have shown that this is wrong. So it only remains to say that they are concepts, existing, established in the mind, apprehended by reason. So far as they are universal, they have no being in individuals, are not things, accidents, colours in individuals; but they are individuals so far as the reason forms from them a universal concept. An expression is coined to suit and denote this, so that, if the expression were abolished or changed, the concept established by the mind would not perish. Those who deny universals are wrong in making them bare expressions and right in saying that what exists as an individual has no universality. Those who affirm them are wrong in making them qualities of individuals and right in making them concepts of reason over and above the expressions. They might say that they are figures of the mind instead of saying that they are neither existent nor non-existent. No reasonable man denies them. Some call them figures of the mind; some suppositions of the reason; some facts and concepts denoted by words; and some qualities of species. So long as the idea is clear, call them what you like. These facts and concepts are in three relations, to their essence, to individuals, and to the mind. In individuals they are particular, in the mind they are general, in essence they are neither general nor particular. To know these relations removes all difficulties. (Slightly abridged.)

At times the author indulges in special pleading. He claims that there is no contradiction between the belief of the early Muslims in an uncreated word of God, that of the Mu'tazila in a created word, and Al-Ash'ari's doctrine that the word is uncreated but the reading of it created, being the word only indirectly; for the first refers to

the word in heaven, the second to the word in the mouths of men, and the third to both. In the middle of the very abstruse arguments it is refreshing to meet the human idea that the best proof of the existence of God is man's need of him.

Though not a history of philosophy the book contains much historical material, philosophers taking a bigger place than divines. The author claims to be a disciple of Al-Ash'ari and quotes many of his arguments at length, though he does not hesitate to criticise him. He notes that some of the school looked to Ibn Kullāb as their spiritual father. He uses some material from his earlier book; he quotes the *Najāt* of Avicenna (though not by name) and his statements are reliable so far as they can be tested. This book is a valuable addition to the philosophical literature of the Arabs. A few corrections to the text may be suggested.

p. 31, l. 9, for *احلتم* read *احللتهم*. p. 40, l. 6, for *مسلمة* read *مسئلة*. p. 160, l. 4, for *ما تحقق* read *ما يتحقق*. p. 165, l. 8, read *مقتضا*. p. 184, l. 9, for *فيكون* read *فكون*. p. 187, l. 7, read *مقارنة* or *مقتضي العلة*. p. 225, l. 11, something is omitted after *الجسم*. p. 240, l. 2, omit (1). p. 254, l. 15, the text may stand and be rendered: "It is excluded by the fundamental principle. Their argument from knowledge is admissible." p. 294, l. 15, omit *ولا*. p. 298, l. 11, for *والا* read *واذا*. p. 305, l. 9, for *والمعلق* read *والتعلق*. p. 316, l. 3, omit *للامر*.

A. S. TRITTON.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SULTAN MAḤMŪD OF GHAZNA. By MUḤAMMAD NĀZIM. pp. 271, map. Cambridge, 1931. 15s.

This important book is written in a very earnest style devoid of any superfluous embellishments, and yet one is obliged to distinguish between its twofold contents: the strictly scientific and the sentimental or rather "romantic", in the sense that Sultān Maḥmūd is presented as a hero, and his epoch as a kind of golden age.

"As a man," says the author in his conclusion (p. 170), "he was affectionate, just, pure, kind, generous, devout and religious—a truly great and admirable character." He stands among the greatest

warriors of the world. He encouraged learning and "did more than any other sovereign before him towards forming and developing a national Persian literature." He was a good administrator, for even during his absences good order prevailed in his empire. "He was the first sovereign to give practical shape to the idea of a Muslim empire in India" (p. xiii). The only drawback which the author allows to be recognized in Sultān Maḥmūd is his failure as the founder of a dynasty, because "he extended the area of the empire beyond the capacity of one person to control and keep intact".

Such is the guiding thread of the book, which, at least to the present writer, looks certainly exaggerated.

Son of the rude Middle Ages, Maḥmūd of Ghazna is undoubtedly a remarkable figure, and it is right to protest against the simplified viewpoint of Firdausī's satire, but the presentation of Maḥmūd as a paragon of virtue (especially if we are to understand it according to the standards of 1932) is equally unsupported.

Let us take the most obvious point: Maḥmūd's patronage to Persian letters. It had certainly nothing to do with the interests of the Persian "national" literature. Dr. M. N. says (p. 131) that the Sultān felt sometimes annoyed that "the diligent and obsequious Persians" invaded his administration. But, the Persians in Ghazna themselves did not seem animated by the feelings of Persian renaissance (as formerly under the Iranian Sāmānids) for one of them replaced Persian by Arabic in official correspondence, and the other wrote the history of the reign in the same language. Such small courts as those of Ghūr, Gūzgānān, Gurgān, and especially Rayy were great centres of learning, but most of them were swept away or weakened by Maḥmūd. This loss could hardly be compensated by the liberalities at Ghazna, where one hears of months filled with jewels, of elephant-loads of presents, etc., so far as the official singers of the Sultān's victories are concerned. But, on the other hand, the fact is that two greatest names of the epoch, Firdausī and Bīrūnī, owe nothing to Sultān Maḥmūd. Firdausī's satire in its present form may be spurious, but even the *Chahār maqāla* (p. 50) confirms its existence and quotes from it six verses. Bīrūnī rarely mentions even the name of "amīr Maḥmūd" (without any additions!).

It is certainly wrong to explain Maḥmūd's activities by "fanaticism", but perhaps in general "piety and devotion" as political factors ought to cede place to more prosaic impulses. Dr. M. N. himself, speaking of the merciless persecution of dissenters (p. 161)

says: "The Caliph was thus a useful ally for a warrior who was burning with a desire for expansion, and to maintain and strengthen the alliance with him, the Sultan placed the resources of his empire at the service of the Caliph in his war against the Carmathians." To exculpate Sulṭān Maḥmūd from the accusations of "wanton bloodshed and reckless spoliation of Hindu temples", our author (p. 63) writes that "these so-called barbarities were committed in the course of legitimate warfare, when such acts are sanctioned by the practice of all the great conquerors of the world. Spoils captured from a defeated enemy have always been considered the lawful property of victorious armies. In India, however, wealth was accumulated not only in the coffers of kings . . . but also in the vaults of the temples". As Maḥmūd's campaigns in India were exclusively aggressive, one can hardly deny that the war (legitimate only on account of the heterodoxy of the Hindus) was a very profitable operation for the treasury of Ghazna.

Maḥmūd's policy towards his Muslim neighbours may be styled able, but one fails to discover in it anything edifying. Especially characteristic is the story of the occupation of Khwārazm, see Bīrūnī quoted in *Baihaqī*, p. 844, cf. Barthold's dispassionate narrative, *Turkestan*, p. 275. The relations with the friendly Ziyārids on Maḥmūd's side are always associated with pecuniary demands.

One cannot share Dr. M. N.'s enthusiasm for his hero, but very happily his abstract views do not impair the value of his purely historical researches.

His book appeals to sober minds undaunted by the detail and dryness of the material. But in the present state of our sources, we particularly desire the general overhauling of the machine of facts and dates. Most meritorious is the list of Oriental sources and the system of references enabling the control of the statements in the text.

There are three parts in the book. The first speaks of Maḥmūd's predecessors in Ghazna and of his own early years. Owing to the brevity of narration some details are not clear. For example, the rôles of the original king of Kābul and of the "ruler" Abū Bakr Lawīk, who suddenly emerge on pp. 25 and 27, remain obscure till the end. See now on them, H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, i, 1931, p. 79. The term "reign" (p. 28) seems somewhat excessive with regard to such rulers as Bilga-tagīn and Pīrī-tagīn whose relation to the Sāmānids is not explained.

Part ii groups under three chapters the military events on the three

principal fronts, in Turkestan, in Persia, and in India. The system is graphical and renders clear the consistency of the conqueror's efforts in each case, but the chronological sequence suffers thereby to a certain extent. As regards Central Asia, the events are told with more detail in Barthold's classical *Turkestan*. On Persia, the author has not evidently had the occasion of seeing Huart's *Les Ziyārūdes*, and especially Sayyid Aḥmad Kasravī's *Pādshāhān-i gumnām*, i-iii, Tehran, 1928-30, which would throw light on the "Marzubān of Dailam" (p. 83) who will now remain enigmatic to many readers.

Of particular interest are the paragraphs on Maḥmūd's campaign in the present-day Afghanistan and India, where many details seem to be new, such as the identification of Bhāṭiya with Bhatinda (p. 201). Very new is the attempt to utilize the positive dates contained in Farrukhī's *qaṣīdas*, which, e.g., enable to trace Maḥmūd's itinerary to Somnāth.

Part iii is devoted to the interior organization of Maḥmūd's empire. The paragraphs have been built up from a mass of separate mentions in different authors (though many of them belong to much later times). This is a valuable piece of reconstitution of the administrative machinery under Maḥmūd, but we learn nothing on such important questions as revenues, assessment, situation of the civil population, especially the peasants, to say nothing of the conquered races. Whatever the lacunæ of our sources, Dr. M. N. could find in Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp. 287-9, some facts to show how heavily Maḥmūd's reign weighed on his subjects. The most striking illustration of Maḥmūd's views on his subjects is perhaps the censure which he addressed to the inhabitants of Balkh who tried to protect their native town against an attack of the Transoxanian Qarakhānids: "What have subjects to do with war? It is natural that your town was destroyed and that they burnt the property belonging to me, which had brought in such revenues. You should have been required to pay an indemnity for the losses, but we pardoned you; (only) see to it that it does not happen again; if any king (at a given moment) proves himself the stronger, and requires taxes from you and protects you, you must pay taxes and thereby save yourselves," (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 291). Some discrepancies between the theories and the facts are noticeable in this part too (p. 128): "The Sultān was not bound to consult his ministers in state affairs, but in practice he followed the divine commandment which bids Muslims consult each other in all matters. Whenever he was confronted with

a serious situation, he called a council of all the important civil and military officers to hear their opinion and advice." Thereupon follows the rather unexpected illustration: "The proceedings of the council which he called to consider the situation created by the assassination of . . . the Khwarizmshah have been preserved and furnish an excellent specimen of the arbitrary [*sic*!] ways of the Sultan."

Thirteen appendices (pp. 171-237) contain many valuable matters on the details of Maḥmūd's reign and on other dynasties of his time. Mr. M. N. preferably quotes from the Oriental sources, but it must be borne in mind what we owe to Barthold who has most minutely utilized Gardizī, Bayhaqī, and other authors. Even Dr. M. N., who quotes his European predecessors only in the cases where they committed some error, seems to have found no fault with Barthold's references and dates.

On the whole, Dr. M. N.'s book forms a useful *Encyclopadia Maḥmūdiana*. The best parts of it are those which bear on the facts, dates, details. But notwithstanding all this mass of honestly and laboriously collected details, the general picture of Sultān Maḥmūd's epoch remains not very clear. As regards the personality of the great conqueror, the author seems to balance between his piety towards the memory of his hero and the conclusions suggested by an excellent knowledge of the sources.

The map at the end of the book is very welcome.

Minor Remarks.—The pages of the *Enc. of Islam* differ in each of the parallel editions (English, French, and German), and it is preferable to give every time the title of the article quoted. p. 2, Tawārikh banū (read *banī*) Subuktagin. p. 50, Diwān Lughatu't (read *Lughati't*) turk. p. 15, *Tarīkh-i khairāt* is not anonymous. Barthold has shown, *Bull. de l'Acad. d. Sciences*, 1915, pp. 1365-70, that this work is identical with *Aṣaḥḥ al-tawārikh*, of which the author is Muḥammad b. Amīr Faḍl allāh al-Mūsavi (Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 1062, *Supplément*, p. 270). p. 16, Sultān Maḥmūd's monuments and inscriptions receive a very brief attention. Dr. M. N. does not even quote in full the title of Dr. Flury's very interesting article, "Le décor épigraphique des monuments de Ghazna," *Syria*, 1925 (especially pp. 65-8, on the tower of Maḥmūd). p. 23, Jurjāniyyah, why not Gurgānj? p. 25, Khulam, read *Khulm*. p. 27, Bilkatigin, read *Bilgā-t*. p. 48, Chaghartigin, read Chaghbir-t. p. 56, Ighur, perhaps simply Ayghur ("stallion") -khan? p. 83, "Marzubān of Dailam certainly could not possess Shahrazūr (west of the Zagros). Very probably سهرزور

stands here for *سهرورد* Suhravard. p. 130, why the uncommon *mamlukat* instead of the usual *mamlakat* given in the dictionaries at the first place. p. 152, Minūchahr b. Qābūs, ruler of *Gurgān*, rather than of *Ṭabaristān*. p. 160, the term "Carmathian" seems to be improper with regard to the Ismā'īlites, if used as a historical, and not as a current opprobrious term. p. 177, on the Farīghūnids see more details in the *Hudūd al-'ālam* (written in 372/982), published by Barthold, Leningrad, 1930 (Dr. M. N. could not possibly consult the book, which was in fact brought out in 1931). p. 190, Kayā Kālīsh read *Kiyā K. līsh* (*Kalāya*?). p. 216, to suit the metre, instead of Chikūdar (— — —), we want something like *Chikuludra (— — —), cf. the original name, Chiklodar Mātā. In the bibliography several European predecessors of the author ought to be named. Kazimirski in his edition of Minūchihri resumed most of Baihaqī's history. Wilken gave a very creditable edition of Mirkhwānd's section on the Ghaznavids.

All these little remarks are mentioned here only for completeness sake, while it is clearly felt with what care the book has been written.

V. MINORSKY.

A PERSIAN JOURNEY, being an Etcher's Impressions of the Middle East, with forty-eight drawings. By FRED RICHARDS, R.E. 10 in., pp. 240. London: Jonathan Cape, 1931. 15s.

Seldom has a more beautiful tribute been paid to any Eastern country than this delightful book on Persia by the late Mr. Fred Richards, whose untimely death occurred soon after its appearance.

In recent years Persia has been much exploited by the camera—not in the hands of the professional photographer, but in those of the discriminating archaeologist. Thus practically all that remains of the former masterpieces of Persian architecture is accessible in detail to the student. Even the finest of these photographs fails to convey anything of the subtle beauty of the half-ruined cities of ancient and mediaeval Persia. These photographs usually seem to fail as interpretations of Persian scenery, which has inspired the writings of so many who have travelled in this land of romance.

The forty-eight drawings by Mr. Fred Richards seem to give us exactly what was wanted, for, in spite of their accurate architectural drawing, every sketch possesses a lightness of touch and a suggestion

of mystery which no other artist, we believe, has achieved so successfully, and which are certainly absent from even the best photographs. As is only right, Ispahan, the beautiful city of Abbas the Great, is represented by a large majority of these pictures, and next in order comes Shiraz. In the bazaar-scenes the Pahlevi cap, which is now worn by every male Persian throughout the land, of course predominates, and it is a high tribute to Mr. Richards' genius that he has not allowed these singularly unpicturesque hats to mar the poetry of his pictures. Where the standard is throughout so uniformly high it is hard to discriminate, but it may be safely claimed that no book can possibly convey a better idea of Persian scenery to the general public nor a more charming recollection of the country to those who have been fortunate enough to travel there.

Of the letterpress it need only be said that it is written with charm and such good taste as we should expect from this artist, and merely as a vivid description of the country, with a suitable modicum of history thrown in here and there, it would deserve to rank among the best books on Persia. As a record of what Ispahan and Shiraz still looked like in 1931 it must have a permanent value.

E. D. R.

TĀRĪKH-I MUBĀRAK SHĀHĪ. By YAḤYĀ bin AḤMAD bin 'ABDULLĀH AS-SĪHRINDĪ. Edited by SHAMSU-'L- 'ULAMĀ M. HIDĀYAT HOSAIN, Ph.D., F.A.S.B., Khān Bahādur. Printed at the Baptist Mission Press; published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. (*Bibliotheca Indica* Series.) Calcutta, 1931.

The editor of this most useful addition to the *Bibliotheca Indica* series, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, acknowledges his indebtedness to Sir E. Denison Ross, whose suggestions encouraged him to undertake the work. MSS. of the Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī are extremely rare, and the work is a contemporary record of the reigns of Firūz Shāh, the later Tughluqs, and the first two kings of the Sayyid Dynasty, and is our only original authority for the later part of the period with which it deals. Extracts from the work, translated into English, have already appeared in vol. iv of Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians*, but the MS. used for that work was so erroneous and defective that the editor was obliged to supplement it with extracts from Nizāmu-'d-dīn Aḥmad. This historian, Firishta, and Badā'oni used the work as their authority for

the period of which it is a contemporary record, and the first two plagiarized it so shamelessly that it might have been suspected that little was to be gained by the publication of the complete text, but this suspicion was ill-founded, for there is much that the two plagiarists have not copied, and the author's history of the earlier Muslim dynasties which reigned in Delhi, though not a contemporary record, is evidently based partly on authorities which are now lost to us, for it contains much information which is new. For instance, the account of the reign of Balban, of the early days of the Khaljī Dynasty, and the chronological record of the important reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, a record which we find nowhere else, are interesting and valuable. The present writer is gratified to find that this record endorses his view, expressed in vol. iii of the *Cambridge History of India*, but since questioned, that Muḥammad bin Tughluq directed two migrations from Delhi to Daulatābād, one in A.D. 1327-8, voluntary for all but courtiers and officials, and the other in 1329, when all the citizens of Delhi were driven across India, and the city was left desolate. Of the author's contemporary record of the reigns of Firūz, the later kings of the Tughluq dynasty, and the first two Sayyids little need be said. Professor Dowson has admitted that he is "a careful, and apparently an honest chronicler", but refuses to admit his claim to be ranked as an historian. This is hardly just. Yaḥyā bin Ahmad may not be in the same rank as historians of these days, but he has certainly a claim to rank with those of his own age. Professor Dowson was perhaps affected by the quality of the manuscript with which he had to deal, and it is probable that he neglected all of it save the author's record of events which happened in his own life-time. The present learned editor has had the use of three manuscripts, one supplied by a friend, and rotograph copies of MSS. in the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries, and he has earned the gratitude of students of Indian history.

The style of the author is distinctly Indian. He often omits the *izāfa* where a Persian would certainly use it, as on page 93, l. 5. He also uses expressions not in general use, as *مخدول* for "defeated", and *برادر اودری* for "cousin german". There are a few misprints, for instance *بعیت* for *بیعت*, which occurs more than once, but the text has been, on the whole, very carefully edited.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

GRAMMAIRE ÉLÉMENTAIRE DU SANSKRIT CLASSIQUE. By HENRI COURBIN. Adrien Maisonneuve, 2 vols. 50 francs.

These two volumes are intended to serve as a self-contained primer, the first consisting of an outline of the grammar, the second of graded exercises with vocabularies. European script alone is used, the characters of the Nāgarī alphabet being merely given in an appendix ; the pronunciation is scarcely considered ; nor is there any account of accent or other historical feature of the language. Within these limits the work is well-planned, clear, and practical. The author goes straight for salient features : after setting out the alphabet in transliteration he gives the names and uses of the cases, illustrating these by literally translated Sanskrit sentences ; then the declensions of -a and -ā stems, followed by a page about verbs, with the distinction between thematic and non-thematic well to the fore and illustrated by the present tenses of *asmi* and *bharāmi*. This leads to an explanation of roots, stems, and vowel gradation. Participles, from their frequent occurrence in the texts, next claim attention, and their formation and uses are excellently stated. The same section prepares the reader for three other characteristics of the language, viz. omission of the verb "to be", fondness for passive constructions, and the use of compounds. Compounds are from the first regarded not as a rather disreputable subterfuge but as an elegance and a convenience, and the sentence *Sa kṛtodakākūryo gataḥ* is chosen for our initiation. All this is achieved in the first sixteen pages, at which stage the student, although the hard work is still before him, will feel that he knows something about Sanskrit and may even be emboldened to read some of the passages in the second volume.

With apologies for their complexity, the *Sandhi* rules are next taught, then the usual course of the declensions, conjugations, compounds, and derivative verbs and nouns. Brevity and clearness prevail ; four pages suffice for the perfect, three for the aorists. Yet space is spared for plenty of paradigms, e.g. the present tenses of both *dā* and *dhā* are given in full ; we are not left to deduce the one from the other. Participles also are treated better than in some books. The end of the volume has a section on the correlative clauses (*yathā . . . tathā*, etc.) which are another feature of the literature.

Volume ii contains, still in transliteration, first five pages of easy descriptive Sanskrit with interlinear resolution of Sandhis and compounds, and copious footnotes ; then about 130 verses chosen from Böhrtlingk's *Indische Sprüche* ; eighteen pages of extracts from

Pañcatantra and from Lacôte's edition of the *Byātkathāślokaśaṃgraha* ; Sanskrit-French vocabulary (helpful and complete, I think) ; and lastly five pages of French sentences for retranslation, with the necessary vocabulary.

The book is reproduced by photolithography from MS., but thanks to careful script and a judicious use of underlining and tabular arrangement it is almost as easy to read as type. Mistakes noted are : page 6, omission of " dative of purpose " ; p. 71, *stā* for *sthā* ; p. 30, *prapaṇṇa* for *prapanna* ; p. 77, *abravīm* for *abravam*.

And surely something should have been said about the use of adverbial particles and about the *Śloka* metre.

C. A. RYLANDS.

THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPAL UPANISHADS translated from the Sanskrit with an Outline of the Philosophy of the Upanishads and an annotated Bibliography by ROBERT ERNEST HUME. Second edition, revised with a list of recurrent and parallel passages by GEORGE C. O. HAAS. pp. xvi + 588. Oxford University Press, 1931.

In the centre of the higher religious development of India stand the Upanishads. Since time well-nigh immemorial they have been looked upon by the very cream of Hindu intelligentsia as the loftiest outcome of theological and philosophical speculation ; and it seems as if in certain quarters a religious renaissance were still expected to rise out of the intimate study of these works. In Europe Schopenhauer, though he knew the Upanishads only from Anquetil's terrifying Latin version of the Persian translation prepared by Dārā Shikōh's paṇḍits, considered them the solace of his life and death. And there are no signs of their diminishing glory amongst people of the Western world who take a serious interest in India up to this day. Texts of such a reverend character may well claim our most serious attention.

And still it might be suggested that amongst the thirteen texts translated by Professor Hume there is much which would afford us scanty solace in life, and a still scantier in the hour of the *mahāpraśāna*. What has always been to the present writer a subject of stupefaction so far as Indian literature is concerned, viz. its unbroken series of sublimities and nonsense, certainly also applies to the Upanishads. Parts of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and the Chāndogya as

well as the whole of the Kāṭhaka stand out as something of the most sublime ever conceived by human spirit, while other of these texts present a most curious jumble of senseless and unedifying matters. Still, through their age and the profound reverence shown them by untold generations of Hindu scholars they command our respect and interest even if they do not always attract our admiration and devotion. It is undoubtedly well that they should again have been presented to the public interested in other things than the mere *lokayātrā* in a readable and attractive form. We are deeply obliged to Professor Hume for his performance; that his work has now appeared in a second and revised edition is a proof that it has been a welcome gift to scholars and laymen alike.

Professor Hume apparently is a scholar of a somewhat conservative trend, and we look in vain for innovations or new interpretations within his bulky work. It has been impossible to the present writer, out of sheer lack of time, to go through all the translations carefully comparing them with the Sanskrit texts, and he has had to limit himself to those two amongst them which are perhaps slightly more familiar to him, viz. the Kāṭhaka and the Chāndogya. Of the former one he himself some years ago ventured to publish a translation together with some notes in volumes lvii and lviii of the *Indian Antiquary*. This translation has been duly annotated in the careful bibliography of Professor Hume (p. 468); but of a few rather obvious emendations suggested in that modest little paper there is not the faintest trace to be met with within his own rendering of the text. As for the Chāndogya there is not the slightest doubt that as a rule the text with the help of the native commentators, of Deussen, etc., has been faithfully rendered. Still we have observed a few minor slips which do not always inspire confidence, and of which one or two will be brought to notice here.

No doubt, *Chānd. Up.* i, 12, 1-5 called "the *Udgītha* of the Dogs" makes a somewhat bewildering impression. No doubt also, the Sāman-chanting is perhaps not distinctly unlike the barking of dogs. Still there can be no reason for believing that this chapter is meant for "a satire on the performances of the priests". What the dogs want to obtain by their Sāman-singing is food; and food is said in i, 11, 9, to be the divinity connected with the *pratihāra*. Thus there is a quite obvious connection between this chapter and the preceding one, and to a latitudinarian mind it seems scarcely more wonderful that dogs should obtain food by performing Sāman-chanting than

that officiating priests should do so.¹ One would like to know what reason induced Professor Hume to translate the word *bhallākṣa* in iv, 1, 2 (p. 215) with "short-sight", unless of course that expression contains a sense unknown to the present writer. Professor Lüders some years ago translated it by "Bärenauge", which seems equally impossible. Undoubtedly *bhallākṣa* is nothing but *bhadrākṣa*, a fact that has been pointed out long ago.² For the chapters dealing with Satyakāma Jābāla (iv, 4, 1 sqq., p. 218 sqq.) the paper by Professor Lüders, *Sitz. ber. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1922, p. 227 sqq., has apparently not been consulted as it is not mentioned in the bibliography. *Haṃsa*, of course, means "goose" not "swan" (p. 220)³; the goose—in modern times for reasons unexplained looked upon as a paragon of stupidity—to the Hindus is the wise bird *par préférence*. On p. 226 the words *lohena dāru dāruṇā carma (saṃdadhyāt)* are rendered by "wood with brass or with leather" which is apparently a *lapsus calami*. The translation on p. 234 of the words *svairiṇī kutah* by "no wife unchaste" is decidedly too weak; nor does *etad-ātmakam* (p. 246) really mean "has . . . as its soul" but rather "by that (the whole universe) is enlivened". In vi, 13, 1 (p. 248) *upasīda* is generally rendered as here by "come unto me"; it, however, means "(come and) sit near me" and forms an invitation to the secret sitting, the *Upaniṣad*. That *āmalaka* in vii, 3, 1 should be rendered by "acorn" may rightly be doubted as it denotes the fruit of the Emblic myrobalan, *Phyllanthus emblica* * L.

There is one other question of translation which seems to form a constant crux to the interpreters of the Upanishads. Brahma (or its equivalent Ātman) is often expressed by the words *neti (nauitī)* which are even here rendered by the senseless "not thus". However, *neti neti* means nothing but "No, no!", denoting Brahma (or Ātman) as the pure negations just as some schoolmen have used *Non* as a fit expression for the Very Highest.

To the present writer it seems doubtful whether there is any use in repeating, as does Professor Hume (p. 6), that the "usual date"

¹ We are reminded in this connection of the fact that several older scholars like Max Müller, Muir, and others liked to look upon the frog-hymn (*RF.* vii, 103) as being a huge joke with the Brahmins (cf. von Schroeder, *Myt. und Mimus*, p. 396). That this is decidedly not the case is now beyond any doubt.

² Cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* ii, 88, repeated by M. Przyłuski, *BSOS.* v, 303.

³ It still less means "flammant" as it is rendered by the late Senart in his translation of the passage.

* *Emblica* undoubtedly is nothing but a more modern form of *āmalaka*.

of the Upanishads "is around 600 B.C., just prior to the rise of Buddhism". We had better avow once for all that so far we know nothing at all about the exact date of "the rise of Buddhism"; to assert that an Upanishadic text is of pre-Buddhist origin thus, unfortunately, gives no date at all. On the *Udgīthavidyā* (*Chānd. Up.*, i, 1, 1 sqq.) there has just appeared an extensive paper by Professor Strauss¹ which seems to contain a great quantity of very useful material.

J. C.

PRAMANA SAMUCCAYA. Edited and restored into Sanskrit with Vṛitti, Tīkā, and Notes by H. R. RAMASWAMY IYENGAR. (Mysore University Publication.) pp. xxiv + 110. Mysore: Printed at the Government Branch Press, 1930.

On p. 379 of the work mentioned above, Professor Randle remarks that, according to intelligence received by Professor Tucci, Mr. Ramaswamy Iyengar was working upon the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* of Dīṇāga. Of this work only scanty fragments in Sanskrit were known which had been collected by Professor Randle himself; and our knowledge of Dīṇāga had so far been further increased by some articles in the *JRAS.* and in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*.

Just as some works of Aristotle have been lost but were retrieved during the Middle Ages through Arabic translations, several writings of famous Buddhist authors have only been preserved to us only in Chinese or Tibetan versions. Such has been the fate of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, a handbook of logic by Dīṇāga, the fame of which according to Mr. Ramaswamy Iyengar vies with or even surpasses that of the logical treatises of Aristotle. This may be a mild exaggeration; still, there is no doubt that the work of Dīṇāga contains the very *amṛta* of Indian logic. Mr. Ramaswamy Iyengar, with most laudable zeal, has transposed the Tibetan text into Sanskrit and has thus restored into its original one of the most famous of Indian scientific treatises. Of the merits or demerits of this restoration the present writer can form no opinion; as, however, the Tibetan translations seem to be most carefully prepared, it must be quite possible to a scholar equally well versed in Sanskrit and Tibetan to restore a text like this into what was well-nigh its original shape. The introduction is short but clear and interesting.

J. C.

¹ *Sitz. ber. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1931, p. 243 sq.

SOME ASPECTS OF HINDU MEDICAL TREATMENT. By DOROTHEA CHAPLIN. pp. 71 London: Luzac & Co., 1930. 3s. 6d.

This little book has scarcely any claim upon being considered a piece of scientific research. It is rather a sort of propaganda pamphlet setting forth the superiority of Hindu medical treatment over the European one, and especially singing the praise of the late S. M. Mitra (d. 1925), a Hindu physician who is said to have worked various wonderful cures upon patients of long-standing sufferings.

It may be quite true that Hindu Medicine is in possession of various valuable secrets which, cultivated through centuries, may be even superior to some of the treatments applied by European doctors. Notwithstanding that, there is undoubtedly much in Hindu medical science which strikes us as being wholly unscientific; nor do we learn to appreciate and esteem its merits better with the help of the crude and often seriously mistaken praise heaped upon it by Miss Chaplin. With the scientific knowledge of Hindu medicine her work has got nothing to do. The reviewer has also failed to account for the presence, within the covers of this little book, of the first of the two tales beginning on page 59.

J. C.

STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY. By SURENDRANATH SEN. pp. viii + 266. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1930.

Dr. Surendranath Sen, a Lecturer in History in the University of Calcutta, has already made himself favourably known to his fellow-scholars by his various works on Shivājī and the Marāṭhās. His last book—this one, of course, excepted—dealt with foreign biographies of Shivājī. There as elsewhere Dr. Sen has shown himself thoroughly at home in the various European sources dealing with the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries India; especially he seems to have made himself well acquainted with Portuguese papers, and most of all with the collections of State documents at Goa, which are undoubtedly concealing more than one precious secret.

The new book of Dr. Sen is undoubtedly a very useful one upon the preparation of which its author has spent much painstaking labour and much learning. It would scarcely be correct to pretend that it makes any very exciting reading; however, the reader who puts it away after having perused it must tell himself that he has gathered a certain amount of very useful information, even if the events dealt with here are neither very important nor of any very great interest.

The first and most extensive of the chapters deals with "Historical Records at Goa". The Portuguese power in India, after a rapid and wonderful rise, soon set the standard of a most spectacular downfall; and since the seventeenth century it has lingered on in the shape of some crumbling ruins of what was once a great and magnificent colonial empire. Unfortunately, documents concerning the period of decay are far more numerous than those concerned with the period of grandeur. Dr. Sen has ransacked the archives at Goa, and they have given up a series of rather mournful tales of fallen splendour and pettifogging dealings with native rulers of smaller or lesser fame and power. No doubt, some of the Viceroys even during the eighteenth century were men of bravery and capacity—an example is furnished by the Marquis of Alorna with whom the last chapter of the book deals—but their means were too small and the power of Portugal too irretrievably lost to enable them to take up colonial schemes on a vast scale. Portugal had already long ago had to cede her position in India to other European powers—Holland, France, and above all, England.

Of the other chapters, which are mostly rather short, the most interesting, no doubt, are those dealing with Hydar Ali. It is not obvious—at least not to the present writer—what purpose is served by inserting here the short paper on "Hinduism and Muhammadan Heretics during the Pathan Period" (p. 118 sqq.). It had already been published in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, and it seems that even a single publication would do more than justice to its very meagre contents.

J. C.

STUDIES IN THE LANKAVATARA SUTRA, one of the most important Texts of Mahayana Buddhism, in which almost all its principal Tenets are presented, including the Teaching of Zen. By DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI. pp. xxxii + 464. London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1930.

Professor Suzuki some years ago published a very interesting collection of *Essays on Zen Buddhism*, and with vivid pleasure we now perceive that he is contemplating the publication, within no very distant future, of a second collection of these essays. He has, however, found it desirable to go somewhat deeper into that all-important text, the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, and the result is now laid before us in the shape of this bulky but fascinating volume.

Japanese Buddhism, through the activities of the late Professor

Rosenberg and his Guru, Professor Stcherbatsky, has yielded invaluable assistance towards unravelling the secrets of the Tathāgata's mysterious doctrine. Professor Suzuki, who may claim a most intimate acquaintance with that form of Buddhism, has furnished us with further precious materials for acquiring knowledge of the Buddha's doctrines in their Japanese dress. Still it must be avowed that at least partly the things dealt with in this and the previous volume are of too complicated a nature to be thoroughly grasped by scholars who are not themselves specialists in this field of research. The present writer thus willingly admits that it is far beyond his scope to pass any detailed opinion on the learned work produced by Professor Suzuki; still, he has read the book with most vivid interest and found it a storehouse of useful information.

It is interesting to observe that in the *Laṅkāvatāra* the Enlightened One preaches his doctrine to Rāvaṇa who is described not only as reverently listening to it, but also as making good progress along the path of Righteousness. In Brahmanical literature Rāvaṇa is nothing but an incarnation of an evil power that has already previously (in the shape of Hiranyakaśipu) menaced god and men :—

*vinodam icchann atha darpaśanmano
raṇena kaṇḍvās tridaśaiḥ samam punaḥ |
sa Rāvaṇo nāma nikāmaabhīṣaṇam
babhūva rakṣaḥ kṣatarakṣaṇaṁ divaḥ ||*

Because of his evil deeds and especially because of his limitless arrogance and conceit, he is doomed to destruction; and though we may feel just a puncture of compassion with one who meets heroically his predestined fate the Brahmin poets, devoted to the sweet and pious Rāma, seem to feel nothing of this. Here it is otherwise: Rāvaṇa presents himself to us as a fervent and inquisitive disciple of the Buddha. In somewhat the same way the Pampa Rāmāyaṇa depicts him as an ascetic and a pious adorer of the Jina Śāntiśvara.¹ And some castes in Southern India are said to worship Rāvaṇa whilst they heap abuse and imprecations on Rāma.

The cannibal king called Siṃhasandāsa (p. 370) apparently is the same one as Kalmāṣapāda and the anthropophagous ruler of the Sutasomajātaka, etc. On p. 125, n., there is a minor slip when the learned author ascribes the translation of the *Sūtrālamkāra* to M. Sylvain Lévi instead of to Huber.

J. C.

¹ Cf. Rice, *Kanarese Literature*, 2nd ed., p. 38 sq.

A CATALOGUE OF PHOTOGRAPHS OF SANSKRIT MSS., purchased for the Administrators of the Max Müller Memorial Fund. Compiled by T. R. GAMBIER-PARRY. pp. 59. Oxford University Press, 1930.

This is a catalogue of manuscripts belonging to the Nepāl Durbar which were several years ago sent to England to be photographed; the photographic copies are now preserved at Oxford. Though most of these manuscripts have previously been dealt with by the late MM. Haraprasād Śāstrī, this is undoubtedly a useful little book which ought to be welcome to all Sanskrit scholars busying themselves with the edition of unpublished texts or with such ones in need of revision.

J. C.

TAITTIRĪYA-PRĀTISĀKHYA, with the Bhashya Padakramasādāna by Māhīṣeya. Critically edited with appendices for the first time from an original Manuscript by MAHOPADHYAYA PANDIT V. VENKATARAMA SHARMA VIDYARHUSHANA. (Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 1.) pp. iv + 4 + iii + 188 + xxx + 9. University of Madras, 1930.

The *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*, which was first edited by Whitney,¹ has recently appeared in the Mysore Sanskrit Series with the commentaries of Somayārya and Gopālayajvan. The Madras University has now inaugurated its new series of Sanskrit texts with an edition of this important text, together with another commentary, the *Padakramasādāna* of Māhīṣeya. As the text had to be based on one single manuscript, copied from a palm-leaf one in early Malayālam script, it is needs in want of emendation in several passages. Still, it mostly looks quite readable and useful. Unfortunately, the learned editor has had to postpone to another volume of the series his discussion of the commentary, its author, etc, so that all the very scanty information we get here is chiefly concerned with the manuscript itself. The indices of words and of quotations are quite useful.

The Madras University Sanskrit Series has thus made a very good start, and we eagerly look forward to other works to be published there by the eminent pandits of South India.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

¹ *JAOS.* ix, 1 sqq.

THE BODHISATTVA DOCTRINE IN BUDDHIST SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

By HAR DAYAL. 8vo, pp. xx + 392. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1932. 18s. net.

Dr. Dayal has undertaken to discuss the Bodhisattva doctrine as it is expounded in the principal Buddhist Sanskrit treatises. The chapters include the Bodhisattva doctrine, its origin and development, the thought of Enlightenment, the thirty-seven Dharmas, the Pāramitās, the Bhūmis, the last life and Enlightenment. Within the limits he has imposed on himself he gives a well-documented account, remarkable for the thoroughness with which the work of previous investigators has been examined. This especially comes out in the treatment of technical terms, and as many as twelve or even twenty modern authorities are quoted in the course of discussions. The author has every right to limit himself to Sanskrit treatises, if he chooses, but unless he can show that the doctrine originated in Sanskrit schools, he cannot claim to have settled its origin. It is not enough to offer speculations about Hindu and Persian influence without considering what sort of Buddhism was influenced. Whether its presence in the earlier schools was a borrowing from Mahāyāna or vice versa is never discussed, nor does Maitreya put in an appearance.

A more serious matter than the exclusion of Pāli, if we are to speak of origins, is the fact that the author has never clearly distinguished non-Mahāyāna schools that used Sanskrit from those of Mahāyāna. Yet in Sarvāstivādin documents we find Buddha awakening in some of his hearers the thought of attaining *anuttarā samyak sambodhi* along with other hearers attaining arhatship. It is evading the question to say that they are Mahāyāna in spirit. However, the work is really devoted to Mahāyāna doctrine. The author passes immediately from the phases of development of the doctrine to the etymology of the names Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara. The latter he declares to be "a puzzling compound", which cannot be interpreted with any degree of certainty. What there is that puzzles him in the nature of the compound he does not say, but concluding that all other interpretations are unsatisfactory, he resorts to the second *Avalokīta-sūtra* of the *Mahāvastu*, and invents for the word *avalokīta* the meaning "wisdom". He admits that this view is tentative, but he does not strengthen it by the mere assertion that it is neither better nor worse than those which he rejects.

There are other instances which suggest that rival views have been rejected rather too curtly. He gives an analysis of the *Pratītya-*

samutpāda, and finds the "traditional interpretation" unconvincing and unsatisfactory. J. H. Beckh's interpretation cannot solve it. L. de la Vallée Poussin's explanation is "repugnant to good taste, unconvincing, and far-fetched". Oldenberg and Oltramare are merely set aside, and so on. Not once has he examined the interpretations which the Buddhists themselves put on it. Had he done so, he would have found that de la Vallée Poussin's explanation, which he so unceremoniously rejects, is actually one of these interpretations. His own conclusion is to follow what he calls "the Indian tradition as it has been preserved and interpreted by the Tibetan priests, who explained to L. A. Waddell", on the ground that it at least makes sense of the series. But even if he were sure that it is an Indian tradition, and that it has been preserved, it is quite beside the point. The only reason for introducing the formula at all is that it has a part in the training of the bodhisattvas, and then we want to know not its supposed primitive meaning, but how those actually in training understood it. It does not matter what sense they made of it, but it is only their sense that has any relevance.

He passes to the discussion of *śūnyatā*. Here rival scholars are ignored, but for the Buddhist philosophers he cannot conceal his scorn. They "revel in a veritable orgy of negation". They are "not deterred by the difficulties inherent in absurdity", and they descend to "puerile logomachy", though they "deviate into sense" by the subtle theory of the two kinds of truth. This is merely how it looks to Dr. Dayal. Other Indian schools treated the *śūnyatā* doctrine as worthy of refutation, and the author is doubtless aware that Professors Stcherbatsky and Schayer have expounded it as a rational theory of relativity. Whether their view can be justified is another question, but it remains for Dr. Dayal to justify his own dogmatic conclusions against it.

The Bodhisattva doctrine may be considered as a new ideal opening up new conceptions of the duty and destiny of man and new revelations for the yearnings of religion, or with Rhys Davids as a *bīraṇa* weed warmed by a tropical sun in marsh and muddy soil, and smothering the nobler and simpler lessons of the founder. It is the former aspect which Dr. Dayal discusses in his two most important chapters on the *Pāramitās* and *Bhūmis*. The problem of the number of the *Pāramitās* is a complicated one. Why do we find ten in the *Pāli* and six in *Mahāyāna*? The author thinks that they were raised from six to ten as a consequence of the invention of the decimal

system in the third and fourth centuries A.D. Apparently he means the invention of the so-called Arabic numerals. But this is hardly conclusive. Does he think that no one counted by tens before that date?

This chapter gives the opportunity for a refreshingly independent study of Buddhist ethics. The early Buddhists, we are told, forgot that man was essentially what Aristotle called a social animal. But in Mahāyāna the layman gets adequate recognition, especially in the *pāramitās* of liberality, morality, and forbearance. Yet the conclusion drawn is sufficiently severe. "Pure hedonism thus seems to be the ruling theory of Buddhist ethics. But it sometimes degenerates into spiritual terrorism of the worst sort." The Mahāyānist teachers are charged with violent misogyny and unalloyed cynicism, and they appear to have formulated "a regular philosophy of degeneracy".

The chapter on the ten Bhūmis is very systematic and full. Four different systems are analysed, which are really summaries of the stages of the whole career of the Bodhisattva, till he obtains omniscience, acquires a glorious body, and emits rays which destroy the pain and misery of all living beings. After this the final chapter on the last life and Enlightenment comes rather as an anticlimax, as it is the story of the life of Gautama Buddha, described for the most part from works which know nothing of these elaborate developments of the Bhūmis. The author describes each stage of Gautama's life, and gives the thirty-two marks in great detail, but the eighty minor marks are dismissed as being due to the "fussy fatuity of the Buddhist writers, who could not leave well alone". The Māra legend also receives full discussion. It is said to be an amalgam of allegory and myth, and the author is able to tell exactly where the allegory ends and the myth begins, and where the two are intertwined. The myth itself is probably a replica of the struggle between Indra and Vṛtra, with some echoes of the war between Rāma and Rāvaṇa. This section will be of great interest to all students of comparative mythology. There is no doubt that the whole work forms the most systematic and extensive study that we possess in English on this important development of religion.

E. J. THOMAS.

INDIAN LOGIC IN THE EARLY SCHOOLS. By H. N. RANDLE, M.A.,
D.Phil., Indian Educational Service (retired). pp. xii + 404.
Oxford University Press, 1930. 12s.

We are all indebted to the United Provinces Government for its wise generosity in granting Dr. Randle the leisure which enabled him to produce this work and in aiding in the cost of publication. The task undertaken by the author is one demanding close concentration and prolonged consideration of exceptionally obscure problems, and it is most gratifying to have available the results of this research in an effective form. Indian logic has, of late years, been fortunate in the measure of attention which it has received; the absolute necessity of translations of the essential texts has at last been fully recognized, and the task of attempting to appreciate Indian achievement in this field is immeasurably facilitated by the fact that we have before us efforts by experts to make clear the lucubrations both of the Buddhists and the Brahmins in this field.

Even with the aid afforded, it is extremely difficult to arrive at a satisfactory understanding of Indian logic. Much of this difficulty arises from the fact that the texts which have been made accessible are written by authors who are constantly engaged in attacking views of other schools or teachers, and who assume that the tenets they oppose will be understood by those who use their works. At any rate they never attempt dispassionately to consider opposing views, to expound them intelligently, and to attempt to understand the point of view which they embody. The result is that it is extremely difficult to grasp the real force of the arguments on either side, and one is often left with a hazy idea of the theory criticized and that actually adopted. There must be added to this source of obscurity the difficulties inherent in the Sanskrit language; the use of compounds which can be differently interpreted is an ever-present problem, and the text of our treatises can hardly be said to be presented in really scientific editions, while much of the earlier logic depends still on Chinese or Tibetan translations. In the face of these facts the very divergent views taken by writers on the theme are inevitable, and it will be long before any certainty can be achieved on the essential issues in dispute. Moreover, it is clear that much further information as to the development of logic will ultimately be afforded by the researches of Professor Tucci among others, so that it is hopeless for the moment to expect to achieve certainty on fundamental issues. But Dr. Randle's work will be of real service in all discussions on these topics.

The historical introduction by itself serves to show how disputed is the issue of the emergence of the schools and their interrelations. Here and there Dr. Randle seems needlessly sceptical. It is really incredible that, when in the *Milindapañha* we find reference made to the fact that Milinda was versed in the Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Nīti, and Vaiṣeṣika, we are to believe that there is no reason to take Nīti in any other than the usual sense of Nitiśāstra (p. 12). On the contrary, there is the most cogent reason; for any author to interrupt a list of philosophical sciences in which the king excelled by interpolating Nitiśāstra before Vaiṣeṣika would be amazing, and the one defence of such a view would be that the Nyāya could not be styled Nīti in a Pāli text or that the Nyāya could not have been known to the person who inserted these references in the *Milindapañha*. But neither view is tenable; we have not the slightest ground for placing the *Milindapañha* at a date before the evolution of the Nyāya philosophy, and we must certainly admit that the Nyāya is here referred to. Equally clear¹ is it that the *Medhātithi Nyāyaśāstram* of the *Pratimānātaka* is a reference to the Nyāya proper, and not to the *Manubhāṣya* of Medhātithi in the ninth century A.D. Not the slightest evidence has ever been adduced that the *Manubhāṣya* could be so completely misdescribed, apart altogether from the absurdity of the *Pratimānātaka*, whatever its date, referring to a modern work in the context. We must accept the fact that for some reason by the time of the didactic portions of the epic Medhātithi had been associated with Gautama as the name of the authority on Nyāya, who, of course may have flourished long before our *Nyāya Sūtra* came into being. Nor, it seems to me, is it at all safe to infer (p. 17) from the lack of logical conceptions as the Nyāya understands logic in the *Milindapañha* that at the time, when the bulk of the work was written, logic did not yet exist in India. This assumes that the merits of Nyāya ideas must have been accepted by all Buddhists, and that a work which shows no trace of Nyāya influence can be dated by that fact. But for this assumption no evidence is suggested. Early argument, we are told (p. 14), is incredibly irrelevant and tautologous, but, if this implies that later argument does not bear the same stamp, the proposition is misleading. The terms applied seem to me to fit excellently a very large amount of the logical argumentations of the school of logicians who deal with the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeṣa, and even in the earlier texts there is much that seems unprofitable and irrelevant. In this

¹ Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. xiii; BSOS. iii, 623-5.

connection it is instructive to consider the case of the *Kathāvatthu*; Dr. Randle holds that, if this work is ascribed to the third century B.C., it is an indication that logic did not then exist, "for, if it had existed, this cumbrous methodology could hardly have remained in use" (p. 14). But are we to understand that, when logic came into existence, this methodology ceased to be adopted in the Buddhist circles which held the *Kathāvatthu* in honour? Is there any evidence of this? The preservation of the text tells strongly against any such theory, which indeed is far too optimistic in its view of human intelligence. In circles bound fast by religious or philosophical tradition, there may be no entry for new ideas, a fact sufficiently borne out by the history of European religious thought. We cannot, I am certain, derive any argument of value from the state of thought revealed in the *Kathāvatthu*. Dr. Randle again seems to me to be needlessly venturesome in seeking (p. 16, n. 4) to reinterpret the term Yoga when joined with Sāṃkhya in the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* as denoting the Vaiśeṣika system. This complete divergence from the normal sense of the word when following the Sāṃkhya is certainly not justified because¹ in the *Nyāyabhāṣya* Vātsyāyana ascribes to the Yogas specifically Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika doctrines (p. 3). Moreover the conjecture is wholly needless; there is not the slightest ground for ascribing the *Arthaśāstra* to any date at which it would be unnatural for its author to know the existence of the Sāṃkhya and the Yoga.² When a work contains in immediate contiguity two terms with a regular sense, to ascribe to one of them an artificial sense without any justification runs counter to all sound methodology, and merely adds to the difficulties inherent in any subject a needless perplexity. Whatever the age of the definition that includes Sāṃkhya, Yoga, and Lokāyata as Ānvīkṣikī—and that it is old is a mere assumption—it is perfectly clear that a mind which would regard Sāṃkhya as Ānvīkṣikī could have no objection to classing Yoga with it in that category. Nor does Dr. Randle suggest that the Sāṃkhya and Yoga known to Nāgārjuna were other than the recognized systems, and Nāgārjuna is probably older than our *Arthaśāstra*.

On the very interesting issue of the priority of Dignāga to Praçastapāda, Dr. Randle cites (pp. 29-32) the reversal of Stcherbatsky's views and his acceptance of the doctrine that

¹ It must be noted that Jacobi (*SBA.* 1929, pp. 608-16) has thrown grave doubts on this assertion, and rendered it most improbable.

² Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 460, 461.

Praçastapāda was a contemporary of Vasubandhu, and thus a predecessor of Dignāga. I confess that this view appears to me unsatisfactory, and without attempting to discuss the issue at length it may suffice to note the very definite argument of Professor Tucci drawn from his translation of the *Nyāyamukha*¹: "The passage referring to the *viruddha avyabhicārin* is of a very great importance as regards the chronological relation between Dignāga and Praśastapāda. In fact it is almost verbatim quoted and refuted in the *Praśastapādabhāṣya*," the passage being (p. 342): *ekasmiṃ ca dvayor hetvor yathoktalakṣaṇayor viruddhayoh samnipāte sati samāyadarçanād ayam anyath sanidigdha iti kecit*. It seems still preferable to assume that Praçastapāda follows Dignāga, as suits best the development of logical doctrine. Incidentally, it may be noted that Dr. Randle's acceptance of the attribution to Vasubandhu of a *Vādaśiḍhi* seems untenable; Dignāga in his *Pramāṇasamuccaya*² definitely denies that this text which he condemns as unsound was the work of the Ācārya, and probably Dignāga knew what he was talking about. On Vasubandhu's date we are still in doubt, for recent expositions³ have not advanced matters to any definite conclusion. But the figure of Maitreya-nātha as a historical personage, who has been recently revived by Professor Tucci,⁴ should, I think, clearly be banished from the connection, and Asaṅga should be left to the enjoyment of his works, as Professor Louis de La Vallée Poussin has cogently observed in the latest part of his great work on the *Abhidharmakośa*.⁵ He has there made it clear that we have an older Vasubandhu to reckon with. As regards the *Nyāyapraveśa*, which Dr. Randle inclines to ascribe to Çaṅkarasvāmin, it may be well to refer to the evidence adduced by Dr. Mironow,⁶ which suggests that Haribhadra, the author of the *Śaḍdarçanasamuccaya* regarded Dignāga as the author; he suggests that Çaṅkarasvāmin of whom we know nothing may have issued a revised edition of the text.

For the priority of the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* to the *Vaiçeṣika*, which I accepted⁷ on internal evidence, there is now additional confirmation

¹ *The Nyāyamukha of Dignāga*, p. 31, note 58.

² See the restored text by H. R. Rangaswamy Iyengar (Mysore, 1930), i, 14.

³ See *Indian Studies in Honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman*, pp. 79-102.

⁴ *Some Aspects of the Doctrines of Maitreya(nātha) and Asaṅga* (Calcutta, 1930), pp. 1-17.

⁵ Introduction (1931), p. xxvi.

⁶ *Nyāyapraveśa* (from *T'oung Pao*), pp. 7-9.

⁷ *Indian Logic and Atomism*, p. 25; *The Karma-Mīmāṃsā*, pp. 5-7.

in the researches of Professor Jacobi,¹ who has stressed the parallelism of the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* with certain grammatical theories current in the time of Kātyāyana's work on Pāṇini. Without unduly stressing this evidence, which I shall discuss elsewhere, or accepting the date before 200 B.C. as proved for the *Sūtra*, we may regard it as certain that the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* precedes the *Vaiṣeṣika Sūtra*.

As is doubtless inevitable, Dr. Randle's interest in his researches probably inclines him to overestimate the value of Indian logic. To call (p. 35) Uddyotakara's *Nyāyavārtika* "one of the world's great treatises on logic" seems to me a very serious overestimate, even though the assertion is qualified by reference to "the atmosphere of incessant and often hyper-critical polemic in which it has its being, and which makes it a matter of considerable difficulty to discover what its author's positive doctrine is". The difficulty in fact is often insuperable, and it is often probably best to admit that Uddyotakara was simply inconsistent. If this is deemed impossible, a defender is driven to difficult expedients. Thus in dealing with Uddyotakara's treatment of the *probandum*, Dr. Randle has to disagree with Vācaspati Miśra and Dr. Gaṅgānāth Jhā (p. 279); to adopt a conjectural rendering, which seems to me to be quite impossible (p. 280); to admit that one point of the argument is baffling because the author ignores any kind of causation except material causation—surely a hopeless omission (p. 281); to give (p. 283, n. 3) an explanation of Uddyotakara's assertion that smoke and fire are not always combined, which is hardly possible; and to admit after all (p. 285) that misunderstanding of Uddyotakara's view is easy. What is much easier is to assume that Uddyotakara's obvious meaning is what he actually meant, and to conclude that Uddyotakara is a logician of very moderate value, a conclusion which seems to me borne out by his discussions when any difficult points arise. The restatement of Uddyotakara's position (p. 265) is really not an explanation of what Uddyotakara says, but a modern refinement which he shows not the slightest trace of achieving. The temptation to read our ideas into Indian logic is strong in all of us, but historically it is rather confusing.

In the same way it seems to me difficult to ascertain what real merit is to be ascribed to Vātsyāyana as a logician. It appears to me that his reasoning is merely from analogy, and that he provides no basis for discriminating between arguments from unsound and from

¹ *Indian Studies*, pp. 145-165.

sound analogies. The view (p. 180) that Gautama hated sophistry and devoted so much space in his Sūtra to the consideration of *jāti* because he desired by true logic to counter the sophistical dialectic of Ājīvavādins like Nāgārjuna hardly appears to be supported by any facts. Without entering at length into the vexed question of the meaning of *anumeya*, in the *trairūpya*, it suffices to point out, as to the unsatisfactory character of the discussions which were based on it, that the authorities are at hopeless odds. Dr. Randle rules (p. 185) that we can safely discard on principle the interpretation given by Dharmakīrti of Dignāga's meaning, because later authorities always interpret older writers in the light of the notions prevalent in their own time, to which it is legitimate to reply that, a priori, a competent follower of Buddhist views like Dharmakīrti should have known what Dignāga meant. He equally rejects Ārīdhara's rendering of Praçastapāda as authoritative, but the cases are hardly in *pari materia*, for Ārīdhara¹ is far further removed from Praçastapāda than Dharmakīrti from Dignāga, even apart from the impossibility of arguing from one individual to another. But it must be remembered that not Dharmakīrti only ascribes to Dignāga the meaning in question (viz. that *anumeye sadbhāvaḥ* denotes that *S* must be *M*), but the same view is taken by Uddyotakara, and Dr. Randle does not believe (p. 34) that Uddyotakara knew Dharmakīrti; he must admit therefore that Buddhist tradition in general accepted the position as Dignāga's, and indeed he himself seems to accept finally the view as correct (p. 187), which renders it illogical to ignore the attitude of Dharmakīrti. As regards Praçastapāda, Dr. Randle rejects finally Ārīdhara's view² that *anumeyena sambaddham* means that *S* must be *P*, which indeed seems to be nonsense, but he insists that Praçastapāda meant that *S* must be *M*, as did Dignāga. At the same time, he expressly admits that other passages in the *Bhāṣya* of Praçastapāda make it sufficiently clear that his logic embodies a doctrine of universal connection between abstract terms *M* and *P* (*anumeyasāmānya*, *liṅgasāmānya*), for which the *trairūpya* seems to find no place when its first clause is interpreted as a statement that *S* must be *M*. It is, therefore, necessary for him to hold that neither Dignāga nor Praçastapāda was able to work into the traditional

¹ He wrote in A.D. 991; *Indian Logic and Atomism*, p. 32, and there is no evidence of a consistent tradition, while as regards the Nyāya a break is attested after Uddyotakara.

² *Nyāyikandalī*, p. 200: *anumeyah pratipipādyaḥ śūdradharmaviçīṣṭo dharmī*.

trairūpya, which they took over from earlier logic, the doctrine of universal connection which both held. I confess I prefer to take the more obvious course¹ of supposing that Praçastapāda was consistent in his view, and that he meant by the first clause that *M* must be *P*. Why one should assume that he could not make this sensible adjustment of the *trairūpya* is not clear, and it must be remembered that he does not adopt the same wording as Dignāga.² In the second place, the next words of the *trairūpya*, *prasiddham ca tadanyate* seem conclusive in favour of my rendering, for the sentence is meaningless unless *tad* denotes *anumeyadharmā*, and this seems conclusive as to the sense of *anumeye*; indeed Dr. Randle is driven to contend that it is reasonable to use a term in two senses at once in the same sentence, which seems to me incredible even for Indian logic. In the third place, the exposition by Praçastapāda himself seems to suit best my version; Dr. Randle's objection that the reference to concomitance *deçaviçeṣe kālaviçeṣe vā*, "at any particular time or at any particular place," seems to be altogether inappropriate to the statement of a universal concomitance, but appropriate to a statement that this or that particular *S* is *M*, ignores my rendering of these terms,³ which I refer to concomitance "in respect of time" or "in respect of space", a very different thing. The more interesting question of universals I have discussed elsewhere,⁴ and it must suffice to add in conclusion that I doubt the validity of Faddegon's objection⁵ to the current derivation of the name of the Vaiçeṣika school from the Viçeṣa doctrine, and his own suggestion that it is derived from the school's method of proceeding *sādharmyavaidharmyābhyām*, for which there seems no ground of value. Nor do I think that there is any difference of sense (p. 160) between *svārtha* and *svanīçcitārtha* as applied to *anumāna*; both mean inference for oneself, the longer phrase denoting inference "in which the sense is determined for oneself"; naturally in either case the activity which determines is oneself, but the essential point is that the term is opposed to *parārtha*, and it is the fact that it is for oneself that is in point.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

¹ *Indian Logic and Atomism*, pp. 137 ff.

² It must also be remembered that to Dignāga the *probandum* is neither *P* nor *S*, but *P* as related to *S*, which explains his sense of *anumeye sadbhāvaḥ*. See Tucci, *Nyāyamukha*, p. 15; Stecherbatsky, *Logic*, ii, 58, n. 1.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

⁴ *JHQ.* iv, 19-22.

⁵ Accepted by Dr. Randle, p. 136.

PANCAVIMŚA-BRĀHMAṆA. Translated by DR. W. CALAND, Emeritus Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Utrecht. pp. xxxvi + 661. Bibliotheca Indica, Work No. 255. Calcutta, 1931.

Once more we owe to Professor Caland a deep debt of gratitude for the unremitting labour which he devotes to the exposition of the Brāhmanical literature. These texts have interest, no doubt, in high measure for the student of grammar and lexicography, but they are without attraction of style, and the *Pañcaviṃśa* in special is in substance of a most repellent aridity. The legends which lend interest and variety to most of the other great texts are in it reduced to brief allusions, and, as it assumes an understanding of the ritual, it presents grave difficulties of interpretation. To these inherent causes of trouble must be added the most unsatisfactory character of the text of the edition of Anandacandra Vedāntavāgīṣa (1870-4). The editor did not even take the trouble to correct his text in the light of the commentary, and the latter is full of impossibilities. It is, therefore, of the greatest advantage that we can substitute for it a most careful and accurate translation, accompanied by the explanations of the ritual use of the stanzas referred to in the text without which any rendering is practically unintelligible.

In his introduction Professor Caland briefly reviews the literature of the *Sāmaveda*, and develops certain points of special importance. He now definitely accepts the theory of Oldenberg that the *Pūrveṛcika* of the *Sāmaveda* is older than the *Uttarārcika*, a result which appears to me to be absolutely certain. But he goes perhaps too far in the opposite sense when he advances the view that the Brāhmana is prior to the *Uttarārcika* and that the chanters still relied on the *Rgveda* for their verses. This, a priori, is decidedly improbable, and the evidence, all of which is very fairly set out by Dr. Caland, tells definitely in favour of the view which seems natural, namely that the author of the Brāhmana knew both the *Rgveda* and the *Uttarārcika*, much as we have it to-day. That really follows from the fact that the Brāhmana clearly was familiar with the order in which verses are grouped there as contrasted with the grouping in the *Rgveda*, and that he freely talks of tristichs, pentastichs, and so on, which are given in the *Uttarārcika*. We really cannot accept the view that he contemplated that the chanters could select any verses they pleased and that the *Uttarārcika* came later, and borrowed the specification of the verses from the *Jaiminīya Brāhmana* which adopts the plan of denoting what verses are to be used by quoting as usual the initial words.

Nor does it appear to me that the claim that the *Pañcaviṅśa* is younger than the *Jaiminīya* can be made out. The fact that the *Jaiminīya* accepts barbaric rites such as the Gosava, which the *Pañcaviṅśa* omits, is irrelevant for purposes of date. Different schools naturally varied in their views on these matters, and it is impossible to lay it down that greater refinement has marked the course of evolution of Indian religion. What is far more to the point is the fact that in the *Jaiminīya*, ii, 112, we have ascribed to Tāṇḍya a myth which is actually on record in *Pañcaviṅśa*, xx, 3, 2, while the *Āpastamba Āraṇyaka*, xxi, 16, 5, 14, already knows our Brāhmaṇa as Tāṇḍyaka. To claim that the *Jaiminīya* passage is in some way the source of the *Pañcaviṅśa* involves a needless and really impossible paradox. The linguistic evidence on the whole is not in favour of the priority of the *Jaiminīya*. There are certain forms which are divergent from the classical model, and are more freely used in the *Jaiminīya* than in the *Pañcaviṅśa*; such are the locatives in *an*, but the *Pañcaviṅśa* has *ātman dhatte*, xii, 10, 18, and the *Jaiminīya* also varies its use.¹ Again the *Jaiminīya* has plurals of *i* stems in *īs* as opposed to *yas*; *tanvam* for *tanūm*; *asthāni* for *asthīni*; *yuvam* for *yuvām*; *duhe* and *duhre* for *dugdhe* and *duhate*; and *oṣam* for *kṣipram*, but none of these minutiae is of much importance. It would be of greater value if we accepted the view that in *Pañcaviṅśa* iv, 1, 2, the words *tāsām tvevābruvan* the irregularity is due to the failure of the author of the Brāhmaṇa to recognize (presumably in the traditional story which he used) the form of the pronoun *teu*, because it had become obsolete in his time. It is far easier to assume irregularity of Sandhi or a defective text, for the text of the Brāhmaṇa is exceedingly far from impeccable. On the other hand must be set a very solid fact, the use by the *Jaiminīya* of the imperfect and the perfect indiscriminately as narrative tenses. No one doubts that the use of the perfect for narrative grows steadily in the Brāhmaṇas, and it is a distinctive mark which far outweighs any other linguistic considerations yet adduced. The *Jaiminīya* in fact seems far from an early text; I have indicated² its probable posteriority to the Mādhyandina version of the *Ātapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Its archaisms are best explained by the fact that it seems to preserve a very large amount of old material, especially in the shape

¹ This is a frequent phenomenon in that curious text, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*; see F. J. Meier, *ZII.*, viii, 77. It has also locatives in *an*, *tanvam*, and *sañcayire* (x, 66, 25).

² *BSQS.* iv, 619, 620.

of legends, in which grammatical forms survive of older character than the text of the Brāhmaṇa in general. Noteworthy is the use of *ātman* in the plural as a reflexive, as opposed to the earlier singular.

On the other hand, Dr. Caland has quite satisfactorily established the priority to the *Pañcaviṃśa* of the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* and probably of the *Kāthaka*. That is established quite clearly by xxiii, 16, 12, while xviii, 6, 9, seems simply to cite *Maitrāyaṇī*, i, 11, 9.¹ This, it should be noted, accords with the evidence of the use of tenses; both these texts belong to the type which eschews narrative perfects.

On one other point of chronology it is difficult to accept the views put forward. The view that the *Puṣpasūtra* is prior to the *Ūha-* and *Ūhyagānas* seems impossible to reconcile with the text of the *Puṣpasūtra*, viii, 234, for it is contrary to normal construction to render *etena pradēcenohyaḥ sāmagaṇaḥ kalpayitavyaḥ* "by means of this indication the group of sāmans must be adapted (and) made ready (for practical purposes)". The position of the word *ūhyaḥ* is so odd that Simon's rendering: "die Gesamtheit der zum *Uhaḡāna* gehörenden sāmans" seems to be right.

A text so unsatisfactory and difficult offers many points of doubt; of these a few may be noted. Dr. Caland has suggested in iv, 1, 2, a new sense for the troublesome *prāvantata* of the legend of the cows and their horns. He now believes that the legend means that the cows which performed the session for ten months all secured horns, while those which continued for two more had their horns turn inwards, a sense suggested by *pravarta*, "a circular ornament," and *pravṛtta*, "round." This, however, is a very serious strain to put on the word, and, what is decisive, as I have before pointed out,² is the action ascribed to the human counterparts of the cows; they cut off (*pra-vap*) their topknots at the close, and this corresponds exactly to the loss by the cows of their horns. Thus language and sense demand acceptance of the meaning "fell off" for *prāvantata*. In xii, 6, 8, Dr. Caland has undoubtedly improved on Hopkins' rendering of the interesting passage regarding Indra and Namuci: the treacherous god slays his foe with the foam of the waters at dawn before sunrise; of the severed head it is said *tad enam pāpīyaṃ vadad anvavartata vīrahann adruho 'druha iti*. Caland renders: "This head, a greater evil (than the slain himself had been), rolled after him (calling out): 'Man-slayer, thou hast cheated, thou hast cheated!'" But there are two

¹ For *sa niruktasāmeli* Caland with justice suggests *san* in both texts.

² *BSOS.* I, iv, 178, commenting on Caland's earlier view of this word.

objections to this rendering ; there is no obvious reason why the head should thus be denounced ; Namuci is not denounced in the text, and the form is hopelessly irregular. The commentator finds in *pāpīyam* an epithet of the speech addressed to the peccant deity. It seems far more natural to accept the view that we should read *pāpīyan*, virtually no change. The head rolled after him calling out : “ O sinner, O hero-slayer, thou hast cheated.” The position of *pāpīyan* is dramatic and effective.¹ In v, 5, 9, Dr. Caland renders *mahas* as “ merriment ” and in 10 on this basis we are given a pleasant glimpse into Indian child life ; “ when merriment seizes children, then they mount swings.” It is sad to banish from the arid Brāhmaṇa this touch of simple human things, but the commentator no doubt is nearer the mark with his version of *tejas*. The swinging in the ritual is a sun spell ; men imitate the movement of the sun and thus acquire its strength, while conversely they give it renewed power. The use of the verb *mahayanti* in 21 is quite inconsistent with *mahas* as “ merriment ”. In 15, on the other hand, Caland must be right in restoring *vyāyacchanta* for the *vyāyacchantas* of the edition ; the defence of Oertel would avail as far as the case goes, but it is incredible that the active should be used when just before we have the form *vyāyacchete* in the same sense. In xiii, 4, 17, there are difficulties ; it is probable that *putrān* is not predicative so much as descriptive ; we may suppose the Yatis who were spared delivery to the hyænas were young ; they ask : “ Who will support us boys ? ” Indra perhaps places them on his chariot rather than on his back. The words *paricārya caran vardhayan* Caland emends to *paricaryācarad vardhayan* with the Leyden MSS. The comment, however, suggests that it read *pariyacarat* only and this may well be the original, for the edition and the Leyden MSS. alike afford a very odd sentence. The participle here might be defended, but it does not seem to have any real authority ; the commentator evidently did not know it, though as usual it is misprinted to read *pariyacaran*. Oertel prefers *paricārī*, “ He went as their caretaker, tending them ”. In ix, 4, 18, *mithunāt* is rendered “ from the pair ” and explained as “ probably from sons and daughters, or from cows and horses ”, but the term has doubtless its normal sense, “ from pairing,” i.e. from propagation. In xii, 6, 12, the correction of *yantas* to *yatas* is easy but unnecessary ; this sort of construction has sufficient parallels to justify it, and it is remarkable, if it is not original, that

¹ In the *Mahābhārata*, ix, 43, 37, the accuser's cry is *mātrokan pāpa*.

the MSS. should have the nominative. In xiii, 3, 12, the reading *dhāvayan* of the Leyden MS. would be easier, but '*dhāvayat* may be sound; the comment in the edition is ambiguous, for *ṣiḡhram gamayat* suggests a participle, but *adhāvayat* is given in full. In xiii, 12, 5, Caland reads *Kirātākulyau* and renders "two crafty Asuras, (called) Kirāta and Ākuli" without citing Oertel's rendering "two Kirāta clansmen, illusions of the Asuras", the latter rendering suiting better *asuramāye* of the text; Oertel with Hopkins gives the comment as reading *kirātā mlecchās tatkulyarūpe*, but in fact it has *tattulyarūpe*, though this cannot be trusted. In xiii, 6, 9, Caland emends *ṣuṣruva* to *ṣuṣruve*, making Dīrghajihvī say: "This truly is unheard by me," i.e. she had never before received an invitation, but a much more obvious correction is *ṣuṣrava*, a rare use,¹ but one which would give the necessary sense. In xxiii, 4, 2, the distinction of *talpe* and *vivāhe* may refer to admission to sharing the same couch with one, and on the other hand marriage, association amongst men in the former case being meant. The locative in this passage used with *mīmāṃs* is regular, but the dative in xii, 10, 15, is not a variant of this usage; it is really a *dativus commodi*, and as such regular.

The number of grammatical irregularities which might be cited is not negligible, and they might be adduced as signs of date to counter those brought forward in favour of the *Jaiminīya*. But isolated usages are not important. We have hypersandhi in *trevābruvan* cited above and in xiv, 4, 7, *kva tarṣayo*, but in x, 4, 2, *antarā agniṣtomāv atirātrābhyām* cannot be taken seriously as intended for *antarāv*; the editor evidently held, with apparently the comment, that *antarā* was adverbial. Occasionally *s* is lingualized in sentence Sandhi and so also *n* (*bahir nirādadhāti*). But it is difficult to take *viciicchidivām* in viii, 9, 21, as a R̥gvedic Sandhi; it is much more probably a mere blunder of the MSS. and *cakrus* as a nominative masculine in xxi, 1, 8, seems impossible, being quite inadequately supported by *RV.* x, 137, 1, which has only the accusative *cakrūṣam*. *jyotau*, xvi, 10, 2, and *aharbhīḥ* and *vīlomānaḥ*, xxiii, 19, 11, are typical abnormalities. This can be said of *adhivūt*, iv, 10, 1, while *abhyarthidhvam* in vii, 8, 2, which Böhrling alters to *abhyarthidhvam*, is referred by the translator to *abhyrtiyate*; *ajyāsiṣṭām* in xxi, 1, 1, has a *Jaiminīya* parallel. To the subjunctives cited,² may be added *ṛdhnavat*, viii, 9, 21,

¹ Compare Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, p. 344; Renou, *Grammaire Sanscrite*, § 337.

² *dhinavat* is, of course, to be substituted for *dhinvat*, and *mā dūyat*, viii, 2, 10, is an injunctive, not a subjunctive, as the negative *mā* proves.

and *mayāt*, xviii, 9, 13. In xi, 6, 5, *anurūpa enam* is due to the force of the *anu-*; as in *Damayantīm anuvrata*; it is hardly to be described as an instance of a noun governing an accusative. In xviii, 5, 9, it is really impossible to accept *alam prajāyāḥ* as possible. The fact that the comment is silent suggests that it had the normal *prajāyai*. In xvi, 16, 2, *çām lokānām ulabhinat* is difficult, but the idea may be "became master of", and the genitive may be on the analogy of *īç*. In xxiii, 1, 5, we have a curious present followed by an imperfect; it seems better to take the present as purely historic and not as indicating past custom; in xxv, 3, 6, there are two presents, both best taken as historic. This is confirmed by the use in iv, 10, 7, where the present is used to represent a purely historic fact, duly represented in iv, 10, 1, by an imperfect. The imperfects in xii, 10, 15, and xviii, 9, 8, are doubtless narrative tenses proper, though the same facts might have been equally well envisaged as generic truths and put in the present. The perfect, normally with heavy reduplication (*ānaçe, dīdāya*), has regularly the characteristic present sense, and this as noted above is significant of early date. Very strange and doubtless a mere misreading is the well-known ix, 10, 2, *sa içvarā pāpīyān bhavitoḥ*; *içvarermā bhavitoḥ* in iv, 2, 10, is easily explained as hypersandhi. Noteworthy is the suggestion in xi, 1, 6, to read *yataḥ prārpyasya çamyā avadadhyāt* for *prārthasya*, and to adopt the same course in the *Atharvaveda* crux v, 22, 8, *ābhūd u prārpiyas takmā sā gamiṣyati Bādhikān*. The *Jaiminīya* (ii, 12) has *naddhayugasya*, and it is possible that *prārpyasya* could denote the cart that was to be set in motion, while the *Atharvan* passage would read well. Yet in neither case is the change certain, and it would hardly suit *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, ii, 1, 2, 12. But this must suffice to indicate the many interesting points of scholarship, suggested by this admirable version, as regards even texts other than the *Brāhmaṇa*.

On certain points Dr. Caland differs from Hopkins without assigning cause. In xii, 11, 10, he holds that *īyām* said by the Gandharva Ūrṇāyu in selecting an Apsaras is really *iyam*, the lengthening being due to that representing the *sāman* form. This is attractive, for, apart from the rare form, the sense "I would go" is not very much in point. An ingenious version is also given of the difficult passage, xxi, 10, 5, 6: *na vā Aurvau* (text *Ūrvau*) *palītau samjānāte*, it being suggested that the passage means that Jamadagni's progeny were so numerous that, when aged, none of his descendants know each other. But it is very difficult to accept this interpretation;

it must be held that the dual denotes "no pair of descendants know each other", and the reasoning of the Brāhmaṇa is made rather absurd; it is not a reasonable outcome of there being a large family that in old age all its members are such strangers that they do not know one another. Hopkins naturally holds that the reference is to two definite people, and he suggests that the prosperity of the family is typified by their having no grey hairs, i.e. they retain their youth, and this, of course, is the sort of thing which the opinion of the Brāhmaṇas admired. But in any event it is really impossible to make the text yield the sense suggested by Dr. Caland. Curiously enough, the translator, like Hopkins, passes without comment the amazing reading *adichatām* in xiii, 7, 12, which is repeated in the comment as *adicchatām dātum aicchatam*, and this clear intrusion of a Prakritism into the text seems to have escaped general notice.¹ In viii, 3, 1, the translator deals summarily with the *kālayiṣpaddham* *iti* of the text, for which the comment has *kālayiṣyaddham*, by substituting *kālayiṣyadhva* *iti*. It is however clear that the comment and the text really read *kālayiṣyadhvam* *iti*, and it is hardly possible to ignore the form, which the comment glosses by the indicative *apanayatha*, doubtless a misprint for the imperative *apanayata*.² No doubt a future imperative is anomalous, but it has epic parallels and it seems risky to eject it from the text, unless there is MS. evidence in favour of its disappearance.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

DER GESETZMÄSSIGE LEBENS LAUF DER VÖLKER INDIENS. VON
HARTMUT PIPER. (Die Gesetze der Weltgeschichte. Völker-
biologie . . . Zweite Abteilung: Völkerbiographie und -biologie
der Menschheit. Zweiter Teil: Indien. Svo, pp. xvi + 232.
Leipzig, 1931. RM. 6.

Herr Piper has two main hypotheses. One is that the history of mankind evolves in accordance with definite biological laws analogous to those governing the life of the individual; the other is that he possesses the ability to write this history. The present book does not seem to us to justify either of these postulates. A German critic has roused Herr Piper to great wrath by charging him with *Analogien-krankheit*, a morbid passion for discovering analogies between things

¹ For later examples, see Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, i, 158.

² See Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 938; Renou, *op. cit.*, § 340.

that are different, and building his theories upon these rickety sub-structures. The present work is brimful of examples of this misapplied ingenuity. Phases of history are labelled with highly dubious titles; and persons who have comparatively little similarity are copiously equated. Thus Āśvaghōṣa is styled "der indische Dante", Yaśō-dharman "der indische Wallenstein", Dignāga "der indische Descartes", Dharmakīrti "der indische Hume", Kālidāsa "der indische Tasso", Śūdraka "der indische Shakspeare", Kalhaṇa "der indische Tacitus", Nānak "der indische Calvin", Tagore "der indische Goethe", Kabīr "der indische Luther", etc. Arbitrary tickets of this sort only darken counsel.

Furthermore, Herr Piper has a *Tendenz*. Feeling acutely the painful conditions to which Germany is condemned by the Treaty of Versailles, he looks round for comfort and hope, and finds them in the lessons which he believes he can educe by his method of "folk-biology" from history. *Ex Oriente lux*. Unfortunately a political *Tendenz* is an untrustworthy lamp to guide the steps of the student who embarks on the study of cultural history, particularly that of India. *Sie strahlt ihm nicht, sie kann nur zünden*; and, as might be expected, we find a lively blaze in the third part of the book, where Herr Piper professes to describe modern developments in India, and lashes himself into a furious paroxysm of Anglophobia over the alleged crimes of the British Government. It is not unfair to say the book is a laborious perversion of *Kulturgeschichte*.

L. D. BARNETT.

TOCHARISCHE GRAMMATIK, im Auftrage der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften bearbeitet in Gemeinschaft mit W. SCHULZE von E. SIEG und W. SIEGLING. pp. 4 + 518. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931. RM. 33.

The Oriental studies of the twentieth century have been deeply influenced by the striking discoveries made in Chinese Turkestan by several missions of different nations. In the linguistic field the most prominent discovery has been that of several hitherto unknown Indo-European languages, among which the first place belongs, no doubt, to the so-called "Tocharian".

Various documents, written in Brāhmī characters, purchased by consular agents or missionaries, found their way into the libraries of Calcutta and Petrograd in the 'nineties of the last century. Some

proved to be in a more or less correct Sanskrit, others in "unknown languages". The latter defied the attempts of scholars to decipher them, partly because they contained several "special" characters, at first considered to be mere variants of the usual Indian ones. Such readings could naturally give but distorted forms. Hoernle succeeded in distinguishing two languages, called "Language I" and "Language II". While the latter showed unmistakable affinities with the Aryan branch (later called by E. Leumann "North Aryan", by S. Konow "Khotanese", and determined as a form of Iranian speech, identified by Lüders with the language of the Scythians, "Sacaë"), the "Language I", apart from a few Indian names and (chiefly Buddhist) terms, remained a riddle.

The merit of solving this riddle belongs to the two last-named authors, Messrs. Sieg and Siegling, whose short paper in the *Proceedings of the Prussian Academy of Sciences* in 1908¹ marked the beginning of the scientific study of the language in question.

Sieg and Siegling determined the following points: (1) the real value of the "special" characters ("Fremdzeichen", i.e. $\frac{k}{f}$, $\frac{t}{d/h}$, p , m , n , $\frac{l}{r}$, w , $\frac{s}{z}$, $\frac{\eta}{\xi}$, η , ξ)—a discovery that made the reading of the texts possible; (2) the Indo-European character of the language, it being an independent member of the family, belonging to the Western group (*centum*, the word for 100—*kant*); (3) the discrimination between two rather distant dialects, or languages, noted as "A" and "B". A rapid grammatical sketch, a list of a few words, and a short text (in A) gave a striking proof of the above.

The name "Tocharian" that the authors would confine to the dialect A (which seems to have been named by the speakers "Ārsi"—*Ārsi-kantu*, "the Ārsi language"),² though generally accepted, seems debatable; its being the language of the Indo-Scythians is still more questionable. It would seem more prudent to follow Professor S. Lévi, who names the dialect A "Karashahrian", and the dialect B "Kuchean", from the probable centres of these forms of speech, Karashahr and Kucha.

Several libraries possessed, as mentioned above, MSS. in the "unknown" Language I, which now became at least knowable; that was the case at Calcutta, London (Stein), Paris (Fonds Pelliot),

¹ "Tocharisch, die Sprache der Indoskythen": *Sitzber. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, 1908, pp. 915-32.

² E. Sieg, "Ein einheimischer Name für Toxri": *Sitzber. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, 1913, pp. 560 sqq.

Petrograd (collections of Berezovsky and Petrovsky). But, by some chance, *all* these texts were in the dialect B (Kuchean)—not to speak of a very few minute fragments in A, while it was only Berlin (Grünwedel and Le Coq) who, beside a considerable collection of Kuchean documents, possesses MSS. in A (Karashahrian).

Thus the further development of these studies had to proceed on two lines: any new material concerning the dialect A (or "Tocharian" proper) could be directly studied by the two discoverers or by persons connected with them, all other scholars being confined to commenting on this material from linguistic or other points of view. The documents in the dialect B ("Kuchean"), being more accessible, could be published and investigated in other countries as well as in Germany.

Messrs. Sieg and Siegling untiringly pursued their studies even during the war; not to speak of several smaller papers, they published in 1921 the capital work *Tocharische Sprachreste*, a complete edition of the whole available material (save a few minute fragments), both romanized and in the original script (Tables).

The work we have to review forms a considerable progress on the way of Tocharian studies; the authors are fulfilling the engagement taken in editing the *Tocharian Remains*, which, as Professor Pedersen rightly remarks,¹ are far from being accessible to linguists who are no specialists in Indian philology (we may add, even to those who are familiar with the latter as well as with what is known about Kuchean), until a grammar and a glossary have appeared.

Every work should be reviewed or criticized with reference to the task the author has put before him. We have, therefore, to keep in mind the limitations the authors of the Tocharian grammar have clearly developed in their preface. These limitations can be briefly summed up as follows: (1) a purely descriptive treatment of *all* the linguistic facts of the dialect A; (2) a complete exclusion of the historical and comparative methods, such problems admitting no treatment, until all the documents in Kuchean (B) are published and grammatically analysed; (3) for the same reason any discussion of Tocharian phonology is eliminated.

Admitting the full liberty of any author to treat his subject as he finds better, we cannot abstain from expressing a regret as to these limitations.

¹ "Le groupement des dialectes Indo-Européens": *Kgl. Dansk Vid. Selsk., H.-F. Med.* xi, 3, Copenhagen, 1925.

A grammar of a new Indo-European language can hardly dismiss any comparison with other members of the family; grammatical facts would, in the light of the comparative treatment, be easier to grasp for any linguist. The insufficiency of the Kuchean documentation did not prevent M. Meillet¹ or M. Pedersen from the comparison. A complete edition and grammatical analysis of all Kuchean documents, scattered over so many public and private collections, is hardly likely to take place at any time we can foresee; this seems to us very like the "Greek Calends". The authors possess a reasonably complete documentation concerning Kuchean: beside the printed (French, by Messrs. S. Lévi and Meillet) material, they have the rich Berlin collection, as well as that of the India Office, at their disposal, which makes possible to quote, at every page, Kuchean forms in order to elucidate such Tocharian as would otherwise be difficult to understand (as the authors state in the preface).

The last limitation, i.e. the elimination of the phonology, is still more to be regretted, especially as it is more difficult to explain. If a purely descriptive morphology of Tocharian is possible, why should a phonology of the same kind be left aside? The number of sounds is, after all, strictly limited in every language, while the abundance of forms and morphological combinations may practically have no limits.

Then it is difficult to conceive a modern grammar leaving out the phonology; it is nearly impossible, especially for a language where a phonetic process (the "softening" of consonants, "Konsonanten-erweichung"²) serves as a token of grammatical categories (p. 349, § 433) or the verbs show a regular "Ablaut" (ibid., § 434). The morphology compels the authors to let fall a few remarks on the phonology here and there (e.g. the reduplication of final consonants, p. 83, n. 1, the *regular* change of an *s* to *š* in the participles, p. 337, § 421a, etc.).

As to the transliteration, the authors give a short remark in the preface to the effect that they have stuck to the transliteration used in their edition of the texts, save that they replaced the "doublets" (*k*, *p*, *t*, etc.), initial and medial, with the corresponding simple consonants with *d*, the doublet denoting nothing else but a simple

¹ *Mémoires Soc. Linguist. de Paris*, t. xvii, pp. 281 sqq.; t. xviii, pp. 1 sqq. and 381 sqq.

² *k*, *ts* > *s*, *t* > *c*, *n* > *ñ*, *l* > *ly*, *s* > *š*; cf. *Sitzber. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, 1924, pp. 167 sqq.

consonant with an inherent \bar{a} , while the final doublets are represented by the simple consonants alone.

This proceeding seems to us to mingle the transliteration with an interpretation which, however, is not universally accepted: while M. Pedersen¹ shares this view, M. Reuter² and the reviewer³ consider the doublets to represent palatalized consonants.

The reader is supposed to be familiar with Sanskrit and with the former works of the authors: no hint is given at the real value of the symbols used. What is meant by the sign \bar{a} ? One is naturally inclined to read it as in German (e.g. "Männer," the sound of English a in "man"), but p. 328, § 414, the reader learns an alternation between \bar{a} and i ; if he consults *Tocharische Sprachreste*, p. viii, n. 1, he will find the suggestion of the authors that \bar{a} represents a sound very near to i .

Still more ambiguous is the sign m , which even a competent reader is inclined to regard as the nasal element of a nasalized vowel (e.g. $am = a$, as French *an*)⁴; fortunately, p. 133, the authors state the purely graphical alternation between the final m and a medial n ; p. 148, § 209, am is said to have been pronounced *an*.⁵

The reader unfamiliar with the *Tocharische Sprachreste* might expect a brief note concerning the value of the symbols, say, at the end of the preface.

The authors seem to address themselves only to those who have perused their previous publications: the grammar is presented in such a way that it is to be regarded not as an independent work, but as a grammatical commentary to the Tocharian texts. Otherwise one cannot explain the tendency of the authors to interpret (or, at least, to mention) every form met with in the texts. This abundance of details may be precious to one who is, as a specialist, studying those texts, but it impairs, I am afraid, the value of the book for a competent reader, say, a linguist. Such a reader will be lost in these endless details where the main lines are rather difficult to trace. A distinction

¹ Op. cit., p. 17, n. 1.

² *Bemerkungen über die neuen Lautzeichen im Tocharischen*, Helsingfors, 1925, §§ 4-7 sqq.

³ "Kuchean Studies. I. Indian Loan-words in Kuchean": *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, t. vi, Lwow, 1929, pp. 143 sqq.

⁴ Reuter, *Die Anlautsvokale im Tocharischen*, Helsingfors, 1924, p. 454; Pedersen, op. cit., pp. 25 sqq. *passim*.

⁵ Cf. *Toch. Sprachr.*, p. viii and n. 2.—The medial m may, of course, represent \bar{a} before palatals.

between the principal and the subordinate points might have been easily attained by the use of characters of different sizes (as it is done by Whitney in his *Sanskrit Grammar* and by Geiger in that of Pali); Messrs. Sieg and Siegling, using but one size of characters, have imitated Pischel's proceeding, whose *Prakrit Grammar* has been rightly styled "a virgin forest" ("Urwald").

If the task of the authors was far from being easy, since they had to treat a subject that was practically quite new, that of a reviewer is neither; he has not only to characterize the manner of treatment, but to refer to the points treated. A complete review of a book of over 500 pages is obviously impossible: the reader interested in Tocharian as such hardly needs a review, he had better peruse the volume in question. The reviewer's space being necessarily limited, he has to undergo a limitation and to stress a few points of general interest, such as may be of special value to a scholar of neighbouring domains, chiefly to a linguist or to an historian.

The first of the five chapters is devoted to the word formation; a great mass of facts are grouped on thirty-two pages, of facts chiefly valuable to Tocharian lexicology, many words being accompanied by their Kuchean equivalents. Beside a few root-words the various suffixal formations are reviewed.

One fact deserves special notice from the historical point of view, viz. the occurrence of several *Iranian* loan-words that seem to have been borrowed from Middle-Persian: so, *amok* "art", *amokäts* "artist", cf. Mid.-Pers. *hamog* "teaching" (p. 12, n. 1), *kätäk* "house-master" (= Skt. *grhin*, *grhastha*), Mod.-Pers. *kat-xudä* (p. 13, § 22); *parno* "brilliant", from *param* (i.e. *paran*, Kuch. *perne*), corresponding to Skt. *pada* "position", "dignity", cf. Buddh.-Soghdian *prn*, Avest. *xvarəno*, to which one has to add Old-Pers. *farna*^h (p. 18, § 34).

In the declension Tocharian, like other Indo-European languages, distinguishes three genders: while the masculine and the feminine are distinctly marked in the pronouns and in the adjectives (e.g. m. *äštär*, f. *ästri* "clear", § 106), the substantives are either masculine or feminine; some substantives show masculine forms in the singular and feminine in the plural. Such words are called by the authors neuter (a term that is, in our opinion, rather misleading). In general the gender of a substantive is, unless it be determined by the sex, revealed by the accompanying pronoun or adjective (pp. 32-3, § 58).

Very interesting are the traces of an older distinction (§ 60) between

the nouns denoting *reasonable* beings (men, gods) and those of inanimate objects or abstracts: only the first can have certain forms. Thus the names of animals have but one form for the nominative and the oblique (= accusative) singular. We have to infer that, e.g. *yuk*, "horse", stands for the two cases. Kuchean seems to distinguish between the names of animate beings and inanimate things—as the reviewer has proved inferring from the different treatment of Indian loan-words¹; the names of animals are treated as those of men. So *yakwe* "horse" (= Tokh. *yuk*) forms oblique singular *yakwem*, as well as *Nānde-Nandem*.² This distinction, so important in Slavonic languages, seems to be the original.

Tocharian has two numbers—the singular and the plural—besides some vestiges of the dual, chiefly preserved in the names of double parts of the body, like *kanwem* "knees", *tsarām* "hands", etc. (pp. 35, 127, §§ 61, 184).

The nominal flexion of Tocharian has hardly anything in common with the old Indo-European, owing to phonetic reasons—the disappearance of the end of the word.³

The authors divide the nine Tocharian cases into two groups—the primary and the secondary; to the first group belong the nominative (= vocative), the oblique, corresponding to the accusative, and the genitive; to the second—all other cases, i.e. the instrumental, the comitative, the *ā*-case (as to the meaning, a combination of the locative with the instrumental), the dative, the ablative, and the locative.

The nominative sing. represents the pure stem; the nom. plur. has various endings (mostly *-ntu*, cf. Kuch. *-nta*); the oblique has endings in *-n* (*m*),⁴ in plur. it mostly falls together with the nominative. The genitive sing. is formed by adding various endings (*-āp*, *-s*). The secondary cases are formed from the oblique by means of postpositions,⁵ going back to still older prepositions, identical in sing. and in plur.—a process similar to those of agglutinative languages. Thus

¹ Op. cit., §§ 2, 5: the names of animate beings ending in Skt. in *-ā* and *-ā* assume *-e*, *-a* in Kuchean, those of inanimates drop the final vowel (v. *infra*).

² Lévi-Meillet, *MSL*. xviii, p. 385, l. 2.

³ Lévi-Meillet, *ibid.*, pp. 381–2, a process that, in our opinion, has gone in Tocharian farther than in Kuchean (i.e. **ekwa*, Kuch. *yakwe*, Toch. *yuk*).

⁴ This case might go back to the i.e. acc. sing. in *-m*.

⁵ This principle was first recognized by E. Smith, *Tocharisch, etc.*, p. 31, Christiania, 1911, and later confirmed, for Kuchean, by M. Meillet, *cf. MSL*. xviii, p. 403.

the ending of the comitative *-aśśāl* is obviously related to the preposition *śla* "with", that of the locative *-am*, to the independent postposition *ane*. This method of flexion must have been comparatively recent, since the endings (or postpositions) of Tocharian are not the same as in Kuchean (though some are related, like loc. Toch. *-am*, Kuch. *-ne*, dat. T. *-ac*, K. *-ś*, *-śc*).

In order to make the process clear let us quote an example (p. 153, § 224, the forms in square brackets being supplied by the reviewer): *kāṣṣi* "teacher" :—

	Sing.	Plur.
N. . .	<i>kāṣṣi</i>	<i>kāṣṣiñ</i>
Obl. . .	<i>kāṣṣim</i>	<i>kāṣṣis</i>
Gen. . .	<i>kāṣṣiyāp</i>	<i>kāṣṣiśsi</i>
Instr. . .	[<i>kāṣṣiyo</i>]	[<i>kāṣṣisyo</i>]
<i>a</i> -case . .	<i>kāṣṣinā</i>	[<i>kāṣṣisā</i>]
Dat. . .	<i>kāṣṣinac</i>	[<i>kāṣṣisac</i>]
Abl. . .	<i>kāṣṣināṣ</i>	<i>kāṣṣisāṣ</i>
Loc. . .	<i>kāṣṣinam</i>	[<i>kāṣṣisam</i>]

The combination of the stem with the ending is not mechanical, since it often involves phonetic changes, called by the authors (pp. 42-43, § 78) "Ablaut": thus the vowel *a* of the final syllable of the stem is dropped or changed to *ā* before an ending beginning with a vowel. So we have, from *pācar* "father", gen. sing. *pācri*, dat. *pācrac*; from *pekant*¹ "painter", gen. sing. *pekāntāp*.

A special notice deserves the treatment of the numerous Sanskrit (or, rather, Indian) loan-words which we find discussed under the nominative case (pp. 55-62, §§ 86-97). This treatment is, in general, very near to that those words undergo in Kuchean; the authors arrive, therefore, at conclusions almost identical with those the reviewer expressed a few years ago in his paper referred to.²

It would be idle to enter into details; the main point seems to be the tendency of Tocharian, still more marked in Kuchean, to distinguish between the names of animate (or reasonable) beings, and those of inanimates. This tendency is keenly felt in the treatment of Indian words ending in *-ā* (m.) or in *-ā* (f.).

The authors admit it (§ 89) for personal names in *-ā* which in Tocharian mostly have the nom. sing. in *-e* (*Devadatte*, *Nande*, etc.),

¹ From *√pik*, *pek* "to write, paint", cf. Lat. *pi-n-gē*, *pictus*, etc.

² The paper in question is not mentioned in the work we are reviewing where similar references are by no means scarce.

as well as for many adjectives (*tāpase*, *traividye*, etc.), while the names of lands, places, and mountains drop the final vowel altogether (*Jetavaṃ* = *Jetavana*, *Ratnadvip* = *°dvīpa*, etc.).

But in Tocharian many Indian personal names in *-ā* also drop the final vowel, without any apparent reason: thus *Ānand*, *Arjun* (read *Arjun*), *Mahiśvar*, *Kāśyap*, whereas Kuchean *always* forms the names of animates in *-e*¹; we could find but one or two exceptions.² The same tendency shows itself in the names in *-ā* (f.) and, less markedly, in those in *-i* and in *-u*.

These facts are, in our opinion, interesting as such, in so far as they point to the tendency of Tocharian to distinguish between the names of animates and inanimates (already referred to), but they may have an historical importance.

Some twenty years ago³ Professor Staël-Holstein found that Uighur had, in Indian names of animates, *i* for Skt. *ā*, *a* or *i* for Skt. *ā*, while the final vowel was dropped in the names of inanimates—a practice partly followed by Mongol. The reviewer ascribed this treatment to the influence of Kuchean.⁴

Very interesting and useful are, no doubt, the paradigms of declension (pp. 149–62); the wide range of variation shows the complexity of the phenomena the authors had to deal with.

The Tocharian pronouns (pp. 162–93), though having lost the peculiarities of the old declension, have preserved much of Indo-European in their roots. The personal pronouns are, in spite of some peculiarities, easily recognizable: that of the 1st person sing., showing the remarkable feature of the distinction of genders—masc. *ñas* and fem. *ñuk*, may be related, as Professor Meillet suggests,⁵ to the stem of the (enclitic) forms like Skt. *nau* (dual), *nas* (plur.), Lat. *nos*, Slav. *ny*, *nasŭ* (plur.). The plural *was* reminds of Skt. nom. plur. *vayam*. The 2nd person *tu* (oblique *cu*) in sing. is obvious; the plural *yas* is related to Skt. *yūyam*, *yusmān*. As evident is the reflexive *šñi*.

The demonstrative *sām*, *sām*, *tām* shows the well-known alternation

¹ Cf. *Kuchean Studies*, Table 1 (p. 113), and § 2.

² *Mār* (= Skt. *Māra*), usually in a compound, *Mārāñakte* = "the god M.", and *Metrik* (Toch. *Metrak*), quoted by Sieg and Siegling, § 22.

³ "Bemerkungen zu den Brāhmiglossen des Tīśāstrustik-MS.", p. 117, in Radloff's edition of the *Tīśāstrustik*, *Bibl. Buddhica*, xii, St. Petersburg, 1910.

⁴ *Kuch. St.*, pp. 160–1, § 36. The reviewer believed that the fluctuation of Karashahrīan (= Tocharian, v.s.) prevented this language from being regarded as the source; still the Mongol use of some names in *-a* without any vowel, like *Kašip* = *Kāśyapa* reminds of Karashahrīan (*Kāśyap*).

⁵ *MSL*, xviii, p. 420.

of the stems (like Skt. *saḥ*, *sā*, *tad*) and all the three genders (p. 168, §§ 278 sqq.). The interrogative *ku* (m. f. *kus*, n. *kuc*) serves, with a particle (*ne*) as the relative pronoun.

The numerals, treated in detail in §§ 327-37, reveal their Indo-European character; we can but refer to the masterful discussion of the subject (concerning Kuchean, but taking note of Tocharian, too) in MM. Lévi and Meillet's "Les noms de nombre en Tokharien B".¹

Very interesting for the comprehension of the Tocharian inflexion is the chapter on the group declension (pp. 205-28): if several nouns are syntactically associated, e.g. the attributes with the substantive, it is the latter that, coming last, assumes the case ending, while the attributes are used in the nom. or in the oblique, whatever the case of the substantive (nominative excepted) may be. The apposition, following a proper name in the nom. obl. or gen., is declined; so *Sāgareṃ* (obl.) *lāntāṣ* (ablat.), "from king Sāgara." The same is the case of a juxtaposition of several independent nouns, which may, however, all assume the respective case endings.

While in the group declension we have to do with syntactically associated independent words, in composition the noun, being the first component, undergoes certain phonetic changes and the last member may assume special case endings or suffixes (pp. 228-51). Thus some words, when entering a compound as its first member, assume a final *a*: *atrā* "hero" + *tampe* "power", form *atrataampe* "hero's power". A possessive compound may have the suffix *-um*: *śka-tampeyūm* "endowed with the ten powers" (= Skt. *daśabala*).

The compounds are divided into determinative, possessive, and copulative (less frequent).

The contents of the chapter on the indeclinables (pp. 251-323) are fairly variegated: the unchangeable adjectives, the adverbs, prepositions, postpositions, preverbs, etc., are passed in review; this material belongs rather to the domain of lexicology.

The occurrence of indeclinable adjectives, as well as the facts of the group inflexion, seem to suggest that the Tocharian nominal inflexion was on the decline, that the language was passing from the synthetical to the analytical stage.

Very complete and exhaustive is the treatment of the verb (pp. 323-484), that has, contrary to the noun, preserved very much of Indo-European.

¹ *MSL.* xvii, pp. 281-94.

The authors consider the paradigm as divided into two parts: the principal verb and the causative, the latter being distinguished by the suffix *-s*, by the reduplication in the preterit and sometimes by the softening of the consonant (§ 404). Thus the root *ritw*, "to be united," forms in the first category the present (3rd plur. med.) *ritwintrā*, in the causative *-ritw.enēc*, past participle *ritwo* and *raritwu*.

The Tocharian verb possesses two voices—active and middle, three tenses—the present, the preterit, and the imperfect, four moods—indicative, subjunctive (acting as the future, too), optative, and imperative. Two numbers, singular and plural, are distinguished, a few traces of the dual being found. The personal endings—apart from those of the imperative—fall into two groups that may be, to a certain extent, compared to the primary and secondary endings of Sanskrit and Greek. The middle endings (*-mār*, *-lār*, *-tār*, *-mlār*, *-cār*, *-nlār*), all terminating in *r*, are obviously akin to those of Latin and Celtic.

The very abundant infinite verbal forms include the two present participles, a past participle, two verbal adjectives (ending in *-l*), an infinitive and a verbal noun (in *-lune*).

Three stems (and systems) may be distinguished, i.e. the present, the preterit, and the subjunctive stems.

From the preterit stem are formed the preterit, the imperative (mostly), and partly the past participle; the subjunctive stem is the base of the subjunctive, the optative, the second verbal adjective, and the verbal noun. But practically, in the most verbs, the preterit and the subjunctive stems fall together.

The imperfect is sometimes (even mostly) formed from the present stem, sometimes from the root; as this tense may have the present endings, one feels inclined to ask whether this term is really appropriate (§§ 460-5).

The authors distinguish twelve present classes that may be partially compared to those of the Indian or of the Indo-European grammar: classes i-v add a vowel to the root (*ā* or *a*), classes vi-viii use a nasal suffix (*-na*, *-nā*, or *-nās*), to which the tenth class may be added (*-nās*), the ninth and eleventh are sigmatic (*-s*, *-sis*); the twelfth class comprises the denominative verbs.

Thus the old distinction between the thematic and athematic conjugations seems to survive in Tocharian.

We have to note the formation of the imperative by means of the prefix *p-* (§ 431), which the authors seem to connect with Mod.-Pers. *bi-*, often used before the imperative; let us recall the opinion of

MM. Lévi and Meillet,¹ who compare Slav. *po* (Lithuan. *pa*) "involving the perfective character of the imperative".

The authors have found that the very frequent forms in *-s* (corresponding to Kuchean *-sk*, *-ss*), which constitute, in many verbs, a second paradigm, represent the causative; the examples quoted (§§ 473 sqq.) seem to corroborate this view. In Kuchean, however, the similar forms appear to express the durative action.²

An appendix (pp. 421-84) contains a list of verbs recording all the forms met with in the texts, as well as the meaning, when known; unfortunately, of 336 verbs a quarter (78) lack the translation.

A complete *index verborum* on thirty pages (pp. 488-518) closes the volume.

The authors—I mean especially Messrs. Sieg and Siegling—have given to science a remarkable instrument by completing their work of the discovery of the Tocharian language that is now made accessible to all scholars. Still much remains to be done—that will be—we may hope, before long, achieved by these distinguished scholars; but whatever the future development of Tocharian philology may be, its base shall be the book we have been reviewing.

N. MIRONOV.

AN ACCOUNT OF TIBET: THE TRAVELS OF IPPOLITO DESIDERI OF PISTOIA, S.J., 1712-27. Edited by FILIPPO DE FILIPPI, with an Introduction by C. WESSELS, S.J. pp. xviii + 475, xvii plates of illustrations + 1 map. 8½ × 5½. Broadway Travellers. London: George Routledge, 1932. 25s.

"Wide in his learning and keen in his study of all things Tibetan, Ippolito Desideri was among the most brilliant Europeans who have ever travelled in the country." Such is Sir Charles Bell's just tribute in his recent book, *The Religion of Tibet*, to the Italian Jesuit scholar who, during a residence in central Tibet between 1716 and 1721, mastered the language and religion, as has no European since, except Csoma de Kőrös, who studied in western Tibet a century later.

Desideri and Csoma, alike in scholarly zeal, "devoured" the contents of the Tibetan canon both alone and under the guidance of learned lamas. The Jesuit had the support not only of his powerful

¹ *MSL.* xviii, p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, p. 27.

order, which in 1624 had entered Tibet, later to be followed by the Capuchins, but of Latsang Khan—Desideri's Cinghes-Khang—ruler of central Tibet till his overthrow in December, 1717 (Bell gives 1718), an event fatal to the success of the Christian mission. As an Orientalist, Desideri laboured too early, and his unrivalled account of the Tibetan religion remained buried in ill-merited obscurity till 1875, when one manuscript of the *Relazione* was found. Not till 1904 was this in an incomplete form made available to Italian readers by Carlo Puini. When William Moorcroft encouraged Csoma to turn to Tibetan and, we may recall, gave him Giorgi's *Alphabetum Thibetanum*, published at Rome in 1762, Eastern religions and culture had captured the attention of the learned West. So, unlike the *Relazione*, Csoma's works were soon printed and became the foundation of later research in that field.

Father Wessels' introduction briefly surveys the remarkable chapter of Jesuit enterprise in Tibet, commencing with the Tsaparang mission in 1624, and ending with the recall of Desideri in 1721, when Rome handed that field over to the Capuchins, who were themselves soon compelled to withdraw to Nepal. This survey appropriately comes from the author of *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, who there in 1924 announced the discovery of two new Desideri manuscripts, referred to here as MSS. A and B, in addition to that now in the Florence Library, which Puini used. The present free translation in easy and flowing English is based on all three MSS., as the preface describes. MS. A seems to have been prepared for publication from the other two, but omits the all-important section on religion, mentioned as the third book in the author's prefatory remarks or "Foreword" to this manuscript. In the narrative the editor has indicated whence he has supplied gaps in his leading manuscript, or where he has thought fit to omit any passages. A full descriptive bibliography of Desideri, including his own four Tibetan treatises, has been provided after the tables of contents and illustrations. The last 125 pages contain the author's elderly travelling companion, Freyre's, *Report*, copious notes to the introduction and to the four books of the text, a bibliographical index of works quoted, and, besides a general index, also one of Tibetan words. While both the notes and Tibetan index might, perhaps, be amplified with advantage in places and the notes pruned in others, all these 190 pages or so of supplementary matter are invaluable to elucidate Desideri's story and to render this volume admirably complete in itself.

Not only are the general scheme and detail of this well-illustrated volume unusually satisfying but, "at the suggestion of Sir E. Denison Ross," the original spelling of Indian and Tibetan names has been very wisely preserved intact. The modern forms are usually appended in brackets. That "Desideri's spelling is by no means always uniform" (p. 45) is no reflection on his scholarship. For not only does the pronunciation of an uniformly spelt Tibetan word vary "in the different provinces" (p. 102), but even with different speakers in one locality, and in Tibetan many place-names have several alternative spellings. Desideri's Italian spelling is surprisingly correct phonetically, though, like English, it, as he realized, cannot convey certain consonantal or modified vowel-sounds. But even "Trussi" or "Trescij" are better than Tashi (*bkra-shis*), and Gëring than Chering (*tshé-ring*). Chapter xv of Book ii, concerning the language, etc., is provocatively brief. It is, indeed, true that "Thibettan orthography is in some ways less complete, in others more complete than ours", but "far more difficult to learn". Also that "there are many other inversions, so that one has to read the whole period to understand it and sometimes re-read it from bottom to top to get its construction clear" (p. 185). All that he writes here, as on religion and history, reveals his mastery of his subject.

Perhaps the titles of Wessels' *Early Jesuit Travellers* and of this series, the *Broadway Travellers*, give undue prominence to the travel element in the *Relazione*. As a travel diarist, Desideri's record of places visited is disappointingly meagre, when compared even with Azevedo and above all with that model traveller, William Moorcroft, as the reviewer can testify from his familiarity with parts of the routes they followed. But what little he does tell us is accurate; and is the editor wise in his preference of Freyre's account of the passage of the Zoji La or "Kantel" as against Desideri's briefer but explicit statement that "in the evening we arrived at the first inhabited spot of First or Lesser Thibet at the foot of the other side of Mount Kantel"? And here we decline to be convinced by the statement on p. 378, in note 18, that they "could not possibly have done the distance from Baltal (to Mutayun) in a day", a distance that many, including the old and young, and even women, have done or exceeded under equally bad conditions. On p. 74 is not "Khoval (Kalan) Thibet" doubly inaccurate? The sequel indicates that "Khoval" is an error, possibly textual, for "avval", the "First or Little Tibet", i.e. Baltistan, whereas Thibet Kalan, Great Tibet,

is, of course, Ladak, as we see on p. 75. On p. 351 a similar editorial error occurs, where the Punjab "Guzarat" is indicated as being "(Lesser Gujarat, Ahmahabad)", whereas presumably Ahmadabad should follow (Gujarat the Great), which comes in the next lines. But scanty as his topographical information may often be, let us remember that Desideri realized the continuity of the Tsang-po with the Brahmaputra, and was the first European to visit Kailas and Lake Manasarowar. Of central Tibet he gives an accurate general account, restrained and well-informed; while no one could ask for better than his first-hand description of the capital and contemporary events.

As in topography, so in ordinary matters the author often misses small points. He did not note that the fine material used for the Kashmir "scial" was pashm, the secondary or inner coat of the "tus" goat (also sometimes of sheep and other wild or domesticated animals of the high plateaux). And the note 17 (p. 377) has not fully elucidated this. Among Tibetan animals, the kiang, wolf, snow leopard, and hare are not noticed in chapter iii of Book ii. The "pparà" of p. 125 may be the *phyi-wa* or marmot, a very common animal, though hardly describable as "noxious". Are the "very rare beasts said to be like cats" not the lynx family? But here again we must pause, for Desideri is essentially a humanist, not a natural historian, and his true field was the understanding of men, and his profession the salvation of their souls.

From secular rulers, from the laity, and even from many monks, these "whitehead" lamas from the West met with a kindly and honourable welcome, which may have induced over-optimism, as it also had a century earlier with Andrade at Tsaparang. Even at the Ladak frontier fort, which was probably Shimsha Kharbu, rather than Dras (as discussed in note 18, Book i), the Muhammadan "Kinglet", who was subject to the sovereign of Ladak, "received us with much honour and many compliments." The King of Leh (Nyi-ma Nam-gyal) pressed them to stay and at Lhasa the ruler arranged for the author's study of the holy books. Of the two canonical collections Desideri gives an admirable pioneer account in chapter xiv, Book i, where also he stresses the importance of the central doctrine of the "Tongba-gni", or *Sunyata*. There is an unfortunate slip on p. 382, where the note describes the Kahgyur as "translated from the Chinese". Desideri on p. 253 mentions the Indian origin of these scriptures, "translated long ago from the ancient scientific language

of the Empire of Hindustan," as elsewhere he does of the religion and its founder under his Tibetan name "Sciacchiá-Thubbá". The name Buddha does not occur in Desideri.

The whole of Book iii describes "the False and Peculiar Religion Prevailing in Thibet", "a religion unlike, as far as I know, any other in the world." Desideri's visit followed the death of that poetical libertine, the sixth Dalai Lama, successor of the "Great Fifth", whose period Sir Charles Bell states "marks a turning point in Tibetan history". For "Now at last the priest is enthroned, a living Buddha, holding the twofold power". But Desideri arrived during a brief interregnum, when the Mongol Latsang Khan's nominee Dalai Lama was not accepted generally by laity or clergy. The choice of an infant "incarnation" is well described. Our author accepts the phenomenon of the child's familiarity with intimate details of its previous existence. But he will have none of the rationalist explanation of human fraud, advanced by some Tibetan friends who "deny that the Devil could have so much power". He finds here "a machination of the Devil", whom he holds responsible also for other features of this "false religion", a view we have heard from Christian workers not of the Roman Church. It was not till after 1720 that China manipulated the election.

Naturally the writer attacks "the abominable belief in metempsychosis", which is "source of all the errors of the false Thibettan Religion", once a Christian heresy, too, we may recall. Here, as with the *Smyata*, his keen mind at once selects and attacks fundamentals. However, he does not conceal his sympathy and admiration for much that he saw. And he witnessed piety, learning, and discipline not inferior to that of Rome. His account of that "idol Cen-ree-zij", for example, is tender, as is that of Mi-la-ras-pa, whose name he had forgotten. Typical, too, is his conclusion of his full story of the "malignant demon, Urghien" (Padma Sambhava), first introducer of the religion; "I confess that I blamed myself, and was ashamed to have a heart so hard, that I did not honour, love, and serve Jesus, sole Master, sole and true Redeemer, as this people did a traitor, their deceiver." And one of his most intimate friends was the red-cap abbot of Lungur, "a fat man, very courteous and kindly by nature . . . universally loved and respected." The editor has happily selected as frontispiece a beautiful reproduction in colour of a Tibetan banner of Urghien.

To-day we often find Padma Sambhava's representation in

Gelugpa temples, and occasionally Tsong-kha-pa's in those of the old sect. In some monasteries we see monks of several sects living in harmony. Sectarian differences in Tibet are in the main differences of discipline, not doctrinal. And Buddhist toleration extends to the Bon, not mentioned by name by our author. But for a brief period prior to 1720 the temporary religious and political situation, detailed in the text, resulted in an intense persecution and despoilment of the old sect by the "bitterly envious" Geluggpas with Mongol aid. So we have lost many of the early artistic and literary treasures of Tibetan Buddhism. And in Tibet the name *Sog-po* is to-day synonymous with incendiarism and destruction.

Desideri is too sane and critical an observer to attach the importance to superficial resemblances of Lamaism to Christianity, which other authors have before and after him. Book iii concludes with a caution as to this on the matter of the Trinity, and a short way back (p. 302) we read: "I must, however, confess that in none of the Thibettan histories, memories, or traditions, have I found any hint that our Holy Faith has at any time been known, or that any Apostle or evangelical preacher has ever lived here." Mistakes and omissions are surprisingly few; fewer, indeed, than in some modern accounts considered as authoritative. Only Father Desideri's penetrating intellect, pertinacity of purpose, tranquil judgment, and deep affection for his "beloved Thibettans" could yield so well balanced a picture of Lamaism and Tibet. Still unexcelled in this respect, the *Relazione*, together with the rich and scholarly explanatory material now supplied and in its present compact and attractive dress, may be warmly recommended to all classes of readers and as a model to other writers and commentators.

The author in his preface modestly writes, "Whether I succeed or not the Reader need not fear a lack of truth", and "Who brings new and rare fruits from a foreign land need not make excuses if their flavour is not perfect, or they are presented in a rustic basket. Their quality and their rarity must be their excuse". Indeed, no excuse is needed. In this edition Desideri has after two centuries at last come into his own.

H. L. S.

THE RELIGION OF TIBET. By SIR CHARLES BELL. pp. 235, 69 illustrations, 3 maps. $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Oxford: The Clarendon Press; and London: Humphrey Milford, 1931. 18s.

We welcome this volume on *The Religion of Tibet*, on account both of the material used and of its treatment. For Sir Charles Bell has based his historical chapters in the main on trustworthy native chronicles collected by him in Tibet, and has presented his story of the rise and many-sided developments of Buddhism in Tibet (also in Mongolia) with unusual feeling for his subject and with conspicuous fairness. On the working of that complex and strange system of religious government, presided over and cleverly controlled by his official and personal friend, His Holiness the present Dalai Lama, with which subject the last three chapters of this book deal, Sir Charles is, of course, an authority without peer. Indeed, his three volumes—*Tibet: Past and Present*, *The People of Tibet*, and this one before us—together give a complete and vivid picture of church, government, and people in true perspective. And this volume, like the others, is enriched with a splendid array of the author's own fine photographs. Here at last is something definitely authoritative and easily comprehensible for the general reader, sated with travellers' tales and suspicious of the fare offered by western adapters of oriental cults.

Instead of repeating previous European writers, Sir Charles has either expounded his largely first-hand information in his own easy and strongly individual style or allowed his well-chosen Tibetan authorities, whether they be old-time chroniclers or clerics and statesmen of to-day, to tell their own story.

In the final article on "Sources" we find a detailed review of the native writers relied on. Among them, of course, Pü-ton (*Bu-ston*) stands out as pre-eminent on account of the almost modern scientific method in his compilation and analysis of the voluminous literature on the history of religion, even then available. It would not be difficult to add to the list as, despite Chinese and Mongol incendiarism, the literary material existing in Tibet to-day is, we are told, enormous, quite apart from the canonical collections and religious or philosophical treatises in the monastic libraries. Histories, lives of saints, official archives of statistical value, biographies of the Dalai Lamas, and, as we here learn, contemporary chronicles recorded by them or their instructors abound. And in a country, where religion is overwhelmingly predominant, there is no well-marked line of demarcation between secular and religious history. When we recall the victorious inroads

into China of the early Tibetans under their warrior kings, and the expulsion of the Chinese officials and army from Tibet in the present century, it is amusing to read the not-undeserved rebuke which the Chinese emperor had carved on stone at Lhasa at the close of the eighteenth century: "The people of central Tibet, abandoning military pursuits, devote themselves solely to literature. Thus they have become like a body bereft of vigour."

After Pü-ton (1290-1364) Sir Charles relies largely on the historian Gö, who completed his "Blue Treasury of Records", the *Tep-ter Ngön-po*, in 1476. Gö's reputation for trustworthiness is, we are told, deservedly high. Indeed, his countrymen honoured him by according him the titles of "Great Translator" (*Lo-chen*) and "Glorious young man", the attribute frequently applied to the Bodhisattva of Wisdom. His history has been freely quoted in this work. That A.D. 1476 has been correctly taken by the author as the equivalent of the Tibetan Fire-Monkey year, 848 years after Song-tsen Gam-po's birth, given by Gö, is corroborated by M. Pelliot's Tables. Apparently, independently of M. Pelliot, Sir Charles has found A.D. 1027 to be the start of the first Tibetan sixty years' cycle, and has seen Csoma's dates to be consistently two years too early. But on p. 94 should not Tsong-ka-pa's birth-year be 1357 instead of 1358?

Chapter iii supplies a good outline of the interaction of Bon and Buddhist religions, and of how the Bon, which borrowed wholesale the Buddhist monastic system and scheme of saints and teachers, made a present of its demons to Buddhism in return. Sacrificial ritual, oracles, astrology, and dances in the main come from the Bon. But till far more research is done on Tibetan Bon scriptures and Indian Tantra, it will be impossible to say definitely whence certain features of Lamaism are derived. For next to nothing is yet known of the vast Bon literature, e.g. the 140 volumes of the Bon Kanjur and the 160 volumes of its Tanjur, the existence of which we have only just heard about. On p. 17 it is merely mentioned that the books in a Chumbi valley Bon monastery "appeared to be Buddhist", with different titles and somewhat altered contents. On this matter Sir Charles has cautiously risked nothing beyond a tentative surmise.

The author is undoubtedly correct where, in chapter iv, he maintains that the Hinayāna Buddhism of the Sarvastivādins, though introduced at an early date, failed to root itself firmly in Tibetan soil, as the Tantric Mahāyāna succeeded in doing, because the former contained within it nothing and the latter so much akin to the old

religion, which the mass of Tibetans was not prepared to surrender. Indeed, both the old native religion and demonology, much the same in pre-Aryan India and in Tibet, is the common foundation of the Bon and the more elaborated Tantra. Even the *lhas* or *dēvatas*, now localized in Tibet or the Hinduized Himalaya, had no respect for frontiers. For instance, to the reviewer's knowledge, one important Kulu deity, according to popular belief and temple records, came from Ta-shi Lhün-po, and is still worshipped by Tibetans at his halting-places on the way. Other legends show this not to be an isolated case. Probably Sir Charles could parallel this from Sikkim and Bhutan.

Chapters v and vi present a vivid account of the surprising Buddhist renaissance of the eleventh century, with its unparalleled and varied activities and achievements in devotion, learning, building, and art. And we are even told that "as knowledge spread in Tibet, Indian Buddhists used to come to Tibetans for instruction". And from that tale of missionary enterprise and ascetic devotion we next turn to watch the gradual building up of the complex and highly developed hierarchical system that even to-day shows no sign of disintegration, perhaps because the Tibetans combine a strong strain of robust individualism with their ability for organization and respect for authority. In Chapter xi on Christian Missionaries in Lhasa, two significant reasons are suggested for these missionaries' failure. "Firstly the wide range and complicated structure of Tibetan Buddhism, and the long, sustained study which its cleverer priests devoted to it," and secondly, "the piety and stern asceticism of many Tibetan priests." Indeed, without this Lamaism would only be an imposing, but worn-out, anachronism. After reading Sir Charles' book, one comes to realize that something of the pure flame of Buddhism still lights up the Tibetan Church, and that Lamaism is more than a museum of dead, grotesque monstrosities, that serves no purpose except to provide a livelihood for its priestly custodians.

H. L. S.

TRAILS TO INMOST ASIA. By GEORGE N. ROERICH. 9½ + 6½, pp. xx + 504, 151 illustrations and map. Yale University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1931. 45s. 6d.

This large volume of some 500 pages is the record, mostly in diary form, of the Roerich family's amazingly long trail, starting in August,

1925, from Kashmir, whence it led through Ladakh, Chinese Turkestan, and Dzungaria into Russia at Zaisan; and after a mighty detour, not described, back from Russia into Mongolia to Urga; thence across the Gobi and Tsaidam through Tibet, by an enforced circuitous route west of the holy cities, to Darjeeling, which was reached in May, 1928. Other Europeans joined the Roerichs for parts of the journey after Urga.

The author, Mr. George N. Roerich, an expert in the language and art of Tibet, and acquainted with other oriental tongues, was a well-equipped investigator. M. Louis Marin's preface duly mentions his studies in Tibetan, Persian, Sanscrit and Chinese, and fairly sums up the expedition's scientific achievements. But is the over-emphasis of M. Marin's peroration expected to impress the public and silence the critic? For it asserts "The book . . . marks an important date in the history of Orientalism and represents a contribution of the first order to the conquests of civilization".

But apparently the preface, and also the book, are primarily addressed to a trans-Atlantic public, for the place of publication is in the States. Phrasing and spelling are also trans-Atlantic. And, though the Roerichs are Russian, the Roerich museum, which now houses the expedition's pictorial record, is in New York. Few countries but the States could finance exploration for so long on so generous a scale. Less fortunate travellers will read, not without envy, of the purchase of forty-two camels, of droves of mules and ponies, and the hiring of an armed escort of retainers, necessary to repel robbers, and useful to intimidate obstructive officials.

With so large a caravan, progress was slow and halts frequent, and useful for study, when transport problems were not overwhelming, as they often were in Tibet. The expedition met its full share of peril and difficulties with local officers, whose efforts to meet, or to avoid meeting, the by no means modest calls made on their limited resources, will at times excite the reader's sympathy. At one stage, 260 yaks were collected, but for once the requirements of the party had been over-estimated. Application had been duly made to the central authorities for permission to enter Tibet, also the other countries on the itinerary. So the Roerichs fared better than other central Asiatic travellers have done on occasion. But the reader must be left to follow for himself in the text, with the help of the general map supplied, the course of the journey, stage by stage. Geographically, its importance was not considerable. Previous travellers had visited most

of the places described, though no one expedition had traversed all the same ground. Some of it, however, was new to Europeans. On recent political events much light is thrown.

The illustrations, 151 in number, are unfortunate in their unworthy reproduction. This is disappointing when "the chief object of the expedition was to create a pictorial record of lands and peoples of inner Asia" (p. xi). Of "the five hundred paintings by Professor Roerich, brought back by the expedition", we cannot judge whether the eight examples given are fairly representative. In black and white, at least, they convey less of the charm of the distinctive landscape and fantastic architecture of Tibet than do the splendid photos, for example, of Messrs. F. S. Smythe, Kingdon Ward, and Sir Charles Bell. Anyhow, what is painting without colour; and is it wise in this case to rely on composition, line and tone in the absence of the colour, size, and texture of the originals? This we leave other critics to decide. But is Tibet "a country never before visited by an artist" (p. 167)? The author seems to have forgotten that Sven Hedin was no mean performer with pencil and brush. Also, soon after the early attempt on Everest, Mr. F. Help's portraits of Tibetan types were shown at the Alpine Club gallery, and a little later a Russian exhibited his Mongolian and Tibetan studies in Bond Street.

But this sort of statement, though a blemish in a scientific treatise, is excusable, perhaps, in a travel diary, coloured by the diarist's filial piety towards his expedition leader. In this volume the transition from personal impressions and adventure to important investigation and discovery is frequent, and not a little disturbing. Much the same experiences tend to befall every traveller in high Asia, be he explorer, missionary, or invader. Natural obstacles and the habits of man, strictly determined by a ruthless climate, vary little, even though now motors run in Mongolia and brigands carry modern arms. So, often memories of Deasy, Aurel Stein and Sven Hedin recur as we read. But we feel that the lone European traveller's narrative often bears the imprint of an intimacy with nature and the people met of a quality denied to any large band of Europeans. Usual in modern times and necessary as large organized travel parties are, their records inevitably miss the distinction of a Trans-Himalaya, not to mention an Arabia Deserta.

All the same, Mr. George Roerich has proved a worthy and modest successor of the great explorers of inner Asia. On him fell the brunt of the hard work and the research that justified this mighty trek.

His linguistic ability, tact and enthusiasm successfully steered the whole party, that included his mother, through a fair measure of danger to their goal. Whether their Russian origin helped or hindered the party, we are not told. But due thanks are rendered for the British consul-general's effective intervention against irresponsible Chinese obstinacy in Turkestan. We wonder how a Soviet agent would treat English in a similar plight ?

Among the author's contributions to oriental research are the following : his excellent detailed description in Chapter XVI (entitled "The Hor-pas and their country") of the life and art, with its widespread "animal style" motifs, of the hardy nomad Chang-pas, economically the most important and ethnologically the most interesting element of the Tibetan population ; and of the Bön worship still practised in these northern uplands in its ancient pre-Buddhist form. In this chapter, perhaps the best in the book, the author, while admitting that "our knowledge of the Bön religion is still very imperfect", admirably sums up the little as yet known of both its primitive and later "Buddhicised" forms, and also adds his own valuable contribution, his discovery of the voluminous Bön sacred literature in some 300 large volumes, named after and presumably modelled on the two divisions of the Tibetan Buddhist canonical collections. And thanks to the inquiries of A. H. Francke and now of Mr. Roerich, our knowledge has made some real advance since Sarat Chandra Das' *Brief Sketch* in 1903, and Milloué's *Bod-yul* in 1906.

"The Bön-po terminology," we read, "presents insurmountable difficulties, for it is hard to obtain the services of a well-read Bön-po priest, who will agree to part with his knowledge of the doctrine." But though "the Bön-po adepts are recalcitrant in giving information to foreigners. They usually profess utter ignorance about the tenets of their faith and deny the existence of manuscripts or printed texts (p. 354)", Mr. George Roerich in three months' stay at the modern Bön Sharugön monastery, gained their confidence and access to their libraries. He promises publication of further studies of their "almost untranslatable" treatises. Hesitatingly, we wonder if the book title, *Ye-shes ñi-ma lha'i-rgyud* will prove to mean "Tantras of the Gods of the Sun of Wisdom". In our ignorance of the terminology "Tantras of the Wisdom sun-deity" suggests itself, for in the early Bön the sun and the sun-bird were predominant. The Bön manuscripts, we are told on p. 358, show an orthography which "is as a rule antiquated and reveals many of the peculiarities common in Tibetan manuscripts

discovered by Sir Aurel Stein and Paul Pelliot in . . . Tun-huang". This corroborates the impression given by other known features of the later Bön, notably its *dhyāna* and *shakti* elements, that it assumed its present form under the influences of the earlier Mahāyāna sects prior to the twelfth century. We know that in Mi-la-ras-pa's time it co-existed with them, and that a Tibetan could without difficulty pass from a study of Bön to Mahāyāna and probably vice versa.

Indeed, it is not too much to say that the history of Buddhism in Tibet must be unfolded against a background of indigenous Bönism, and that domestic religion among the laity even to-day is more Bön than Buddhist. In the west, at least, in noble families, no less than in villages, the worship of the private tutelary, often an earth goddess, still continues and the more ancient Buddhist temples often preserve as their holy of holies a primitive *lha's* shrine not shown to the ordinary visitor.

In Chapter XVIII the brief notes with photos of megalithic monuments in the great lake region, said to resemble in alignment, etc., those of Carnac, merit attention. The author considers "A large figure in the shape of an arrow laid out with stone slabs" at Do-ring (meaning "Long Stone", not "Lone Stone" as printed) shows some connection with the sun cult. With Mr. Roerich's lines of stones one is tempted to compare the simpler stone alignments sometimes found in association with certain eleventh century Vairocana temples in the west. These, too, run from the east to the west, where the rectangular temple enclosure has taken the place of the older circle of stones. Such shrines, too, face east. Both forms of alignment may well be the predecessors of the later *mā-ni* wall.

A dictionary, phonetic studies and songs in the Ded-Mongol dialect of Tsaidam are promised. We hear with surprise that "Mongols very seldom sing" (Chapter XII). Chapter III contains a vivid account of the ruthless terrorism of the life and the terrible end in 1924 of Ma Ti-tai, the Kashgar military governor; and Chapter XI the life story of that singular warrior-priest, the Ja Lama, whom we met in Ossendowski's *Men, Beasts, and Gods*, a mysterious personage, who "for some thirty-five years hypnotised the whole of greater Mongolia" till 1923, when he was murdered. These two accounts indicate the turmoil in the heart of Asia shortly before the Roerich expedition set out.

Lastly, the student will regret that the more permanent matter in this book could not have been documented either with much fuller

footnotes or by means of appendices. Indeed, the author was in an unusually good position to do this, also to compile for each section of his book bibliographical notes, for he is at home with the extensive Russian literature on Central Asia. One may ascribe these omissions to the popular diary form of publication. But, no doubt, the author himself must be more conscious than others of these shortcomings. As it is, his ability as a scientific worker is apparent from this book. But neither the conditions of the expedition nor the type of publication have allowed him sufficient individual scope as investigator and writer. We await with interest his forthcoming scientific works on the Bön religion and the Ded-Mongol language.

H. LEE SHUTTLEWORTH.

EUROPE AND CHINA: A SURVEY OF THEIR RELATIONS FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1800. By G. F. HUDSON. Edwin Arnold, 1931. 15s. net.

Mr. Hudson's subject demands wide knowledge and historical imagination. Few can range in time from the classical to the modern world, and in space from London to Canton. Nor, indeed, would Mr. Hudson claim an equal familiarity with the whole mass of original documents on which his narrative ultimately rests. But his acute mind constantly offers new and interesting points of view, and, even when he is drawing in the main from secondary sources, his comment is fresh, original, and striking. He is, perhaps, over-disposed to uphold the traditional as against the attacks of modern critics; but even where he is most disposed to do this, he does so temperately, without adopting the controversialist's favourite practice of misrepresenting his opponent's views. Among various matters which the reader will find of special interest is Mr. Hudson's account of the classical silk trade, of the endeavours made by Persian merchants and others to control it, and the political use to which it was put by the Byzantine empire. Along with this may be mentioned an admirably clear account of the development of geographical knowledge and exploration which produced the voyages of Vasco da Gama by one route and of Magellan by another, leading to the establishment of direct sea-communication between China and the West. The development of the tea trade follows, and that curious interchange of ideas fostered by Jesuit influence, in which Europe received more than she gave. Mr. Hudson's work, at once brilliant and well-balanced, merits a warm welcome at the present time.

H. D.

A HISTORY OF GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION. By J. N. L. BAKER. Harrap, 1931. 12s. 6d.

This complete survey which Mr. Baker has prepared must have been a work of great labour. He ranges through the whole period of history from the early Greek exploration of the Mediterranean down to the recent Polar expeditions, and he surveys the whole world from Europe outwards. To compress all this into a volume of under 600 pages has demanded a severity of method which frequently renders anything but the barest narrative impossible. Lively description and adventure is obviously excluded. But the student, for whose use after all Mr. Baker's volume is designed, will find this compendium a most handy book of reference and guide to the main literature of exploration. It is divided into two parts. The first, which comes down to the end of the eighteenth century, contains five chapters of special interest to us here. Three are good, though brief—one dealing with the mediaeval travellers, one with the Portuguese discovery of the Cape route to India, and one with Magellan and the early exploration of the Pacific. The second is a particularly lucid statement of the stages by which the Portuguese succeeded in rounding the Cape. But the pages devoted to the Arab travellers is based mainly on unauthoritative secondary material, while the twenty pages given to the exploration of Asia from 1500 to 1800 is so compressed as to be hardly more than a catalogue of the principal events. In the second part, dealing with the nineteenth century and after, Asia gets nearly 70 pages. But again the space is much too brief to do justice to the numerous travels which have to be chronicled. We should add that we indicate this in order to save intending readers from possible disappointment, not because we think Mr. Baker could have made a better use of his limited pages. His footnotes will, at all events, enable his readers to follow out the story in all its detail.

H. D.

INDIAN ISLAM. By MURRAY T. TITUS. Milford, 1930. 12s. 6d. net.

This very interesting volume is concerned neither with the manners and customs of Muslims in India, nor with the theological aspects of Islam itself. The first, as the author points out, has been excellently dealt with in Crooke's edition of Herklots's *Customs of the Musalmans of India*. The second may very naturally be taken for granted, or if necessary be studied in the works specially devoted to that subject.

Mr. Titus sets out, first, to describe the methods by which Islam established itself in the country, then to discuss the influences which have been exercised by their Hindu environment on Muslims in India, and thirdly, to provide an account of the modern movements which have taken place in the Indian Muslim community. The first of these topics is dealt with mainly on the authority of such works as the late Sir Thomas Arnold's *Preaching of Islam*, supplemented by reference to a number of translated texts. While the narrative is clear and accurate, it naturally provides nothing new. The second affords a very valuable and compact account of the effects of Hindu influences, whether exhibited by the adoption of Hindu saints for worship, or resulting from the retention of customary observances by converts, or produced by the inheritance of caste. Though much here is borrowed from previous writers, the author reinforces his statements by his own observations over a considerable number of years. The last section however, has the most originality. Mr. Titus has evidently studied the modern movements of Islam in India closely and persistently, and the fifty pages which he devotes to this subject gives within a short compass a valuable survey ranging from the Wahabi movement with its ramifications down to the writings of Sir Muhammad Iqbal and the Ahmadiyah movement, the followers of which have in recent years been persecuted in Afghanistan with the hearty approval of leading Muslims in India. The latter may, however, draw comfort from the conclusion that the appearance of heresies, distressing as they are to the orthodox, are a far better proof of the vitality of the religion in which they occur than any unthinking acquiescence in the traditions of the past.

H. D.

THE TRAVELS OF JOHN SANDERSON IN THE LEVANT, 1584-1602.

Edited by Sir WILLIAM FOSTER. Hakluyt Society, 1931.

This interesting volume is based on the Lansdowne MS. 241 at the British Museum, which now makes its first appearance in print. It comprises Sanderson's autobiography, accounts of his travels to and from Constantinople and in the Levant, and selections from his letters. The editorial work is done with that thorough care and exact knowledge of which Sir William Foster never disappoints his readers. Sanderson himself is a racy person. His vigorous likes and his still more vigorous dislikes reflect themselves in the strong, picturesque,

and, at times, indelicate language of his period. As a Levant merchant he was much mixed up with the group of men who were intimately associated with the foundation of the East India Company, and he himself in 1590-1 set out on a voyage destined for the East Indies, although the vessel in fact never got beyond Madeira. Most of his time in the East was spent under the Grand Turk, of whose administration he has much to say. Sometimes his remarks throw a curious light on matters farther east. He states, for instance, that the customary punishment of officers of the Topkhana convicted of theft was to be blown from a cannon. This is the earliest reference which we remember to this form of punishment. Is it possible that the Mughals introduced it into India, where it was certainly in use for a long period? At Constantinople, Sanderson saw some singular sights of which he took careful note. Outbreaks among the soldiers, mostly due to the depreciation of the currency in which they were paid, afford him some examples, and he watched the nineteen brothers of the new sultan, Mehmet III, being carried out to burial after they had been strangled to ensure the quietude of Mehmet's reign. He visited Jerusalem, where he got into serious trouble with the Turkish authorities by entering the city girt with a sword, a thing forbidden to all Christians. Being associated with Jews and members of the Greek Church, Sanderson also was attacked by the Roman Catholics, who alleged that he was at heart a Jew, and afterwards, at Tripoli in Syria, he fancied that he was deliberately fired at by a friar. This, however, was probably no more than the usual Puritan readiness to believe all evil of the Roman Church. Altogether, with his diatribes against Catholics, against fellow-countrymen with whom he quarrelled, and against Turkish functionaries by whom he or his friends were fleeced, his travels make an entertaining account of life at Constantinople and the chief Levantine ports at the close of the sixteenth century.

H. D.

RELATIONS OF GOLCONDA IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
 Edited by W. H. MORELAND. Hakluyt Society, 1931. Bernard
 Quaritch. 31s. 6d.

This volume is edited with the precise scholarship which we associate with Mr. Moreland's work. It comprises three narratives written by European traders in the early years of the seventeenth century. One was the work of an Englishman, William Methwold, who rose to be

President of the English factory at Surat. His narrative appeared only in the appendix to Purchas, and so escaped being reprinted in the Glasgow edition of 1905. The other two have been translated by the editor from the Dutch. One was written by Antony Schorer, who served in the Dutch factory at Masulipatam, the other probably by another servant of the Dutch East India Company, van Ravesteyn by name, who served as chief of the factory at Nizampatam. The first has not previously been published; the second was inserted in a collection of early Dutch travels. Incidentally, Mr. Moreland's conjectural identification of the author of the latter with van Ravesteyn is an example of his careful and thorough methods of work. Of the three narratives, Methwold's is the fullest and most valuable. As was to be expected, none has much to say touching political affairs; but all are concerned with the methods and system of trade, the mode of local administration, and occasionally with such religious practices as *sati* or hook-swinging, which would specially strike a European mind.

One or two statements made by Mr. Moreland in his introduction seem to us uncertain. Surely it is scarcely true to say that till the sixteenth century Europeans took no part in the commerce of the Asiatic seas. The Venetians, for instance, traded with Basra, though in country ships. Nor are we satisfied of the accuracy of Mr. Moreland's account of the piece-goods trade. He classifies it under two heads—plain cloths, either white or dyed, bought mainly at Masulipatam and its neighbourhood, and patterned goods bought mainly to the southward. We suspect this classification is over-simplified. There were three main types of cloth—plain, stamped and painted (or chintz), and patterned goods woven of dyed yarn. The southern coast rather specialized in the last of these; but Masulipatam was a famous market for chintzes, as well as for plain cloths.

H. D.

TRAVELS IN INDIA, CEYLON, AND BORNEO. By Captain BASIL HALL.
Edited by Professor H. G. RAWLINSON. (Broadway Travellers.)
Routledge, 1931.

This volume contains a selection from the well-known travels originally published in nine duodecimo volumes in the 'thirties of the last century. The author served in the navy on the East India Station between 1812 and 1817, on the *Illustrious*, the flag-ship of Sir Samuel

Hood, and on the *Minden* under the same officer. Of him Hall gives his readers an enthusiastic portrait, which may, as the editor suggests, be set against the darker aspects of naval life to be found in Smollett and Marryat. Hood was, it seems, always inspired by "a boyish hilarity". At Trincomalee, where the *Illustrious* lay for a while, he dug out white ants, hunted crocodiles, and partook of every other sport that presented itself to his restless mind. In 1813, Hall was ordered to proceed to Bombay to take charge of the *Theban* frigate. He was then at Madras, and Hood permitted him to travel overland to Bombay. He travelled by Mysore, arriving there in time to witness the Dasara festivities. One of the chief shows was intended to be an animal fight. A tiger, which had been well starved, was turned out into a netted arena. Alarmed by the noise of the great crowd, at first he did nothing but attempt to escape. He tore to pieces the mock figures of two men, was baited by dogs, and after receiving numerous arrows fired from the safe side of the netting, he was at last killed by a musket-shot. This brutal and futile exhibition as described by Hall corresponds closely enough in spirit, if not in detail, with the narratives of earlier travellers to convince the modern reader that he has missed little by the disappearance of such shows. The maharajah himself received the traveller seated on a throne which was made of gold, silver, and ivory, with a canopy of pearls, surmounted by the sacred peacock set with precious stones. He wore a crown of gold so heavy that he could not hold his head upright, and his person was hung all over with jewels. The whole affair gives a strong impression of barbaric display, marked by the same lack of taste (in European eyes) which Roe had noticed at the Mughal court two hundred years earlier. At Coorg, whither Hall then went, the raja amused himself and the traveller by the exhibition of his tamed tigers, which were led in by men with slender ropes attached to the collars which they wore; then came lionesses and buffaloes; and last of all an attempt was made to match a bear against a tiger. With such queer incidents to relate, Hall makes an entertaining writer. His style is not the racy style of Marryat, and is inclined to be pretentious; but his subject-matter provides us with many odd, characteristic vignettes of the naval life of his time, and of the southern courts and capitals of India just before the Company had begun to assume the paramount authority over the sub-continent.

H. D.

GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM; DEPARTMENT OF HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN STUDIES; BULLETIN No. 1 (Compiled by S. K. BHUYAN, M.A., B.L., Honorary Assistant Director. 1932.

In the preface to this admirable publication it is modestly admitted that Assam has not hitherto been classed, in popular estimation, among the most progressive of the provinces of India. Other provinces would, however, do well to follow in its footsteps in pursuing the objects, with which the Government Department which publishes this, its first Bulletin, is concerned. The origin and objects of the Department are set forth at length in Part i of the *Bulletin*, and may be briefly epitomized as the preservation of what is perishable and the careful classification and study of everything perishable or imperishable, which can throw any light on the history, the archaeology, and the anthropology of a most interesting and certainly no longer "benighted" province. The report in this section of the *Bulletin* covers the period from July, 1929 to December, 1931. It is excellent and encouraging reading, for it recounts what valuable work the Department has already done, and makes it clear that it is but at the beginning of its labours. Much that is perishable and has too often in the past been regarded as negligible has been preserved, and much material for the history of Assam has been collected, and the efforts of the Local Government in this direction will be gratefully appreciated by all scholars and students.

The Department is organized on the most economical principles. The work of those who conduct its activities is a labour of love, and it has a list of distinguished honorary correspondents, ex-officials, and others, many of whom are known far beyond the limits of Assam for their scholarship.

The *Bulletin* has been compiled by Prof. S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L., Honorary Assistant Director of the Department, whose illuminating preface throws much light on the antecedents and origin of the Department, and is preceded by a foreword contributed by the Governor of the Province, Sir Laurie Hammond, K.C.S.I., C.B.E., whose hope, that this first *Bulletin* will be followed by many more, all interested in the history of India will share.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

INDEX TO THE TSO CHUAN. By EVERARD D. H. FRASER, K.C.M.G.

Revised and prepared for the press by J. H. S. LOCKHART, K.C.M.G. 10½ × 7½, pp. x + 430. Oxford University Press (Milford), 1930.

James Legge's translation of the Chinese classics is fitly deemed the greatest achievement of British sinology. While still the standard version for Western readers, till now it has lacked an index to that most fascinating human document, the *Tso Commentary*. Legge stated that he was unable to command the time and labour involved in this task, beyond the giving of bare lists of characters found in the text. Couvreur left the omission unremedied. The fact that this necessary adjunct to the student's repertory was long overdue must have moved many to contemplate the arduous undertaking. Alone Sir Everard Fraser with public-spirited devotion carried it through and finished it some years before his death in 1922, when Consul-General at Shanghai.

To us in this country, Fraser's painstaking feat is a matter of peculiar satisfaction. Scotchmen will take special pride in this work of a fellow-countryman of Legge, and also in the successful revision and proof-reading carried out in spite of ill-health by another fellow-countryman. Sir James Stewart Lockhart's part must have made a most exacting claim on his energies, and only those who have attempted some such task can appreciate fully the long and tiresome attention to detail involved.

So far as may be judged from the checking of a number of references taken at random, the text is a marvel of accuracy. The only misprints found occur in the radicals 64, 95, and 96 and 𠂔. Radical 95 remains with the last stroke omitted out of respect for the first character in the personal name of the Emperor of the K'ang-hsi period. If usage under the late Manchu dynasty had been followed strictly, this incomplete form should have appeared also in the character 率. But this character is given as printed in Legge's text, and therefore it is justified. The anomaly in placing a form written with four strokes among the five-stroke radicals has been corrected in most dictionaries, published since the fall of the Manchus, by restoring the original 𠂔, though in some a compromise has been effected with the modification 𠂔. The question arises whether lexicographers should now revert to the earlier order which was altered in the *K'ang-hsi tsū tien*. For the purpose of honouring the reigning Emperor's name, the positions of 玉 and 𠂔 were interchanged

so that 玄 might stand at the head of the section. In his *Dictionnaire classique* Couvreur entered 玉 before 玄 in accordance with the *Tzū hui* and the *Chêng tzū t'ung*. Legge naturally followed the *K'ang-hsi tzū tien*, and of course the index under review retains this sequence, but the 玄 is erroneously written 玄.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

CHINESISCHE PAGODEN. VON ERNST BOERSCHMANN. pp. xv, 428.

Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1931. RM. 80.

This is the third volume of Professor Boerschmann's elaborate and scholarly work *Die Baukunst und Religiöse Kultur der Chinesen*. The first volume, that on Putoschan or Pootoo (the island near Ningpo dedicated to Kuan-yin Bodhisattva), appeared as long ago as January, 1914, and was soon followed by the second volume, *Gedächtnistempel*. The publication of the third volume, though much delayed, has been awaited with pleasant anticipation by the many admirers of the two first, and they will not be disappointed. It is devoted to a full and scrupulously careful description—architectural, historical, artistic, literary, and religious—of over 550 of the most famous or most characteristic pagodas in China, and to a study of the evolution of their types and their internal and external structure. The illustrations which accompany the text are well chosen and beautifully reproduced. A praiseworthy feature of the book is the fact that Chinese characters, where needed, are plentifully supplied. In view of the lack of uniformity in the transliteration of Chinese sounds in European languages, Chinese characters should always be supplied in the case of books which are intended to attract the attention of serious students of Chinese. In omitting to supply them, English publishers (they are the worst offenders) are presumably actuated by considerations of expense, and in some cases they are perhaps afraid of repelling the average reader by an apparently pedantic display of learning. But if the Chinese characters were given in a special index placed unobtrusively at the end of the book, the average reader would have no just cause for irritation and the expense would be reduced to a minimum. A certain author of an English book on Buddhism in China once spent much time and trouble over the preparation of such an index, and sent it to his publisher with an offer to pay, if necessary, for the expense of setting up the Chinese type. The publisher in question brought out the book with the index omitted, and did not even take the trouble to inform the author beforehand that it was his intention to do so!

The frontispiece of Dr. Boerschmann's book is a coloured illustration of the famous Porcelain Pagoda of Nanking (報恩寺琉璃寶塔), which was destroyed by the T'ai-p'ing rebels in the sixth decade of the nineteenth century. Further illustrations of it, taken from woodcuts, together with a full account of the pagoda and of the monastery to which it belonged, are given on pp. 230-77, and will be studied with special interest by all to whom this vanished glory of Old China may have been little more than a legend. These descriptions are followed by illustrated accounts of other *liu-li* pagodas (*glasurpagoden*) which still exist in other parts of China and from which we may form some conception of what the Nanking pagoda looked like before the T'ai-p'ing thundercloud burst upon the Yangtse Valley. Among such structures are the small *lui-li* pagodas of the Old and New Summer Palaces, the Jade Fountain Park and the so-called Hunting Park at the edge of the Western Hills near Peiping (Peking), and the old imperial summer-resort at Jehol.

Dr. Boerschmann might have done well to include in his account of the Porcelain Pagoda an interesting description by a European who visited it during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. This was the Jesuit missionary Le Comte, whose book was translated into English and published under the title of *Memoirs and Remarks made in above ten years travels through the Empire of China*. His description reveals something of the once too common European contempt for the products of an alien and "heathen" culture, and he refers condescendingly to "that medley of beams, joints, rafters, and pinions" which, though a surprising "singularity", merely "proceeds from the ignorance of their workmen, who never could find out that noble simplicity in which consists both the strength and beauty of our buildings". He is also contemptuous of the internal frescoes and writes of "the ceiling of each room being beautified with paintings, if such painting as theirs can be called a beauty". Yet he was evidently impressed by the building as a whole, and concludes: "Whatever it be made of, it is undoubtedly the best contrived and noblest structure of all the East."

It is possible that many readers of Dr. Boerschmann's book will be surprised to learn from it how great is the variety of architectural forms in the pagodas of different periods and localities. There is, indeed, much less uniformity about these graceful structures than even those who have travelled in China with their eyes and minds open might have expected to find. A mere glance through the

illustrations in this book will show that the designing of pagodas gave ample scope to Chinese architects for the employment of their gifts of originality and imagination.

The technique of pagoda-building is a subject on which Dr. Boerschmann is an expert, and he has provided many valuable measurements, with plans, showing details of both external and internal construction. A full account, with photographs and plans, is given of the pagoda at the Ling-yen monastery near T'ai-shan in Shantung (靈巖寺辟支塔), which fortunately happens to be one of those of which the internal staircase is still serviceable. One of the photographs gives some idea, necessarily inadequate, of its beautiful situation amid cliffs and forest. Probably few of the travellers on the Tientsin-Pukow Railway pay much attention to a certain little wayside station between T'ai-An and Tsinan, a station at which the express trains never deign to stop; yet it is possible at that point to catch a glimpse from the train of the wooded cliffs that overlook the monastery of Ling-yen and its pagoda. Those who are willing to travel by a slow train and break their journey at Wan-Tê for the purpose of spending a day or two at Ling-yen are not likely to reproach themselves afterwards with having wasted their time.

A section of the book deals with the special subject of the Pagoda in landscape and art, and the illustrations will give those who have never been in China an excellent idea of what pagodas look like in their appropriate settings of hills, ravines, cities, rivers, and plains. Some of the illustrations are taken from Dutch and other European books written during the early days of Western intercourse with China, and were obviously the work of European, not of Chinese, artists; but most of them are from good photographs. Pagodas situated in close proximity to mountain-monasteries are nearly always found amid charming scenery—for the founders of Buddhist monasteries and hermitages chose sites not only for their tranquillity and distance from the "dusty world", but also for their beauty. The sites of other pagodas were often selected for reasons connected with geomancy (*fêng-shui*), but in the majority even of those cases we find that picturesque scenery and good geomantic influences had a strong tendency to intermingle.

In view of the great importance of the province of Chehkiang as the favourite home of Buddhism in China, it is not surprising to find many pages of the book devoted to accounts of the pagodas of Hangchow and those in the vicinity of Ningpo and other parts

of that lovely province. Full justice is done (on pp. 159 f.) to the Pao-Shu T'a (保叔塔), a familiar object to all who know the famous Western Lake; to the pagodas of Ling-Yin (靈隱) and other monasteries; and to the Thunder-Peak Pagoda (雷峯塔), which, to the great regret of all who knew the Hangchow of an earlier date, collapsed into a shapeless mass of bricks less than eight years ago. When we realize (as the photograph on p. 156 should help us to do) what the state of the building was during the last years (probably during the last two or three centuries) of its existence, we may well wonder not how it came to collapse but how it lasted so long.

The little Mongol-dynasty pagoda of the "Prince Imperial" (太子塔) of Pootoo, which has been restored in recent years, is illustrated and described, along with some other architectural treasures of that delectable isle.

Even the miniature pagodas which stand in rows outside the Kuo-ch'ing-sü (國清寺) at the foot of the T'ien-t'ai mountain (天台山), and in front of the T'ien T'ung-sü (天童寺)—the "Monastery of the Heavenly Messenger"—near Ningpo, have not been forgotten by Dr. Boerschmann; and the account of the pagoda-shaped relic-chamber of the great Ayü-Wang monastery (阿育王寺), also near Ningpo, leads to an interesting discussion of the pious act of that Prince of Wu, who, emulating the legendary achievement of the great Buddhist emperor Asoka, made at least a beginning of the hopeless task of building 84,000 pagodas to enshrine as many relics of the Buddha.

The new pagoda which stands on the top of the pass leading to the monastery of the Heavenly Messenger seems to have escaped Dr. Boerschmann's attention, or perhaps it had not been completed when he visited the locality. Like all modern Chinese structures of the kind, it leaves a good deal to be desired in design and execution. It might have been worth while to include some account of that other recently-built pagoda in the grounds of the well-known Buddhist monastery near Penang, in the Straits Settlements, if only to show how sadly the art of pagoda-building has deteriorated in modern times. The Penang monastery, though a long way from China, was founded by Chinese and is in fact a branch of the well-known monastic house of Yung-ch'üan-sü on the mountain of Ku-shan (鼓山湧泉寺), near Foochow, and might therefore be regarded as having some claim to recognition in Dr. Boerschmann's survey. The Yung-ch'üan monastery itself receives adequate treatment.

The book is suitably embellished with some typical examples of Chinese poetry, mostly on the subject of pilgrimages made to various pagodas by poetical Buddhists or Buddhist poets, and the German translations are in all cases accompanied by the Chinese text. Among the poets represented are some of the great writers of the T'ang period, such as Li T'ai-po (李太白), Shên Ch'üan-ch'i (沈佺期), Ts'ên Ts'an (岑參), and Li Shih-chih (李適之)—one of the "Eight Immortals of the Wine Cup".

Besides the structures commonly known to us as pagodas, Dr. Boerschmann describes many types of the pagoda-shaped tombs which we find in many parts of China. He might have added to his collection of illustrations some of the so-called "Beehive Tombs" of the Yuan and early Ming dynasties which exist in the former British Leased Territory of Weihaiwei. He also tells us about the little pagodas—relic-chambers and tombs—sometimes to be found in roofed buildings or in mortuary chapels connected with monasteries. A modern example of the type (not included in the book) is the tomb of the "Eight-fingered Ascetic" (八指頭陀) close to the monastery of the Heavenly Messenger.

The book is handsomely bound and well printed on good paper. All public and private libraries in which an attempt is made to keep abreast of recent sinological study and research, especially in the domains of Chinese architecture, Buddhism, and religious symbolism, should be provided with copies of this admirable work.

R. F. JOHNSTON.

FESTIVALS AND SONGS OF ANCIENT CHINA. By MARCEL GRANET.

Translated from the French by E. D. EDWARDS, D.Lit. (Broadway Oriental Library). pp. ix + 281. London: Routledge and Sons, 1932. 18s. net.

The original French edition of this book was published as long ago as 1919, and it was recognized at once as a critical study of the first importance. The judgment then passed on it in the sinological world is not likely to be reversed to-day; it has come to be regarded as the standard exposition of the *Shih ching*, or of that part of it, at any rate, which deals with the ritual of love-making and the relations of the sexes in ancient China. The serious study of the classic by Westerners began about sixty years ago, when Legge published his epoch-making translation, to which M. Granet does something less than justice.

To have been the first to grapple with an archaic text of acknowledged difficulty (for Père Lacharme's very defective Latin version need hardly be taken into account) was in itself no mean feat; and the soundness and accuracy of Legge's scholarship were such that in spite of its rather ponderous style his translation still holds the field. He faithfully recorded the opinions of the Chinese commentators, but did not slavishly follow them. More could not be expected at a time when the intensive study of folk-lore and sex-psychology had hardly begun. Yet M. Granet has no word of praise for this great pioneer, and concludes a catalogue of his faults with the astonishing assertion that his work was "done under the most favourable material conditions". Couvreur's French translation is treated with much greater indulgence, though it came later and for all-round scholarship cannot compare with Legge's.

Refusing, however, to be biased by this strangely jealous attitude, we cannot but own that M. Granet's achievement is a very notable one. For the light which he has thrown on this old anthology has opened a new chapter in the history of Chinese religion, and shows how much can be done with what appears at first sight to be very scanty material. It is indeed remarkable that such a revolution in our ideas about the *Shih ching* should have been brought about by a foreign scholar. Though industrious students of this classic from time immemorial, the Chinese have never been able to pierce through the thick crust of tradition and consider it with an open mind.

M. Granet's cardinal rule is to pay no attention to the classical interpretation, but to find the meaning of the *Shih ching* in the *Shih ching* itself. This method has helped him to discover facts which have hitherto been passed over, and he is able to give a coherent explanation of the work as a whole. In detail, he often follows Legge almost word for word, or where there is a divergence, does not always improve upon him. In No. 39, for instance, the latter had already rejected the generally accepted but pedantic interpretation of line 2: a beautiful girl guarding herself as by a high wall; whereas the natural meaning is that she is waiting for her lover at a corner of the wall. In No. 61, *liang jén* is much more likely to be a husband (our "goodman") than a wife. And it is surely unnecessary to treat this poem as a sorrowful strain simply because all the commentators regard it as an expression of joy.

The simple yet poignant emotion of the love-songs comes out very well in the English translation—even better, perhaps, than in the

French. Dr. Edwards has indeed acquitted herself of a formidable task with wonderful success, but one cannot help grudging the time which she must have spent on it. For Chinese scholars do not grow on every bush, and it is a pity that one who has devoted years of labour to the most difficult language in the world should be tempted to engage in second-hand work of this kind.

Though the absence of Chinese characters—freely used in the original work—is a matter for regret, one can well understand that their inclusion would have made the book too costly. The other reasons given—that they would have been “disconcerting” to the general reader, and that every serious student of Chinese already possesses the French edition—are not so convincing. The book is attractively printed, except that the type used for the footnotes is rather too small. An index of some sort ought surely to have been added, although the nature of the work would have made it by no means easy to compile.

LIONEL GILES.

AUSGEWÄHLTE KOPTISCHE ZAUBERTEXTE. Von P. Dr. ANGELICUS M. KROPP, O.P. Sm. 4to, 3 vols., pp. xx + 124, xvi + 286, xiv + 256. Brussels, 1930-1. 60 Belgas.

It has always been the complaint of Coptic scholars that they are dealing with what is largely a translation literature; nine-tenths of Coptic literature has a Greek original, and Shenute seems to have been almost the only original composer in the language. We therefore grasp eagerly at everything of native origin, such as inscriptions, letters, and certain liturgical hymns; and we feel that Dr. Kropp has done us a great service by this collection of texts and his elaborate and illuminating commentary. Such a publication can never pay its way, and we must therefore add our thanks to those who made it possible—the actual publishers, the Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elizabeth of Brussels, and the patrons, the Byzantine Institute of America and Yassa Bey Andraos Bichara.

Vol. i contains Coptic texts (Dr. Kropp only prints *inedita*, giving references to what has been published elsewhere); vol. ii, translations (of all—both of the texts in vol. i, and of the rest indicated), while vol. iii consists of a general introduction to the subject; its contents may be conveniently indicated in tabular form:—

THE HIGHER POWERS

Gods of Ancient Egypt.

Syncretism.

Gnosis.

Christianity. (The Godhead—angels—four-and-twenty Elders—demons—the B. V. M. and the Saints.)

THE INSTRUMENTS OF MAGIC

Animals, vegetables, minerals.

οὐσα (of living, dead, animals).

Images and dolls.

Human speech ("Abracadabra" is our modern analogy).

Magical ritual.

MAGICAL OPERATIONS AND PRAYERS

Their objects (revelation, love, power, curses).

Medicine. (i) Heathen; (ii) Christian (exorcism, blessing, amulets).

Prayer. (i) Syncretic and gnostic; (ii) Christian, relation to liturgy and individual.

It will be seen from this brief analysis that we have here a very full investigation of the lessons that can be drawn from these texts, and vol. iii can be consulted with profit by people who do not know Coptic but are interested either in magic or in the strange amalgam of paganism and Christianity which seems to have flourished more richly in Egypt than elsewhere, and has the *Pistis Sophia* as its literary monument.

I have tested the printed texts to the best of my ability, and come to the conclusion that Dr. Kropp has produced from them about all the sense that can be extracted (magical formulæ often fade away into unintelligibility). I will give one passage of only moderate obscurity, showing strongly Fayoumic tendency in dialect (it is rather late in date), and then follow it by Dr. Kropp's translation, turning the latter from German into English:—

C (vol. i, p. 20) = xlviii (vol. ii, p. 204)

120

ΤΙΤΑΔΚΑ ΜΤΕΝ ΠΕΤΕΝΔΕΝ ΜΗ ΠΕΤΕΝΣΑΜ
ΜΗ ΤΣΑΔ ΕΠΗΟΥΤΙ / ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ
ΕΤΣΑΔΕ ΜΑ ΜΑΤΕΝ
ΛΔΕΙC ΑΔΕΡ ΕΠΕΓΔ ΗCΕ ΠCΩΜΑ/
ΜΗ ΤΕΠΨΥΧΗ ΜΕΝ ΠΗΕΟΥΜΑ

125

исотра тхиді пелса мн песцѡлі/
 тас ара песцѡлі єснит маѣ
 кан отраот пе кан / отсѣи те
 тоѡнаѡ раѡамн ахен цѡни

I conjure you by your names and your powers
 and the power of God almighty
 which resteth in the place of peace (?)
 watch and protect the four sides of the body
 and the soul and the spirit
 of Soura, the daughter of Pelga, and her child,
 she and her child, with whom she is pregnant,
 whether it be male or female,
 that they live the year long without sickness.

Mr. Crum contributes a valuable palæographical introduction, showing probabilities (we cannot reach certainty) of date and provenance. He rightly warns us not to put too much dependence on language; the composers of these texts are deliberate archaizers, choosing a moribund dialect as most suitable to their purpose.¹

S. GASELEE.

KOPTISCHE DIALEKTGRAMMATIK, MIT LESESTÜCKEN UND WÖRTERBUCH.

By WALTER TILL. pp. xvi + 92 + 44. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931.

"La méthode pratique pour apprendre la langue copte," says Mallon, "est de se familiariser d'abord avec un dialecte et d'aborder ensuite l'étude des autres en les comparant avec celui qu'on connaît déjà," and most of us have in fact begun with Mallon's Bohairic or Steindorff's Sa'idic grammar, but Till in this book returns to the older method of Stern, and attempts to show all the dialectical forms at once.

These have now reached a considerable degree of complexity. We have:—

Sa'idic (formerly called Thebaic)	} from Upper Egypt.
Akmimic	
Subakhmimic	

¹ I wonder if **ϣΑΒΙΗ**, where there was a temple of Isis (vol. i, p. 13), modern Hafneh, gives us the origin of the name of the freedman in Petronius, Habinnas? Etruscan and Umbrian have been suggested as possibilities, but "es klingt afrikanisch", said Hübner.

Fayoumic (formerly called Bashmuric ¹);	} from Middle Egypt.
or, with a greater or less admixture of Sa'idic,	
commonly <i>now</i> called Memphitic	
Bohairic (formerly called Memphitic)	} from Lower Egypt.

I think that anyone trying to learn all at once would be liable to a bad headache; most of Till's readers will probably use the present work for reference when dealing with a text in one of the minor dialects, rather than as their main grammar. His abbreviations (which are many) once mastered, his arrangement is clear and orderly; and he makes good use of the close knowledge of Akhmimic and Fayoumic to which his previous publications have testified.

He adds a useful little chrestomathy, containing specimens of all dialects, explaining a few difficulties in notes and including a vocabulary of Coptic and Greek words. I could only wish that in these he had not confined himself entirely to literary texts, but had given a few inscriptions or other non-literary matter, as Coptic (other than Sa'idic) is rather under suspicion of being somewhat factitious—a written jargon contrived for purposes of edification. Fayoumic inscriptions *can* be found, though there are not many of them; a good example is from Harageh (British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1923) on the south-western side of the Gebel Abusir, a piece of desert entirely surrounded by cultivation, lying at the entrance to the Fayoum. The text is ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ² ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲉⲓ ⲧⲁⲣⲁ ⲧⲉⲩⲣⲁⲭⲓ ⲁⲡⲁⲡⲁ ⲫⲓⲃⲁⲕⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲧ ⲱⲧⲁⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲁⲱⲁⲛⲥ, which would be in Sa'idic ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁ ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲣⲁⲭⲓ ⲁⲡⲁⲡⲁ ⲫⲓⲃⲁⲕⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲟⲩ ⲱⲕⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲡⲁⲱⲁⲛⲥ.

S. GASELEE.

¹ This obscure name is here and too often given without the necessary explanation. The eleventh-century grammarian Athanasius of Qōs alleged a dialect of Coptic with this name, but no specimen of it was in existence: when, very early in the nineteenth century, some Middle-Egyptian texts came to light, with strange changes both in consonants and vowels (ⲗⲁⲙⲡⲓ, ⲗⲉⲛ for ⲣⲟⲕⲙⲡⲓ, ⲣⲁⲛⲓ), it was too hastily assumed that they were in the missing Bashmuric.

² A mistake for ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲉ.

REPORT ON THE UNIFICATION OF THE SHONA DIALECTS. By CLEMENT M. DOKE. Carried out under the auspices of the Government of Southern Rhodesia and the Carnegie Corporation. 8vo, pp.ii + 156, with several diagrams and 4 maps. Hertford, England, 1931.

The object of this book written by the well-known lecturer in Bantu philology in Witwatersrand (S.A.) is to recommend "a uniform orthography and a possible unification of dialects for the standardization of an official language for that part of Rhodesia inhabited by the Shona-speaking people". As the complex nature of this object demands, for its proper understanding, rather a great amount of preliminary information, the author has included in his book (1) an outline of the language situation in Southern Rhodesia, (2) an explanation of his methods of investigation, (3) an analysis of the populations of the native districts, (4) a description of the different language-groups and dialects, (5) a careful analysis of the speech-sounds in the more important dialects. Finally, from p. 76 to p. 104, the author gives his "recommendations for language-unification".

(1) Of the dialects spoken in Mashonaland, four have, by missionary work, been pushed into prominence, viz. Karanga, Zezuru, Manyika, Ndau; the differences between them have, however, been greatly exaggerated. Divergent systems of orthography and methods of dividing the words have disguised their inherent unity, which was laid stress upon as early as 1905 by Springer in his *Handbook of Chikaranga*. The recognition of the practical advantages of a "unification of the dialects" led to the formation of a Language Committee of three local missionaries by the Government in 1928. It was in close touch with the members of that committee that Doke took up his work in order to collect linguistic data and to explore the field.

(2) The perusal of Chapter II shows that Mr. Doke's methods of collecting his linguistic material in the field can be qualified as accurate and reliable. (3) This chapter furnishes us with reliable figures as to the number of speakers of the different dialects as well as of the inhabitants of the different districts, while the fourth chapter deals with the linguistic classification of the Shona dialects in particular. In spite of six main groups, viz. Korekore Group, Zezuru Group, Karanga Group, Manyika Group, Ndau Group, Kalanga Group, and a great many sub-dialects, the Shona language may without hesitation be considered as a unity because of not a few common features which are summarized on p. 29 as follows:—(a) Underlying unity of vocabulary. (b) Common sharing of particular phonetic features,

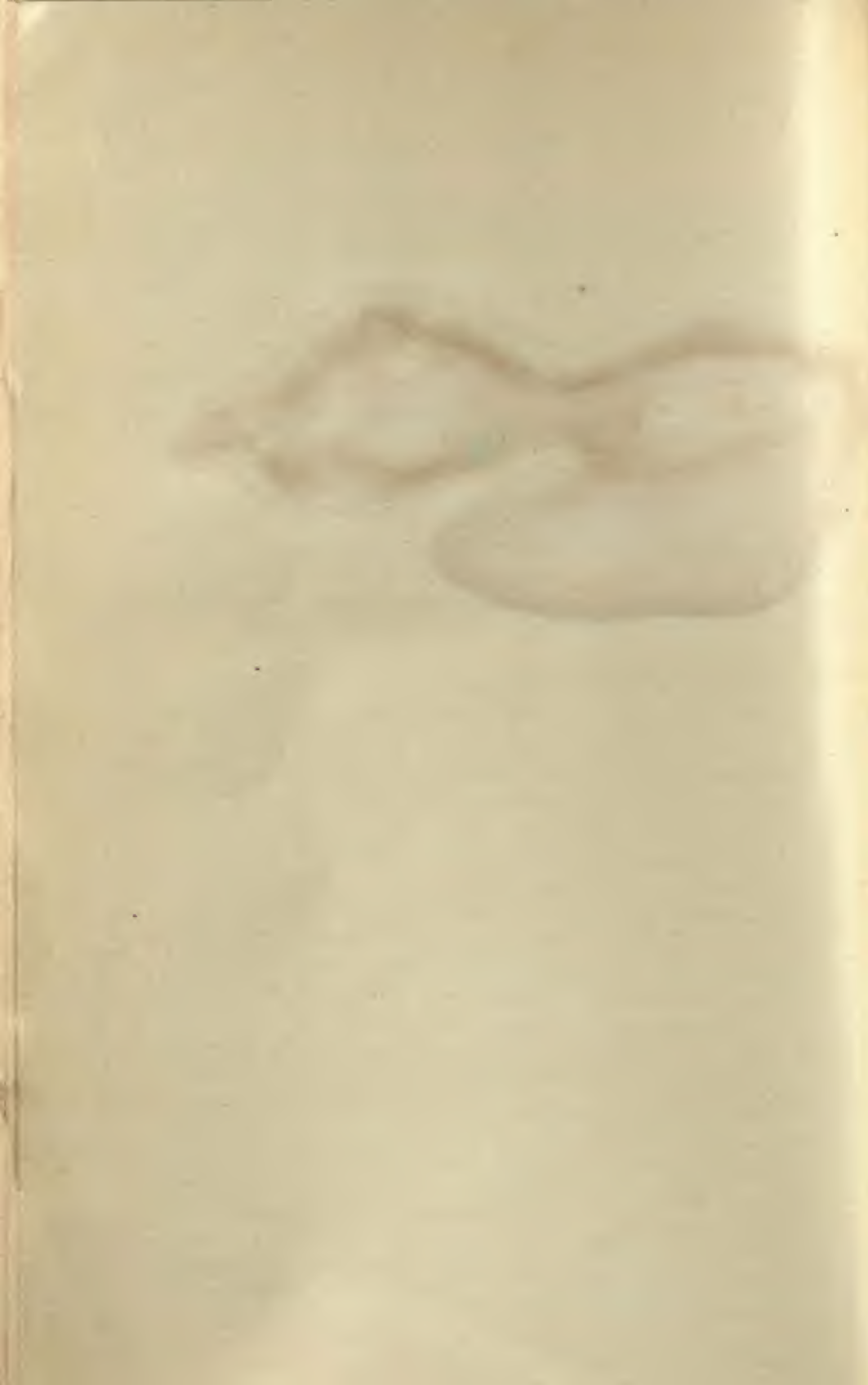
viz. (i) Five vowel system; (ii) Use of three significant tohes; (iii) Employment of "whistling" fricatives; (iv) Phenomenon of velarization; (v) Employment of implosives. (c) Common sharing of particular grammatical features, viz. (i) Monosyllabic noun prefixes; (ii) Significant super-addition of prefixes to nouns; (iii) Uniform tense-system; (iv) Single forms for "father" and "mother"; (v) Decimal numeration; (vi) Form of relative construction; (vii) Vocalization of initial consonants of Stems in Class v singular; (viii) Locative formation, esp. the noun-inflexion of place-names.

(5) This chapter contains an outline of Shona phonetics. Exact phonetic investigations must be the basis for setting up a standard orthography, and this aim may be more attainable than the artificial making of a standard language out of two or more dialects. In general the author avails himself of the script of the "Association phonétique internationale", which is not very fit for rendering the sounds of African languages. The author has, therefore, been compelled to add several signs of his own invention, especially in the comparative vocabularies in Appendix IV, where he has used a "narrower" transcription than in the text itself. Taken as a whole, the phonetic part of the book means a very valuable contribution to Bantu Phonetics in general, as the description of the sounds is exact and accurate. It is only to be regretted that the author does not base his investigations on the "Urbantu" forms instead of choosing the Zezuru dialect as starting-point; his statements and comparisons would then undoubtedly have got a still greater scientific value. Nevertheless the material collected in this chapter is a most gratifying starting-point for further investigations.

We now come to the "Recommendations for Language Unification". As I already have emphasized, all such efforts as tend to bring about unity in orthography appear possible and are to be welcomed (cf. Recommendations 6 and 7, "... that the conjunctive method of word-division be used in writing Shona; that there be a unified orthography . . ."). In Recommendation 7*a, b, c*, the author proposes an alphabet containing thirty-two single letters (for the written forms see Appendix XI). This "practical" (not scientific) alphabet is recommended by the principle followed that "no one character has more than one value in any one dialect" and "that the underscored letters have given place to new characters." But it seems to me that the introducing of some single, but little differentiated, forms would not outweigh the use of some digraphs widespread in

rendering the sounds of African languages (e.g. **sh**, **zh**, **ng**). Much more doubtful seems the possibility of creating a "unified grammar standardized on the basis of Karanga and Zezuru" (Recommendation IV). That is what Doke too does not ignore. For he himself remarks on p. 104: "The first (sc. thing to be emphasized) is that the spirit of the proposed unification should be that of natural development, and not that of artificial creation. . . . I have a great faith in the potentialities of Bantu literature. But I have an equal fear of the non-success of any artificial unification." The book possesses a very complete bibliography of Shona publications, a most valuable comparative vocabulary of about 100 words in thirty-seven Shona dialects, specimens of Shona texts in the proposed practical orthography, and four maps.

H. JENSEN.



NOTES AND QUERIES

SHAMS UD-DIN ILTUTMISH

The correct Turkish name of the third of the Slave Kings of Delhi, Shams ud-Din Iltutmish, so long read as *Altamish* or *Altamsh*, has been finally decided as *Iltutmish*, i.e. one who has seized and holds the country, corresponding more or less to the Persian *Jahāngīr*. This name was also borne by the Uighur Khan who introduced the Manichæan religion among his people about 760 A.D. (see F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, ii, p. 95. See also an interesting note by Horovitz, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1911-12, p. 21). This name occurs on at least one coin in Nagari script, where it seems to read *Lititimi* (see *The Coins of the Sultans of Delhi in the British Museum*, 1884, p. 15). This, while disposing of the misreadings *Altamsh* and *Altamish*, does not quite suit the reading *Iltutmish*. The Nagari inscription according to this catalogue reads: *Sri Sultā Lititimi*, (*Samvat*) 1283. I have always doubted the correctness of this reading, and recently I asked Mr. Allan, of the British Museum, to look into the matter, and he was good enough to send me the following note: "I think the form *Altamsh* owes its origin to a careless reading of a coin like Brit. Mus. Catalogue Sultans of Delhi, pl. ii, No. 37, in which the engraver was a little cramped for space. Two ways of writing the name in Arabic characters occur on the coins, التمش and ايلتتمش; there is no doubt about the two t's. The only point is the length of the first syllable. Unfortunately, the Nagari form does not occur completely on any one coin. The full reading completed from several coins is *Srī Sultāna Īlītīmisi Sam* 1283. Unfortunately the initial i is not very clear on the only coin on which it survives and I am not absolutely certain that it is long."

In the text of the *Tabaqātī Nāsiri* the name occurs in two verses where the correct reading التمش is required by the metre, although in both cases the Calcutta editors have read التمش. On p. 191 of the text in a *qasida* addressed to Mu'izz ud-Din we read—

اگر سلطانی، هنداست ارشِ دودۀ شمسِ

بحمد الله زفرزدان توئی التمشِ ثانی

If the sovereignty of India is the heritage of the Shamsi family—
By the grace of God thou art among these sons a second
Il-tutmish.

On p. 202 of the text in a *qasida* addressed to Nāsir ud-Din we read—

آن شهنشاهی که حاتم بذل ورستم کوشش است
ناصر دنیا و دین محمود بن التمش است

That king of kings who is a Hātīm in generosity and a Rustam in fight—Nāsir ud-Din Mahmūd son of Il-tutmish.

E. D. R.

REFERENCES TO ALCHEMY IN BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES¹

- (1) *Avatamsaka Sūtra*. Nanjio 88. Translated in A.D. 695-9 by Śikshānanda.

"There is a drug-juice 藥汁 called Hataka. One *liang* of it will turn a thousand *liangs* of bronze into pure gold." *Taishō Tripitaka*, vol. x, p. 432, col. 2.

- (2) *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* (*Chih Tu Lun*). Nanjio 1169. Translated by Kumārajīva in A.D. 402-5.

(a) "By drugs and incantations 咒術 one can change bronze into gold." *Taishō Trip.*, vol. xxv, p. 178, col. 1.

(b) "By skilful use of drugs silver can be changed into gold, and gold into silver." *Ibid.*, p. 195, col. 3.

(c) "By spiritual power a man can change pottery or stone into gold." *Ibid.*, p. 298, col. 2, end.

(d) "One measure of stone-juice 石汁 can change a thousand measures of bronze into gold." *Ibid.*, p. 401, col. 1.

- (3) *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha-bhāṣya*. Nanjio 1171 (4). Translated by Hsüan-tsang, c. 650.

"They can turn earth into gold or other precious substances just as they please." *Taishō Trip.*, vol. xxi, p. 358, col. 2.

- (4) *Abhidharma Mahāvibhāṣhā*. Nanjio 1263. Translated by Hsüan-tsang, A.D. 656-9.

¹ A supplement to my "Notes on Chinese Alchemy", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. VI, Pt. I.

"It took Śāpaka and the minister Huai-yüeh (moon-lover) twelve years to learn to make gold. At last they were able to produce a speck of it, not larger than a grain of corn; but they said at once 'There is nothing now to prevent us making a mountain of gold'." Śāpaka was a disciple of Ānanda.

None of these four works can be dated with certainty. The passage from the *Avataṃsaka* occurs in a chapter which was lacking in the early version (c. 420), and may be later than that date. The *Chih Tu Lun*¹ is attributed to Nagarjuna, which does not help matters, as his date is a matter of controversy. If it is his, it can presumably be placed roughly between A.D. 150 and 350.

The *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha* is a commentary on a work by Asaṅga, whose date is also a matter of controversy. Roughly we may perhaps put the work between A.D. 300 and 400.

The *Mahāvibhāṣā* is more than three times as long as the similar work translated in the fifth century, and may contain much matter which was comparatively recent when Hsüan-tsang produced his version.

I have thought these references worth collecting as they are not likely to be known to scholars working at the history of alchemy from the Indian side.

A. WALEY.

ON THE GREEK BIRD-NAME Σελευκίς

Al-Kazwīnī, in the *Nuzhat*, gives *sagharjih*, سفرحجا, as the "mongolian" equivalent of Al-zurzur, the starling; and in the last number of this *Bulletin* (VI, p. 575), M. Paul Pelliot discusses the Mongolian word. He cites (quoting M. N. N. Poppe) Osm. *sqrca*, also *siyirjiq*, čuvaš *sīngirč* (both = "starling"), etc., and suggests that Al-Kazwīnī's Mongolian word should read *siyirca*, or *siyērfa*, and be looked on as "un emprunt au turc". To these forms we may add Turki *zakarči*, زاکرچی, which Sir E. Denison Ross mentions in his Polyglot List (*Mem. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1909, p. 297).

¹ We possess what is in the main only an abstract of the original. The Chinese text is in a corrupt and confused state. Light on its successive stages of development is thrown by a number of T'ang MSS. of the text found at Tun-huang. See Prof. Honda, in *Sōkyō Kenkyū*, March, 1929.

I imagine that this curious bird-name carries us still further. We have it also in Armen. *sarjak* (= "starling"); and a very slight change of this into *saljak*—or of Osm. *sqrca* into *s-rqca*, *s-lqca*—would bring us within easy reach of the Greek *σελευκίς*, the rose-coloured starling or "pastor", the famous enemy of the locust! This latter bird-name I have long suspected to be a corruption by Volksetymologie of some Eastern word, rather than a mere cognomen drawn from *Seleucus* or *Seleucia*.

The "Seleucid birds" are mentioned by Pliny (x, 39, 1), Aelian (xvii, 19), Zozimus (i, 57), Photius, and Suidas. It was Cuvier who first recognized them as the "rose-coloured pastor", a bird like to our own starling in gait and habit, but more beautiful in its plumage of black and rose. It is a migratory bird, common in Asia Minor and the Near East; it arrives in great flocks when a swarm of locusts is on the land; and was, and is, respected and worshipped accordingly. To this day in Greece it is hailed in springtime as *ἀγιοπούλι*; but it is *διαβολοπούλι* when it comes in autumn to eat the grapes. Sir Denison Ross, by the way, identifies his Turki *zakarēi* not with this bird, but with the Chinese mynah (*Aceridotheres cristatellus*); it is a different, but not very dissimilar bird.

I find no mention of the locust-eating starling in Al-Damīrī, and Al-Kazwīnī has nothing to say about locusts when he mentions briefly its Mongolian name. If some scholar could point out an Osmanli, Persian, or Armenian reference to the *sqrca*, *sīyirjīq*, etc., as a destroyer of locusts, it would be an extremely interesting thing, and would go far towards confirming the Eastern origin of the Greek name.

D'ARCY WENTWORTH THOMPSON.

THE WORD HINDŪSTĀN

It has sometimes been said that the only correct spelling of the word is *Hindostān*, and that this is proved by its being made to rhyme with *bostān*. The fact of its so rhyming can prove only that such a form exists in verse. It does not disprove the correctness of other forms. Some confusion arises from our not knowing exactly which spelling is objected to, whether it is *Hindūstān* or *Hindustān* or both. There is abundant evidence to show that in Urdū *Hindūstān* is well known and correct. The following points should be noted.

- (1) The spelling without *vāo* is both Turkish and Persian. This is

not important, for we are concerned with Hindī and Urdū, not with foreign languages. Turkish generally omits the *vāo*, indeed the word is usually pronounced *hindistān*. Ahmad Vahid's English-Turkish Dictionary and Redhouse's smaller Turkish Dictionary give only this form. Steingass for Persian gives *hindusān*, *hindūstān*, and *hindūstān*. Phillott in his English-Persian gives only *hindūstān*. *Hindostān* is, of course, impossible in Persian. As I have said, however, all this is irrelevant. Urdū has nothing to do with the forms of other languages.

(2) In speaking Urdū, whether literary or colloquial, people almost always say *-ūs-*. Occasionally one hears *-o-* in pedantic speech, but *-ūs-* is practically universal.

Professor 'Abd us Sattār Ṣiddīqī, of Allahabad, writes: *Urdū bolnevāle 'ām taur par is lafz kā talaffuz maḥẓ pesh ke sāth karte hai aur fuṣaḥū kī zabān par bhī hindūstān aur hindūstānī hai go ki hindostān aur hindostānī bhī galaḥ nahī*; "Urdū speakers usually pronounce this word simply with *pesh* (i.e. *-ūs-*), and correct speakers, too, say *hindūstān* and *hindūstānī*, although *hindostān* and *hindostānī* are not wrong." (*Hindustani*, 1931, p. 453.)

Nūr ul Lugāt, iv, 992, under "*Hind*", uses both forms.

(3) In a matter like this Urdū books have no more claim to be considered than those in Hindī. The latter almost invariably spell the word *hindūstān* (rarely *hindusthān*); *-o-* sometimes occurs when an author is referring to an Urdū or English work which has that spelling. Even if it were the case that the *-o-* form was the only one in Urdū books and that people trying to speak highflown Urdū always said *-o-*, there would still be no reason for ignoring the Hindī spelling, and writing *-o-* in English to the exclusion of *-ū-*.

(4) With the approval and active support of the local Governments, two language academies have recently been formed in north India, one for Hindī and one for Urdū. Both of these bodies have chosen the name "*Hindūstānī Academy*", and each of them has a quarterly magazine of considerable interest, one in Hindī, the other in Urdū. The magazines have no connection with one another, the editors, writers, and contents being entirely different; but in both cases the title of the magazine is *Hindūstānī*. The choice of name for the two academies and two magazines gives quadruple support to my thesis.

(5) In verse the form depends on the metre. The *mutaqārib* metre of the *Būstān*, the *Shāhnāmah*, and many Urdū *maḥnavīs*,

such as the *Maṣnavī* of *Mir Ḥasan*, does not permit the form *Hindūstān*; in place of it we must have *Hindūstān* in Persian and *Hindostān* in Urdū; but in metres which permit both forms both are found.

(6) Professor Ṣiddīqī has collected a number of instances of the use of *Hindūstān* in Persian, Urdū, and Arabic literature (*Hindūstān*, July, Oct., 1931). He quotes the following authors who write in Persian: Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, five quotations; Amīr *Khusrau*, twelve quotations; Muḥammad Ibn 'Umr Farqadī, one; *Shekh* Farīd ud Dīn 'Attār, one; Jalāl ud Dīn Rūmī, four; 'Abd ur Raḥmān Jāmī, one; Salīm Tehrānī, three; Mir Razā Dānīsh Mashhadī, one; 'Abd ur Razzāq Fayyāz, one; Nāṣir 'Alī Sarhindī, one; Amīn Rāzī, one; Nizāmī Ganjavī, four; Ashraf Mazandarānī, two; Mir 'Abd ul Jalīl Bilgrāmī, one; Gulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī, one; Ānand Rām Mukhallaṣ, one; and the Arabic writer Abu 'Abdullāh Muḥammad Anṣārī (d. A.D. 1327), one.

I take a few quotations at random.

(i) The last-named writer: *balādu Hindūstān wa ma'nāhu balādu Hind*, "Hindustān, i.e. Hind" (p. 634).

(ii) Jalāl ud Dīn Rūmī: *sālḥā mī gasht ā qāṣid az ū gird i Hindūstān barāe just ū jū* "for years that messenger from him wandered round India for the purpose of investigation" (p. 625).

(iii) Amīr *Khusrau*: *Turk i Hindūstānīm man Hindavī gūyam javāb* "I am a Hindustānī Turk, I reply in Hindavī" (p. 627).

(iv) Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān: *ki man baqī'a a Sū mānam, ū ba Hindūstān* " (that) I live in the fort of Sū (or fort of unhappiness), he in Hindūstān " (p. 623).

Professor Ṣiddīqī quotes the *Farhang i Anjuman Arā i Nāṣirī* of the time of Nāṣir ud Dīn Shāh as saying *hamcunī Bagdād az Bāgdād ū paristān az paristān . . . ū Hindūstān az Hindūstān*; "so Bāgdād is from Bāgdād, paristān from paristān, and Hindūstān from Hindūstān".

He complains that because certain *muftīs* of Urdū preferred to write *Hindostānī* this spelling became fashionable among copyists, sometimes with disastrous results. Thus *Nāsikh* wrote a *tārīkh* on the death of Jur'at:—

hūe Hindūstān kā shā'ir muā

and one on the death of *Saudā*:—

shā'ir i Hindūstān vāvāilā.

But the copyist, like the shopkeeper who put up the sign "Mens

and *womens conscia recti*", wanted to improve on other people's work. In both lines he wrote *Hindostān*, thus adding six years to the life of each of the two poets.

Finally he points out that while in Part I of Āzād's lectures the copyist has nearly always written *Hindōstān*, in Part II another copyist has, after the first page or two, always used *Hindūstān*, which the author himself preferred.

This form *Hindūstān*, so well supported by the evidence of literature, almost invariably heard in speech, adopted by both *Hindūstānī* Academies, is surely the form which we should employ in English.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

SINOLOGICAL STUDIES

The following notice appeared in the *Deutsche Wacht*, published in Batavia, and has been sent to me by the writer, Herr E. von Zach. Feeling that, in justice to Dr. Edwards, it should be made accessible to readers of the *Bulletin*, I have translated it from the German and added a few further remarks of my own :—

Arthur Waley, in his *Pillow-book of Sei Shōnagon* (1928), was the first to draw attention to the *Tsu tsuan* of Li Shang-yin; and Miss E. D. Edwards afterwards undertook the task of publishing the complete text, with translation, in the above-named periodical (1930, pp. 757-85). Her translation is not wholly irreproachable, and the mistakes are corrected in the article under review. Unfortunately, there are several passages that still remain obscure. Thus, for example, *chu-shang* (xv, 4) is not "one's master", but the emperor (cf. *Tz'ü yüan*), and the sentence must run: "It is an exaggeration, if any one declares that he is a friend of the emperor's." Or, xvi, 8: "It is a deplorable sight, when a beggar organizes a (costly) expulsion of demons" (eine (kostspielige) Dämonenvertreibung veranstaltet). Or, xxxi, 2, where Lionel Giles makes the correction: "During one's mother's lifetime to hail her brother as a cousin." The explanation of the Chinese sentence may be found in Legge, vol. iv, *Prolegomena*, p. 58: K'ang Kung, while accompanying his mother's brother (Ch'ung Êrh, *Biog. Dict.*, 523) to the north bank of the River Wei, is reminded of his dead mother. To allude to this event in the lifetime of one's mother, by saying: "I have the same feeling for my maternal uncle as K'ang Kung had for Ch'ung Êrh," is a discourtesy (*fei li*)

towards one's own mother. Legge's explanation (iv, p. 203) is very faulty. Or, xxxiv, 4: "Poverty is inevitable when one incurs debts in order to join in recreation with one's friends." The expression *chui-p'ei* (cf. *Tz'ü yüan*) is found in one of Han Yü's poems (c. vii, 11), and was rendered by me (in *Deutsche Wacht*, 8th April, 1930) "to spend the day in the company of friends". Herbert Giles's emendation of the text and his rendering, "incurs debts and duns debtors," are certainly wrong. Far preferable here is Miss Edwards' translation: "Poverty is inevitable when one borrows money in order to give entertainments." The same is true of xxxv, 5 ("wealth is assured when one incurs no debts"), and xxxv, 11 ("wealth is assured when the young people of the family (Legge, ii, 2, 404) have the same objects in view, or are harmonious in spirit"). Lionel Giles has here confused *ti-tzū* (apprentice) with *tzū-ti* (youths). Or, xxxv, 18: "Wealth is assured when one is not extravagant with writing-materials" (paper, pencils, and the like). Lionel Giles's correction: "when one does not maltreat his property," can hardly be considered satisfactory.

Although we must be grateful to the writer of the article for many of his remarks, others are so little justified that the accusation which is commonly brought against Paul Pelliot of "going out of his way to assail another person's work" fits the present case as well.

In conclusion, I would like to point out, in regard to Miss Edwards' Chinese-Malay Vocabulary, in the same number of the *Bulletin* (pp. 723 seq.), that No. 392 *chu-pu* is not bamboo cloth but linen, and is rendered by the Malay word *pakaian*; and that No. 398, *so-fu*, corresponds to the Arabic *sūf*, being translated by Watters in his *Essays*, p. 355, as a kind of thread camlet; cf. my Addenda to Sacharow's "Mandzursko-Russki Slowarj" in the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, Tôkyô, 1911, Bd. xiv, p. 14.

E. VON ZACH.

- xv, 4. Herr von Zach is right about *chu-shang* being the "master above", i.e. the emperor himself; but I note that he accepts my major correction without comment.
- xvi, 8. This, I submit, is no improvement at all on my "beggar driving out the demon of pestilence".
- xxxi, 2. Legge's explanation may or may not be "korrekturbedürftig", but Herr von Zach fails to provide an alternative translation for the sentence as it stands.

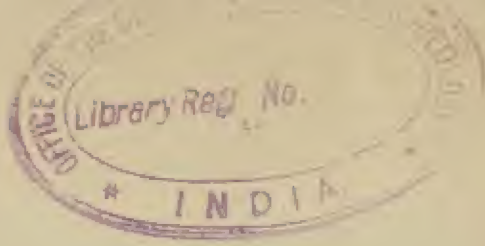
- xxxiv, 4. Here he has certainly hit the right nail on the head.
- xxxv, 5. The real difficulty is left untouched, and Herr von Zach has evidently nothing to suggest.
- xxxv, 11. My critic does not seem to know that the primary meaning of *ti-tzū* is "the young" in general (as in *Lun yü*, ii, 8), while in Giles' *Dict.*, 12317, col. 3, "apprentices" is actually one of the meanings given for *tzū-ti*. There seems to be no sharp distinction between the two terms. In the passage from Mencius referred to, *tzū-ti* is translated by Legge "the children of the people". I am now inclined to think, however, that in the present sentence it may denote the younger members of a family, so that Dr. Edwards would be substantially right.
- xxxv, 18. Herr von Zach's explanation is also "hardly satisfactory".

Why should *wu-liao* be limited to writing-materials?

His final remark about me seems to have been made for the sole purpose of dragging in Professor Pelliot. The accusation would have caused me real concern had I not known that Dr. Edwards agreed with me in holding free discussion to be essential for the advancement of Chinese studies.

LIONEL GILES.





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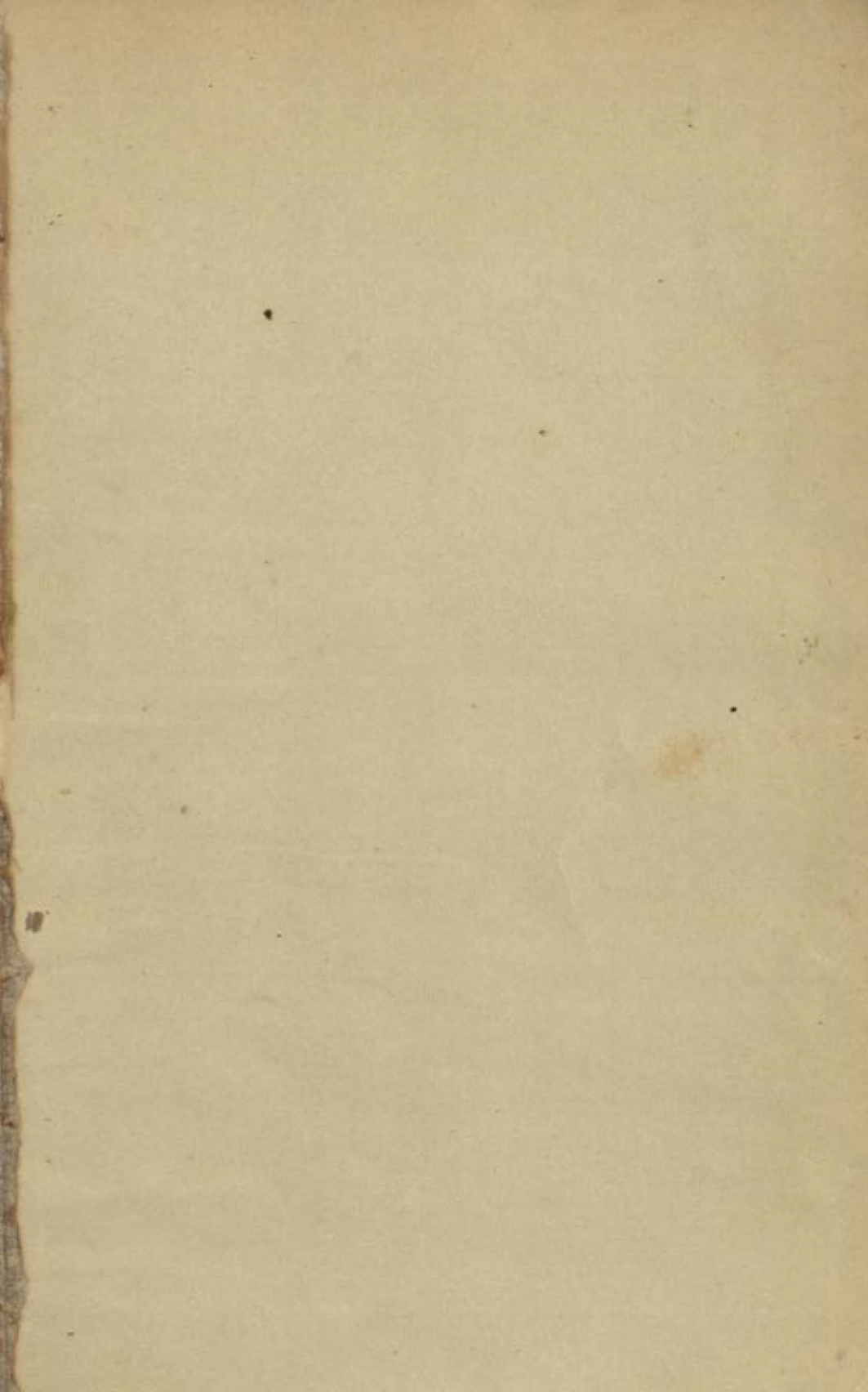
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